UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

ARTS LIBRARY

D U P--178—5-2002--20,000

ARTS LIBRARY

DELHI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY SYSTEM

Cl. No. 0:2J64:90w3 J2

Ac No. 64722

This book should be returned on or before the date last stamped below. An overdue charge of Re. 1 will be charged for each day the book is kept overtime.

(Authority : E.C. Res 200 dated 27th August 1996).

THE 6TH EARL OF DERBY

(Author's pencil sketch of the upper part of the Harding portrait, p. 125)

SHAKESPEARE'S IDENTITY

WILLIAM STANLEY
6TH EARL OF DERBY

BY

A. W. TITHERLEY

D.SC. (VICT.), D.SC. (LIV.), PH.D. (HEIDELB.),
FELLOW OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF CHEMISTRY,
FELLOW OF THE CHEMICAL SOCIETY,
FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRY,
FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS,
FORMERLY LECTURER IN ORGANIC CHEMISTRY AND
DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL.

1952
WARREN & SON LTD.
THE WYKEHAM PRESS
WINCHESTER

Copyright.
All rights reserved.

MADE AND PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY WARREN AND SON LTD.
THE WYKEHAM PRESS, WINCHESTER

CONTENTS

			PAGE
PREFACE AND EXPLANATION			ix
CHAPTER	I.	INTRODUCTION	1
„	II.	THE HOUSE OF STANLEY	9
„	III.	PRIMA FACIE EVIDENCE	37
„	IV.	EVIDENCE FROM THE PLAYS	61
„	V.	RELATIONSHIPS AND CHARACTER	83
„	VI.	SHAKESPEARE AND SHAKSPERE	103
„	VII.	BEN JONSON AND THE FOLIO	127
„	VIII.	SHAKESPEARE AND BACON	139
„	IX.	SPELLING TESTIMONY	151
„	X.	SOME OLD PROBLEMS RE-EXAMINED	167
„	XI.	PLAYS OUTSIDE THE CANON	204
„	XII.	EARLIEST POEMS	234
APPENDIX	I.	SHAKESPEARE'S HANDWRITING	269
„	II.	THE NORTHUMBERLAND MANUSCRIPT	291
„	III.	THE CANONICAL SONNETS	299
GENEALOGICAL TREE			*To face* 328
INDEX			329

PLATES

	The 6th Earl of Derby - - -	*Frontispiece*
I.	Shakspere's six signatures - - -	*Faces p.* 110
II.	"Mistress Poem" manuscript - - -	,, 256
III.	*Sir Thomas More* manuscript (Hand D), lines 46-147 - - - - -	,, 284 and 285
IV.	*Sir Thomas More* manuscript (Hand E) -	,, 286
V.	The 6th Earl of Derby's handwriting 1595 -	,, 287
VI.	The 6th Earl of Derby's handwriting 1596 -	,, 290
II.	The 6th Earl of Derby's handwriting 1605 -	,, 294
II.	The 6th Earl of Derby's handwriting 1607 -	,, 295
X.	Transcript of the Northumberland document -	,, 298

PREFACE

THE investigations, partly literary, partly scientific and partly calligraphic, set forth in this book, were undertaken to clear up if possible the long disputed question as to Shakespeare's identity, but the research can hardly be expected to have any interest for those who, sharing the common belief that the poet dramatist was simply the player, William Shakspere from Stratford-on-Avon, see no reason to abjure their faith. It is not addressed to them but to that large body of Shakespeare lovers who, suspecting a grave error in ascription because they are unable to reconcile the life history of the putative author with Shakespeare's works, want to know what the evidence is that the name was a pen-name masking the shadowy personality of some mighty poet, and if so why he should wish to remain concealed. There are some who think that it does not really matter, so long as we have his Plays and Poems, as if the question were merely academic ; but further reflection should correct this view because apart from abstract considerations of justice to his memory the question fundamentally affects the whole understanding of Shakespeare's Art. If the mystery which has always enveloped the poet's name could be dissipated by reaching down to the man himself it would be possible to correlate his stupendous achievement with a solid background of historical fact, instead of the various more or less degrading traditions associated with the actor.

The sole object of the present critical enquiry therefore is the elucidation of identity, with its concomitant literary implications—not (except in regard to the Sonnets) textual commentary ; and as the reasoning is rigorous often to the verge of tediousness, it calls for some acute thinking. This surely is warranted by the greatness of the issue, but as the whole elaborate analysis is primarily intended for those who are prepared to think deeply, no apology need be offered on account of logic or even for the introduction of a little essential mathematics relating to frequencies. However uninteresting, these frequencies which involve some scarcely avoidable repetition are an essential part of the general induction, and the truism holds that conviction born of uncritical reading is valueless. Yet the reader who has no time for deeper study (and will no doubt ' skip ' the more abstruse matter in small print) should nevertheless find much of interest in many recondite matters discussed, as for example those where either contradictory evidence or lack of documentary information calls for the exercise of guarded imagination ; in which cases care has been taken to present conjectures as such and not as misleading statements of fact, the bane of so much Shakespearian biography. Equal care has been

taken to ensure accuracy in all figures, dates, references and quotations, though complete freedom from error is hardly to be expected in so wide a field ; also since verbal brevity has been aimed at (even imposed by paper shortage and other exigencies of War) without pretensions to literary grace or entertaining humour, discussion of some things including the work of others is necessarily very inadequate. For the same reason bibliographical lists are omitted and quotations curtailed to the bare minimum, but these are mostly easily accessible to students or sceptical readers who might think that the omitted context would modify the meaning assigned by the writer—a design which is here absolutely disclaimed.

War restrictions, in respect of original records and manuscripts, have to some extent handicapped the investigations, many of which fortunately had been carried out prior to the removal of these documents for safety. In this connection apologies must be offered for the lack of clear definition in Plates I, II and IV which are not facsimiles of the original manuscripts but tracings, made by the writer himself, of previously existing facsimiles, namely I in Sir Edward Thompson's *Shakespeare's Handwriting* (1916), II in Halliwell-Phillips' *Folio of Shakespeare's Works* (1853-65) and IV in *The Malone Society's Reprints* (1911, Greg). Plate III is reproduced directly from Sir Edward Thompson's splendid facsimile in *Shakespeare's Handwriting*, and VIII from Lefranc's *Sous le masque de William Shakespeare* (1919). To all of these the writer expresses his great indebtedness. All the Plates are full size and IX is not a facsimile but a reproduction in modern writing of the Northumberland document, now completely deciphered for the first time.

So much courteous assistance has been received from librarians and officials in charge of the various records or manuscripts in London and elsewhere, that it is only possible to express general gratitude, but special thanks are due to Mr. E. B. Goodacre and Mr. P. W. Caine who have furnished some valuable information to which they had access. Also to the publishers, Messrs. Warren & Son Ltd., the author expresses his warm appreciation for their effectual technical assistance, in coping with numerous difficulties inherent in a book of this kind.

A. W. TITHERLEY.

August, 1948.

Shakespeare, *quâ* poet, signed his name in print ' William Shakespeare,' in 1593 and 1594, under his letters of dedication to the Earl of Southampton, but so far as is known never again. The actor from Stratford-on-Avon, with whom he is normally identified, wrote with apparent difficulty ' William Shakspere,' or some abbreviation, though he was sometimes referred to as ' Shakespeare ' by his contemporaries. This identity has been called in question by a number of learned critics, and since it is the subject of examination in this book, it becomes necessary in order to avoid confusion of thought (and following precedent) to refer to the actor as ' Shakspere ' and the poet as ' Shakespeare,' without allowing this distinction in spelling to prejudice the identity issue. This is a question which can only be resolved by consideration of all the evidence old and new, the reasoning on which, to make it more rigorous, is treated *de novo* in each Chapter irrespective of any preceding decision. And though this evidence is decisive, the familiar name Shakespeare is always used in speaking of him in the abstract literary sense.

Abbreviations. Acts and scenes, numbered as in standard modern texts, are indicated in the usual manner, e.g. (1) *Henry IV*, II, 3, 45 means Part I *Henry IV*, Act II, Scene 3, line 45 (line numbers vary slightly in different works). Other abbreviations are :—

B.I. *Brittain's Ida.*
(1) *Contention.* *First part of the contention of the two famous houses of York and Lancaster.*
(2) *Contention.* *Second part* (true tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke).
D.P.R. Davison's *A Poetical Rapsodie.*
D.I.H. The 6th Earl of Derby's legal Hand (Appendix I).
E.H. *Englands Helicon.*
F. First Folio (1623) of Shakespeare's Plays.
J.D. (1) John Dowland's *First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1597).
F.Q. *Faerie Queene* (Spenser).
P.d.h. *Poems : In diuers humors* (Barnfield).
P.P. *The Passionate Pilgrime and Sonnets to sundry notes of Musicke.*
Q Quarto.
S.S. *Shakespeare's Sonnets, as from the pen of William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby* (A. W. Titherley, 1939).
S.V.S. *Shakespeare's vital secret* (R. M. Lucas, 1937).
T.R. *The troublesome Raigne of John King of England.*
V. and A. *Venus and Adonis.*
[Usual abbreviations for the Plays e.g. *L.L.L.* (*Love's labour's lost*).]

Terminology, frequencies and dates. The word ' Canon ' or ' canonical ' is used to mean simply the Shakespeare Plays and Poems as found in received texts ; and the word ' genuine,' repeatedly used by the writer, means written by Shakespeare whether in the Canon or not.

Frequencies, of which many are factually submitted as if accurate, and mathematical formulae derived from them, are necessarily only close approximations because of the limited material counted and the usual probability errors in counting.

Dates of the period lying between 1st January and 25th March are quoted for the year as *now* (not then) reckoned e.g. 22nd March, 1602 quoted would then be dated 22nd March, 1601 ; but all dates were at that time 10 days in retard reckoned by the modern calendar (reformed in 1750 in England), e.g. a recorded date 20th September 1591 would really be 30th September 1591 on solar considerations.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

NO disparagement is intended by the frequent use of the convenient words 'orthodox' and 'Shaksperian' which are meant simply to imply the prevalent belief that Shakespeare and the player from Stratford-on-Avon were one. Those who call this belief in question may incur, and have incurred, all the odium of unorthodoxy, but it is no part of their heresy to discredit that great body of orthodox literary criticism in which elucidation of the text has confined itself to purely internal evidence. The integrated value of all this commentary, at least during the last 150 years, is immense and speaks for itself; but it is noticeable that when interpretation of Shakespeare's mind and Art has been influenced by Shaksperian biography, acute differences of opinion have generally arisen, oddly enough simulating unabashed acrimonious political disputes or scientific polemics, where false theory has ever proved the mother of dissension.

The early commentators,* in their turn honestly trying to reconcile Shakespeare's wonderful achievements with the actor's educational deficiency, put forward a bewildering variety of fiercely contested theories, some of unbelievable stupidity, all of which might be ignored had not many of the grotesque travesties descended down to present times like a baleful legacy. These critics had immense reverence for the poet and not all were guilty of the preposterous ideas which to some extent still colour orthodox thought; in their wisdom they were mostly apologists who tried to explain away Shakespeare's supposed defects by the "rude age" in which he lived, by his want of learning (vouched for in 1767 by Richard Farmer in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare*), by deficient dramatic Art (as to which Richardson solemnly discovered that he had "very little as a tragedian" in *An Essay on the Faults of Shakespeare*) or by other fantastic perversions and absurdities.

It was not indeed till Lamb, Hazlitt, Coleridge and later Charles Knight came on the scene in the 19th century that, orthodox as they of course were, their independent thinking confounded their predecessors by a just appraisement of Shakespeare's supreme genius; and the same may be said of the later exponents of German criticism, principally Schlegel, Tieck, Horn, Ulrici and Elze, following in the wake of Lessing, Wieland, Eschenburg, Linz, Herder and Gothe who, while admiring the wondrous beauty of Shakespeare's Art, more or less fell under the disabling spell of the English commentators and their cramped framework. As a result commentary, even down to present times, has repeatedly degenerated into controversy, often bitter, and in the writer's submission the chief source of this dissension, the *fons et origo* of gross misunderstanding, has been the facile adoption of William Shakspere as the author. In view of what is known about him, it is not surprising that many eminent thinkers should have recoiled from such an identification, and the revolt against it is not recent but of long standing. Lefranc for instance has brought to light the abortive attempts of the Rev. James Wilmot, Rector

* Principally Dryden, Gildon, Rymer, Dennis, Rowe, Pope, Theobald, Cibber, Hanmer, Warburton, Garrick, Johnson, Capell, Farmer, Steevens and Malone.

of Barton-on-the Heath, who after many years of meticulous search commencing 1781 for books, papers and records in the neighbourhood of Stratford-on-Avon (in libraries) failed to discover anything relating to the poet Shakespeare; these negative results having been communicated to the Ipswich Philosophical Society by J. C. Cowell in 1805 caused such a stir that Wilmot, refusing to be embroiled in any controversy, unfortunately gave directions that his notes should be burnt. Cowell was really the first Baconian, not J. C. Hart (1848) or W. H. Smith (1856), and the subsequent rise of the Baconian theory makes a long and interesting story which however cannot be told here.

Coming directly to recent times, the late Sir George Greenwood, in a series of works between 1908 and 1921 commencing with *The Shakespeare problem re-stated*, submitted the whole Stratfordian case to an elaborate enquiry, and with such shattering effect as to raise a veritable storm of denunciation from orthodox pens. Content to let the established facts speak for themselves, he presented them with such deadly forensic skill that his destructive criticism amounted to sheer iconoclasm; but simply agnostic as he was, he made no attempt to offer a substitute for the fallen Stratford idol, and though his acute intellect may have been attracted towards Bacon he frequently avowed that he was not a Baconian. Meantime there were constructive workers in the field who were steadily accumulating evidence of one kind or the other. When in 1913 M. Demblon plausibly put forward Alvor and Bleibtreu's claims for Roger Manners, 5th Earl of Rutland, and later Prof. Abel Lefranc (1919) and J. T. Looney (1920) championed the cause respectively of William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby and Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, a new situation arose demanding critical investigation; for each of these Shakespeare-seekers produced such a convincing case, based on biographical facts and internal evidence (*i.e.* correspondences) as to appear conclusive. The absurdity of such mutually exclusive claims has driven others, like Slater (*Seven Shakespeares*, 1931) to theories of multiple authorship, comprising not only the above distinguished men but Marlowe, Raleigh and even the Countess of Pembroke in addition. Anyone reading (in an un-critical spirit) the works of the several protagonists would be convinced in turn that the "man Shakespeare" (see p. 128) was Bacon, was the Earl of Rutland, was the Earl of Derby, was the Earl of Oxford or was a kind of composite Homer; if he were not driven back, like M. Georges Connes, (*Le mystère Shakespearien*, 1926), to the orthodox belief as a way out of the *impasse*. All this of course shows what enthusiasm for a cause will do in befogging the situation, because there can be no doubt that at the bottom of the respective arguments there is a strong element of subjective conviction, which prompts exponents to single out favourable correspondences and (un-intentionally) suppress inconsistencies. The present writer certainly does not claim to be exempt from this human weakness but holds that by an honest search for such inconsistencies, and by dispassionate examination of each case it should be possible either to reach a sober decision or at least to reduce the problem to a question of relative probability.

Objective truth is notoriously elusive, in so far as its attainment is frequently beset with many pitfalls and it is a truism to say that Science offers the thorny but sure path by which it can be at least approached. In unravelling the complexities of "nature's infinite book of secrecy" endless patience is requisite and above all intellectual honesty. The scientific method, which since the days of Newton has achieved such wonders, has been primarily to accumulate facts by experiment or observation, and to reason upon them, partly by deduction but mainly by induction. The only hope of solving the vexed question of

Shakespeare's identity lies in such reasoning on the facts, available or new, since mere conviction is little better than illusion and even deduction dangerous. This is because, as the chequered history of Science testifies, " pure " reasoning *a priori*, by the deductive system of building up syllogistically from a few foundational facts, surely leads on to error, unless at each step the conclusion reached is carefully tested by appeal to factual experience ; indeed as a basis for inference, appearances in Nature are so often deceptive that the only safe procedure is induction by the *a posteriori* method, which is the process of discovering the one single explanation or generalisation that alone is consistent with an array of facts. It is the method which was first systematically advocated as infallible by Francis Bacon himself who repudiated the *a priori* method altogether. Later experience has taught that deduction may only be employed for the purpose of framing tentative hypotheses, to be tested out by experiments or observation but rejected if and when inconsistencies appear ; until by induction some hypothesis or explanation is found, which is consistent with *all* the facts known. It is accepted as true if there are a considerable number ; if not it is probably true, and it will be readily gathered from this that deduction is the mentally easy way (" the primrose path "), induction the difficult and laborious one.

The world, naturally prone to deduction, has consequently always been full of superstition or fallacy. Consider any natural phenomenon, such as the tides or the growth of a plant, and some would-be reasoner seeking to relate cause and effect by mere deduction or inference, after the fashion of the so-called " school-men " of the middle ages. Numerous alternative deductions would be possible on the limited facts available, and one of these would be selected as the most reasonable, according to the general background of ideas (about Nature, spirits, demons etc.) then prevailing. From this untested inference, accepted as axiomatic, other inferences can be built up with perfect logic step by step until some wide generalisations are reached covering all sorts of cognate matters. So the schoolmen spun out a veritable web of deductive fallacy about the workings of Nature, by reasoning *a priori* on the foundations of a few unproved axioms. Abandoning experience, they claimed by " pure " reasoning to reach the essence of truth, but in effect their conclusions though derived from a series of un-impeachable syllogisms, were falsified by unsound deductive foundations ; and so early Science was led into a wilderness of error as by an *ignis fatuus* for centuries, vainly groping with a tangle of misleading theories about natural phenomena. The fog of error was only slowly swept away as scientific imagination in its great but painful quest for Truth forged its new weapons, mathematics and inductive reasoning : as all now know these are the chief means by which some of the noblest triumphs of the human intellect, comprising what we call pure Science, have been achieved (and the grave misuse to which mankind has put scientific knowledge in hundreds of ways, both in peace and war, cannot dim the glory of that achievement). But all who worship in the Temple dedicated to scientific Truth also know that no hypothesis can stand unchallenged if there is a single circumstance irreconcilable with it : then, either the hypothesis must be discarded (or modified) or the circumstance* itself proved to be apparent, not real.

Huxley's prayer " God give me strength to face a fact " or the image of a beautiful heroine (hypothesis) slain by one little ugly demon (fact) have a familiar ring to every honest investigator who has suffered the pang of disillusionment ; and the melancholy list of discarded hypotheses of the past testifies to many a bitter disappointment, both personal and collective. Collective disappointment has usually hardened into resistance, as for instance with the chemical theory of Phlogiston which though fundamentally false dominated the minds of men of science for nearly a century. This hypothesis purporting to give the true explanation of combustion, or what we now call oxidation, was put forward about 1697 by Becher and Stahl. It was a mischievous myth since everyone accepted it ; it sterilised

* For instance when an acorn grows into an oak tree, the immense quantities of carbon appearing in the timber seem to come from the soil, as deduction would indicate; actually, as with all green plants, the carbon is derived from traces of carbon dioxide in the air in accordance with the inductive hypothesis of photosynthesis (now an established fact) which *seemed* to conflict with the necessity for soil.

scientific thought so much that even in 1774 when Priestley discovered oxygen itself and should have thrown off the mental shackles he remained blind and could not see the truth staring him in the face. The accumulation of newly discovered facts, which would not square with the Phlogiston theory, did not open his eyes or the eyes of the scientific world ; and it was not till about 1785 that the first glimmerings of daylight penetrated the darkness when the great French *savant* Lavoisier, after long groping in this darkness, at last perceived the error. By his genius, which destroyed the Phlogiston theory, the science of modern Chemistry was born which, now untrammelled by false dogma, went ahead from triumph to triumph.

Every student of the history of Science knows that universal acceptance of particular theories or opinions, even if sanctioned by long lapse of time, has never been in itself a hall-mark of Truth ; and no beliefs are more insecure than those founded on the quicksands of ' pure ' deduction. In this respect Stratford orthodoxy offers a suggestive parallel to the Phlogiston theory (taken as example) not only because of their similar deductive ramifications leading nowhere, but also in that they both derive from similar slender foundations of proven fact ; and as the scientific theory ultimately split on the rock of experimental observation so, it may be predicted, Stratfordian theory despite some supporting evidence must eventually founder on the rock of induction. Setting aside, for consideration in their proper places those fatal facts of inconsistency which inductively exclude the player Shakspere from authorship of Shakespeare's Plays (though certainly not from some kind of association) it follows that the great poet-dramatist was someone who concealed his elusive identity so successfully behind the mask of the player as to baffle both contemporaries and posterity. Whatever his motives, when the facts are faced, there is no logical escape from this startling conclusion, which thus enforces the quest for some shadowy Elizabethan " dark horse " ; nevertheless a most lovable man, who speaks to us in the Plays and Sonnets so familiarly as to make himself absurdly, paradoxically, intimate. Exploring this intimacy in the attempt first to find what kind of man he was, we are greatly struck by his sincerity. Literary sincerity among other things denotes the expression of a writer's own perception, without any pretence to a first hand knowledge which is second hand, and Shakespeare certainly betrays such realistic fidelity to truth in so many ways that it is exceedingly probable (to put it mildly) that he had experienced many of these things ; though orthodoxy would have it that he derived them second hand from hearsay or reading. For instance no author ever moved so easily among Kings, Princes, Dukes and Noblemen, especially in France and Italy, as Shakespeare ; they and their women counterparts are not only well and truly drawn but the whole atmosphere of the Court is so charged with realism in minor details that it would seem impossible for anyone who had not lived the life to portray it all with such unerring truth ; and even orthodox commentary has been constrained to suppose that Shakespeare must have visited Italy. Harris attempting (quite logically) to fit this realism into a plebeian pattern, was forced to postulate snobbery, an insult typical of orthodoxy blind to the obvious, the poet's sheer familiarity with aristocratic life at home and abroad ; indeed it is notorious that Shakespeare is on much easier terms with his aristocratic creations than he is with humble folk.

Caution is certainly necessary in utilising literary sincerity as a key to personality, because Shakespeare at times did not disdain to use poetic love-conventions, those beautiful insincerities of Petrarchian or Ronsardian origin which are such a strong feature of Elizabethan Sonnets and Lyrics. Furthermore, he seems to have deliberately obscured his identity by carefully avoiding,

with rare exceptions, any allusions to contemporary individuals or events such as would furnish a clue ; how thoroughly this was done can be best appreciated by a careful study of his Sonnets which, though mostly sincere and deeply personal, never unequivocally betray the person. The author continually refers to himself, to other people and to events of all kinds, but gives only two really personal clues. One of these however is very important ; he 'lets out' that his name is Will (Sonnet **136**). The other, that he was lame (Sonnets **37 and 89**), is not so important because the disability (wrongly said to be figurative) may have been only temporary. All this studied camouflage which must have involved skilful ingenuity, makes it the more difficult to penetrate the veil, but as a first approach it is possible at least to lay down certain pre-requisites which must be fulfilled as *sine quâ non* in any hypothetical choice of candidate. These primary attributes of Shakespeare are :—

(1) Christian name William.
(2) He was intimate with the English and foreign courts.
(3) He was a patriot, but feudal in outlook and Lancastrian by sympathy.
(4) He was gifted with deep wisdom.
(5) He had motives for concealing his personality.
(6) He had travelled extensively abroad.
(7) He was familiar with the Welsh people.
(8) He could read Latin, French and Italian authors in the originals.
(9) He was deeply versed in ancient classical lore and renaissance literature.

These pre-requisite inferences are not mere didactic statements of opinion, because they flow logically from what Shakespeare has written, if realistic sincerity denotes first hand experience, for then the latter serves as a binding mediate term in each underlying syllogism* ; if not, the reasoning fails, but the attributes are confirmed collectively by the circumstance that in such terms only is an inductively *self-consistent* comprehension of the whole Canon (otherwise bristling with difficulties) possible. These logical inferences of course run counter to accepted theory which, being founded *a priori* on pure genius, refuses to recognise what is after all fairly self-evident to anyone not wedded to orthodoxy—patrician learning and foreign experience of the widest scope. The inadequacy of the common assumption that genius without special culture suffices to explain everything, is demonstrated by Shakespeare's versatility in subjects of a technical reach which genius could not furnish. In the Plays and Poems there is an extraordinary wealth of allusions, often delicately concealed in imagery, which prove familiarity with the technique of Law, sport, music and so forth. To take a single example—falconry. No one to-day can fully appreciate the subtlety of the hundreds of falconry images embedded in Shakespeare's text (e.g. *Othello* III, 3, 260-263) without special acquaintance with the sport and its technical nomenclature, comprising a jargon of its own ; a whole array of words like : *tassel gentle, jesses, haggard, bate, eyas, tower, point, pitch, mew, hooded, imp, stanniel, check, musket* and many others. Such words sprinkled through the Plays and Poems carry appropriate images, often in unsuspected lines, and they show that the author's mind was saturated with recollections of the sport, as well as with bird life generally (there are over 70 different kinds of birds, including sea birds, which figure in the Plays in about 600 images and allusions, showing great intimacy with their habits). Falconry in Shakespeare's time was extremely popular in the upper classes

* For example the syllogism: (i) Shakespeare wrote with realistic sincerity about Courts of all kinds; (ii) such sincerity, as defined, always connotes first hand knowledge; (iii) therefore he was intimate with these Courts.

and when he refers to any specific kind of hawk it is usually to the falcon (female) or tercel (male) whose use was restricted to the Nobility but only rarely to the goshawk, sparrow hawk or kestrel of the people (see Harting, *Birds of Shakespeare*). As with falconry and aristocratic sports generally, so it is with a number of other matters, intimacy with the detailed technicalities of which makes it possible to postulate a further group of pre-requisites covering what is here conveniently called technical knowledge, namely of :—

Statesmanship	-	matters of high policy, misrule etc.
Law	-	in its multifarious branches.
War	-	military strategy and tactics.
Sea	-	its special ways, navigation etc.
Medicine	-	psychology and psychiatry.
Astrology	-	also magic or sorcery, and witchcraft.
Natural history	-	animal and plant life.
Sport	-	falconry, stag and boar hunting, dogs and horses, coursing and horse racing.
Philosophy	-	in human affairs especially ; metaphysics.
Stage-craft	-	histrionic matters generally, including real acting.
Prosody	-	theory of metrical structure in verse.
Music	-	instrumental and vocal.

On the other hand Shakespeare shows no special knowledge of Mathematics, Science, farming, trade or the intimate habits of the middle classes of society. But as to the above, his terminology and descriptive realism, though over such an amazingly wide field, clearly prove direct experience ; for as every expert can testify, no one can write or speak much on *any* technical subject, say Law, Music or Chemistry, without giving himself away as a dilettante, unless he has had adequate training in it. Genius alone can never supply such special knowledge ; *it must be acquired.* Shakespeare's luxuriant imagery, his wonderful command of words, dramatic sincerity, philosophy and much else give witness to his superb genius, unmatched in literature, but it could not invent the multitudinous terms of a highly specialised vocabulary peculiar to so many technical activities, much less portray their practice with such easy familiarity. The range is enormous, and such versatility founded on first-hand experience, narrows down the field of enquiry so considerably that when the first group of pre-requisites as well as other features of the Plays and Poems (dates etc.) are also taken into account, it becomes difficult to find any Elizabethan who fills the bill—certainly not Shakspere whose education according to available evidence was extremely limited, or any of the well known poets of the period. Nor is there any sound evidence that ' Shakespeare ' was a multiple personage, but much that the name was a pseudonym concealing some unknown aristocratic poet ; and of the alternatives which from time to time have been put forward only three can be taken seriously—Bacon, the Earl of Oxford and the Earl of Derby.

Let us postulate as a tentative hypothesis that Francis Bacon was the author of Shakespeare's works, and as is well known he has been the strongest candidate for the honour for many years. Many facts which have been elicited by workers in this field support his case—Bacon's great intellect, his foreign travel, his statesmanship, his oratory and facile pen with its wonderful command of the English language, his notes in the *Promus* (p. 149) recalling Shakespearian thoughts, his knowledge of stage-craft and ability to write poetry, the Northumberland MS. (Appendix II) and so on. Assuredly his is a strong case. Yet he will not pass the test of rigorous induction, for while none of the supporting

facts can be bound in a rigid syllogism proving identity, certain other facts exclude him inductively (Chap. VIII) as for instance *primâ facie* :—

(1) Bacon's character, which is at sharp variance with that of Shakespeare (p. 142) who was deeply sincere and unassuming. Bacon was the opposite.

(2) Bacon was not eligible for Kingship (except as alleged in secret cipher), while an Epigram of John Davies of Hereford shows that Shakespeare was ; for Davies addressing " Mr. Will Shake-speare " (p. 43) says that " good Will " might have been a King but for the fact that he had played the part of King " in sport."

(3) Bacon contradicts Shakespeare in his history of Henry VII, by making Sir William Stanley crown the Earl of Richmond at Bosworth ; Shakespeare (probably correctly) says in *Richard III* that Sir William's elder brother Thomas, Lord Stanley, performed this office.

(4) Bacon's Christian name was not William like Shakespeare's (as he blurted out in Sonnet **136**—" for my name is *Will* "). The facts (i) that the Sonnets were pirated and that some like **136** were very private, (ii) that including **136** they are genuine and (iii) that they are charged with sincerity, make it clear that whatever else may be in doubt, the Christian name of the " man Shakespeare " was William and that he called himself Will. This inference is not mere *a priori* deduction, for apart from the mediate term of the syllogism (privacy) it is confirmed by John Davies's and Heywood's use of the shortened name ' Will.' So if Francis Bacon had adopted the pen-name ' William Shakespeare ' for public use (i.e. in 1593 when it was first employed) it would be necessary to suppose that he called himself ' Will ' in a very intimate Sonnet (**136**), which in any case is now known (p. 322) to have been written several years earlier. There is other counter-evidence and, great as he was, Bacon was not Shakespeare.

Consider next the case of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, for whom so much evidence has been adduced by J. Thomas Looney and others. Here also the case breaks down for reasons (1) (2) and (4) applied to Bacon, as well as other reasons (Chap. XII)—he also is inductively excluded. Roger, 5th Earl of Rutland, also incidentally Sir Walter Raleigh, Christopher Marlowe and Mary, Countess of Pembroke, are ruled out by (2) and (4) and by a number of other glaring incompatibilities, which should be sufficiently obvious to any critical student of Shakespeare acquainted with the work or lives of these persons, as to render it unnecessary to labour the point. Partisans of these candidates, objecting to this summary treatment, will no doubt dispute the validity of the four *primâ facie* tests which exclude them. It might be argued for instance that point (1) in relation to Bacon and the Earl of Oxford is a matter of opinion, though the fact is patent to those who have studied their characters thoroughly, that (2) is merely hearsay evidence and that John Davies was only repeating idle gossip or speaking figuratively, that (3) in relation to Bacon is inconclusive because a man might contradict himself, and that (4) can be explained by assuming that the pseudonym was used privately at a very early date to preserve an *incognito*, a not unreasonable assumption. In all reasoning it is justifiable to make an appeal to probability when evidence is lacking, but not to a series of *ad hoc* assumptions in order to escape objections, unless there is something tangible to support them.

In the present case there is nothing tangible, but there is one more powerful reason for rejecting these various candidates. Long before the name " William Shakespeare " appeared in 1593 as author of *Venus and Adonis*, certain immature Poems had been written under the initials W.S., and as they exhibit distinctive Shakespearian idiosyncrasies (Chapter XII) there is not the least doubt of their genuineness. Since we know that the ' W ' meant " Will " (Sonnet **136**) it only remains to find out what name was concealed by the letter ' S ' in these early Poems. It is very natural to suppose that ' S ' simply stood for ' Shakespeare,' the name in the dedications of 1593 and 1594, commonly regarded as a spelling variant of the actor's name, but the latter

assumption is directly negatived by the date of two of the W.S. Poems, which are so early as to exclude Shakspere, a raw lad then helping in the slaughter-house; and this apart from even more glaring incompatibilities. Unless therefore there was a poet of the name Shakespeare who was not Shakspere, it follows by sheer logic that the 'S' of W.S. was the initial of some other surname and that the name "Shakespeare" was a pseudonym or pen-name used in public for the first time in 1593. There is only one known person of initials W.S. who at the same time complies with the specified requirements. This is William Stanley who later became 6th Earl of Derby, who called himself "Will" and is now known to have been steeped in drama. Moreover, as will appear, he is the only candidate who is inductively permissible when all the relevant facts are taken into account (excluding ambiguous allusions) with the exception of two, *viz.* the Stratford monument and the Folio ascription, which if they are faithful expressions of the truth would of course shatter his case by proving simply that Shakspere was Shakespeare. They cannot be expressions of the whole truth because they conflict with too much incontrovertible evidence, including dates, proving that Shakspere was *not* Shakespeare, so that these two discrepancies obviously call for the most searching scrutiny (Chapters VI and VII).

CHAPTER II.

THE HOUSE OF STANLEY

The principal authorities used in the following brief history are :—

Ancient and Honourable House of Stanley (Seacome, 1741).
The private diary of Dr. John Dee (Camden Society, Halliwell, 1842).
The Earls of Derby (The Stanley Papers, Part I, Chetham Society, Heywood, 1853).
The Derby Household Books (The Stanley Papers, Part II, Chetham Society, F. R. Raines, 1853).
The House of Stanley (Draper, 1864).
Private devotions etc. of James 7th Earl of Derby (The Stanley Papers, Part III, Vols. I, II and III, Chetham Society, F. R. Raines, 1867).
History of the Stanleys of Knowsley (Pollard, 1868).
Sous le masque de " William Shakespeare " (Lefranc, 1919).
Le secret de William Stanley (Lefranc, 1923).

Also, Calendar of State Papers (domestic and foreign) ; Acts of Privy Council ; Hatfield Papers ; Egerton Papers ; Calendar of Pleadings (Courts of Wards and Liveries) ; Harleian and other manuscripts.

THE Stanley line (see genealogical tree) took its origin in a fusion of the Saxon family Stoneleigh with the Norman family de Aldithely (later Audley), the latter having received extensive grants of land from William the Conqueror ; but the close relations which later subsisted between the Crown and successive heads of the House of Stanley commenced only about 1340 in the time of Sir John, Lord of Stanleigh, after which we find them for three centuries not only as Stewards of the King's Household, Lords Chamberlain, plenipotentiaries and ambassadors, but soldiers of devoted loyalty, often when other Nobles were selfishly factious. How successfully they steered their course through the shoals and shallows of times that included the Wars of the Roses and the Reformation, is shown by the fact that they escaped disaster till the rise of Cromwell ; but three times they transferred their allegiance to a new dynasty, twice owing to Royal incompetence when they deserted Richard II and Henry VI, and once because of crime when Richard III was replaced by Henry VII. On the other hand it was their adhesion to Charles I and Charles II which finally broke their power and left them shorn of most of their possessions.

Sir John, Lord of Stanleigh (*b. ca* 1320), son of Sir William Stanleigh and his wife Joan, was a great favourite of Edward III, and he figures in the anonymous Play *Edward III* (p. 221) along with his elder kinsman James, Lord Audley (a descendant of Adam de Aldithely and Mabella de Stoneleigh) where he is made to play a distinguished part in the campaigns of Crecy and Poictiers.* Sir John married Mabella Hausket, and his son :—

Sir William Stanley who married Alice of Timperley in 1375 had an eldest son, also Sir William Stanley ; the latter married Margery of Hooton (Wirral, Cheshire) and founded a co-lateral branch of the family, the Stanleys of Hooton, in which an unbroken line of seven successive Sir William Stanleys led to Sir Rowland Stanley in Queen Elizabeth's time, and his son, Sir William Stanley (1548 - 1630), contemporary with his namesake William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby, eventually deserted to Spain.

* According to Seacome it was his more famous grandson, Sir John Stanley below, who fought in these campaigns, but this is impossible for this grandson was born about 1354 while Crecy was fought in 1346 and Poictiers in 1356.

Sir John Stanley (*b.* 1354) was second son of the above Sir William and his wife Alice, but it was from him and not the elder branch that the later Earls of Derby were descended by a direct line. His travels and martial exploits, which read like a romance and seem to have inspired his descendant William Stanley 200 years later, included visits to most of the Courts of Europe, where he greatly distinguished himself in tournaments and single combats. On his return home he was challenged on behalf of England by a haughty Frenchman from Hainault, the encounter taking place in the lists just outside the walls of Winchester in the presence of Edward III ; and among the great gathering who witnessed this famous tournament was Isabel the heiress of Latham. Sir John slaying his opponent, was honoured by the King by the award of lands and as might be expected Isabel fell in love with the hero of the day. Years before, her father Sir Thomas Latham of Lancashire, desiring a son (so says the legend) had deceived his wife by a clandestine intrigue with a young girl, Mary Oskatell, who presented him with a baby boy. Directing that the baby should be carried to an eagle's nest in an adjoining wood, it was arranged that Sir Thomas and his lady who had no son should pass that way and discover the infant, whom she willingly adopted. The story of course (in varying forms) is a very old one resembling the Ganymede myth of the Classics (p. 241), but from this legend the famous Stanley Eagle Crest (and Eagle Tower of Lathom) took its origin. As for the boy, knighted as Sir Oskatell by Edward III at the above tournament, Sir Thomas in the end declared him illegitimate and so eventually the Lathom estates, including Knowsley and the hundred of West Derby, passed through his daughter Isabel into the possession of the Stanleys.

Sir John Stanley did great service for Richard II in Ireland and received the submission of six Irish Kings, for which later Henry IV made him Lord-lieutenant of Ireland ; as moreover Sir John fought brilliantly for him at Shrewsbury (1403) several of the forfeited estates of the revolting Earl of Northumberland, and others, fell to him, including the Manor of Bidston (Wirral). He was also granted the advowson of Chester Cathedral but the most important honour which Henry IV conferred on him was the Lordship of the Isle of Man in 1407, of which he and his successors were proclaimed henceforward suzerain Kings, thus reviving the title of earlier Scottish and Norwegian Kings (p. 211). Although later, the 2nd Earl of Derby preferred to call himself Lord* of Man, the sovereignty of the Island was maintained by the Stanleys down to the time of the Commonwealth, and the famous three ' legs of Man ' are said to represent in the counties of Cheshire, Lancashire and Derbyshire, their principal possessions on the mainland. The title was a point of importance later when the 6th Earl of Derby maintained his rights in the Island against his sister-in-law (p. 26) and even against the Queen's authority (p. 29) ; and one of the privileges it carried was that of carrying the Sword of State at the left side of successive Kings of England during coronation. Sir John's son :—

Sir John Stanley, who was born in 1390 and married Elizabeth Harrington, heiress to Hornby Castle, near Lancaster, was " a man truly great, of a masterly genius . . . . and an honour to his country " (Seacome). He devoted himself (1417 - 1422) to the abolition of papal power in his little dominion of Man and completely re-organised its system Government by the Tynwald Court (p. 62). Later he was made Constable of Carnarvon Castle and Sheriff of Anglesey, where by wise Government he secured settled peace in Wales and loyalty to the boy King Henry VI. For these services he was awarded grants of lands in Carnarvonshire and Flintshire, thus still further extending the Stanley dominions. He was Steward of the King's Household, and figures in Shakespeare's Play (*2*) *Henry VI* (II, 4), where it is his duty (historically his son's duty) to take charge of the Duchess of Gloster, after her banishment to the Isle of Man. Dying just before the outbreak of Civil War he was succeeded by his son :—

Sir Thomas, 1st Lord Stanley, who married Joan Goushill, heiress of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel and Surrey. He was Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household, also Lord-lieutenant of Ireland where he assembled a Parliament for the redress of grievances, but later in his absence revolt broke out, which he subsequently crushed with great slaughter. He was intrepid in the field " wise in the Senate, just ..... an honour to his country " and " inherited all the amiable qualities of his father and grandfather " (Draper). Though he did not play any conspicuous part in the Wars of the Roses, his kinsman Sir William Stanley supported the York faction ; this Sir William, apparently grandson of Sir William Stanley of Hooton and ancestor of the Elizabethan renegade, appears in (3) *Henry VI* (IV, 5) where he assists the Duke of Gloster, in the escape of his brother Edward IV from Middleham Castle, Yorkshire. Thomas, Lord Stanley, who died in 1460 left three sons—

(1) Sir Thomas, later 1st Earl of Derby.
(2) Sir William, beheaded 1495 (p. 141).
(3) Sir John, who was the ancestor of the co-lateral line of the Stanleys of Alderney.

* Out of deference to Henry VIII who an old Ballad informs us was " impatient of more Kings than one."

Thomas, 1st Earl of Derby (1485 - 1504).*

Sir Thomas Stanley, who became 2nd Lord Stanley on his father's death, shortly before the deposition of Henry VI, was through his mother Joan, a descendant of Princess Elizabeth Plantagenet, a daughter of Edward I. By virtue of this descent and on account of his enormous possessions he had become a power to reckon with, especially since his influence in the North was founded on a personal loyalty of the people which was deeper than their formal loyalty to the Crown. He married Eleanor, daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, sister to the Earl of Warwick (the " King-maker ") by whom he had several children ; but after her death, about 1480, he married the Duchess of Richmond, widow of Edmund Tudor. She was Margaret Beaufort, descended from John of Gaunt and she was the Lancastrian mother of young Henry, Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII, who was therefore step-son to Lord Stanley. After the death of Edward IV this connection was a source of grave concern to Richard III since Henry of Richmond was the rival whom he most feared, and Lord Stanley, who was destined to play a crucial part in shaping the future History of England, was placed in a delicate position between the warring factions of York and Lancaster. First he had abandoned Henry VI as incompetent and when, after the Battles of St. Albans and Mortimer's Cross in 1461, Edward IV came to the throne he loyally supported him all through his reign. Thus he appears in Shakespeare's *Richard III* as a Yorkist favourite of Edward IV, until Richard's villainies, especially the murder of the Princes, sapped his loyalty ; and this Play gives a fuller account of Lord Stanley's activities during the short reign of Richard III than any of the History Chronicles, which were therefore not the only sources of the Play.

Richard III now suspected him but could prove nothing, though by (a supposed) accident he tried to assassinate him, and later imprisoned him. Meantime Lord Stanley's son, Sir George Stanley, 9th Lord Strange, was quietly organising forces in Lincolnshire, and Richard feared an insurrection. He now changed his tactics, released Lord Stanley and heaped dignities on him, thinking to win his loyalty, but by now Lord Stanley, satisfied that young Edward V and his brother Richard Duke of York had been murdered, made up his mind that the tyrant must be destroyed. He secretly set to work with his brother, Sir William Stanley, his son Lord Strange, the Duke of Buckingham (who had now turned against Richard) and the Northern nobles to raise forces to support Henry Earl of Richmond, then in Brittany awaiting developments ; though Richard, still suspicious of Lord Stanley, forced him to surrender his son George as hostage. The Earl of Richmond having landed at Milford Haven on 7th August, 1485, the opposing forces met at Bosworth near Leicester on 22nd August, but just prior to the Battle Lord Stanley secretly met Richmond and disclosed his tactical plans for supporting him. On the day of the engagement, with his famous Cheshire archers, he awaited a suitable opportunity of deserting to Richmond, risking his son's life in so doing. His action has been described as the basest treachery to Richard and so it was, but having regard to Richard's suspicions no other course was open to him if the " bloody dog " was to be destroyed. His action was decisive, and but for him there probably would have been no Tudor dynasty. Above all, his brother Sir William by a critical move with 3,000 men distinguished himself in this great victory, and not only saved the life of Richmond, hemmed in by Richard on the battlefield, but ensured the death of the brave, but murderous King.

Richmond was crowned Henry VII on the battlefield and shortly afterwards, on 30th October, 1485 the new King created Lord Stanley Earl of Derby for his services. A great favourite of Henry VII, and especially of his

* Date intervals given for the Earls of Derby in brackets refer to tenure of the Earldom. There were however Earls of Derby prior to the Stanleys, the title being held by the Earls Ferrers from 1138 to 1266, when it was confiscated by Henry III. Later in 1337 his great grandson Henry was created Earl of Derby, through whose daughter, Blanch, the title passed to her husband, John of Gaunt, and son Henry IV, but it lapsed when he became King.

young Queen, Elizabeth of York daughter of Edward IV, the new Earl acted as god-father to their first-born Prince Arthur in 1486, at the brilliant ceremony in Winchester Cathedral, where he was supported by his son Lord Strange, and where the Earl of Oxford, intended as the other god-father failed to appear in time. In 1496 the Earl of Derby served the King on a diplomatic mission to France, and all through remained loyal in spite of Henry's base ingratitude, in sanctioning the execution of his brother Sir William Stanley on a very doubtful charge (p. 141) ; indeed the Earl resisted a temptation to revenge a few months later when his " fool " pointed out an opportunity of precipitating Henry " accidentally " over the battlements of Lathom (p. 16) while admiring the view—June 1495. Similar subsequent devoted loyalty of the successive Earls of Derby to the Tudor and Stuart monarchs is the more striking because it was sometimes in spite of the greatest provocation. The 5th, 6th and 7th Earls moreover were Royal Princes who refrained with true allegiance from asserting their legitimate claims to the throne.

It was in the time of the 1st Earl of Derby, who died in 1504, that the first of several subsequent Ballads devoted to the Stanleys was written (by Humphry Brereton his squire) and it describes not only his relations (as Lord Stanley) with Richard III but recounts how the hesitating Lord was successfully tempted into a *liaison* by Edward IV's amorous daughter " Lady Bessy " (*Stanley Papers*, Part I, p. 5) in order to subvert his loyalty to Richard.

Sir George Stanley, the 1st Earl's eldest son, was called Lord Strange, like later eldest sons of the Earls of Derby, when he married Joan Strange, heiress of Knockin, whose mother Jacquetta was a daughter of Richard Wydville, 1st Earl Rivers, and therefore sister-in-law of Edward IV. As described in *Richard III*, Lord Strange had a narrow escape from decapitation by Richard ; and he lived to perform signal service to Henry VII, defeating the rebellion led by the Earl of Lincoln on behalf of the impostor Lambert Simnel, who posed, in succession, as each of the Princes murdered by Richard. Lord Strange also operated with the Earl of Surrey against the Scots, and appeared against the French off Boulogne. But pre-deceasing his father in 1498 he did not come into the Earldom. He left two young sons, Thomas (*b.* 1485) who succeeded in 1504 and James, who was the progenitor of the present Earl of Derby, as well as two daughters.

Lord Strange's younger brother, son of the first Earl, was Sir Edward Stanley, a famous soldier whose bravery formed the theme of several Ballads (one Italian) ; he fought twice with Sir John Wallop in France and saved Calais four times, but his greatest achievement in the field was at home in 1513, when he performed prodigies of valour at Flodden against the Scottish forces of James IV, who had married Henry VIII's sister Margaret, and was killed. For this distinguished service Henry VIII created him Lord Mounteagle, the name in recognition of the famous Stanley crest ; and his gallant exploits were set forth later in a long Ballad (1562) by his son Thomas Stanley,* Bishop of Sodor and Man, a poet of no mean ability, the Ballad being really a metrical chronicle recounting the heroism and chivalry of his ancestors, particularly Sir John Stanley (p. 10).

Thomas, 2nd Earl of Derby (1504 - 1522)

Thomas, son of George, Lord Strange, was only 19 when his grandfather died ; and married Ann, Lord Hasting's daughter, sister to the 1st Earl of Huntingdon. In 1513 he attended the young King Henry VIII in his victorious French campaign (battle of the spurs), in 1520 he was deputed to receive the Emperor Charles V at Dover, and in 1521 he was one of the Peers who tried the ill-fated Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who figures in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*. After his premature death in 1522 the 2nd Earl's daughter Margaret married the 1st Earl of Sussex, great grandmother of Shakespeare's friend, the 3rd Earl of Southampton, who was thus distantly related to the 6th Earl of Derby (p. 119).

* According to Seacome, he was the 2nd Lord Mounteagle, but the *Dictionary of National Biography* gives this title to an elder brother (also Thomas) whose son William Stanley 3rd Lord Mounteagle (*d.* 1581) had no son, but a daughter Elizabeth. The latter married Edward Parker, Lord Morley, and their son William 4th Lord Mounteagle and Lord Morley unmasked the Gunpowder Plot in 1605.

Edward, 3rd Earl of Derby (1522 - 1572)

Edward was scarcely 15 when he succeeded to his father's immense estates in 1522, and as a boy he was a pupil of Wolsey whose magnificence he seems to have emulated ; for during his long tenure of the Earldom the feudal glory of the House of Stanley was at its zenith. Travelling with an army of retainers and rivalling the Royal House in the " extraordinary splendour " of his London seat (Derby House near Doctor's Commons p. 26) and other establishments he was known as " Edward the bountiful," not only from the scale of his generosity but because he honoured his tenants, refused to increase rents and abominated enclosures. Indeed he set an example in aristocratic altruism that has since become traditional with the House of Derby, to the present day ; like him successive Earls of Derby have been beloved by all, as well for their sense of justice, of *noblesse oblige* and of solicitude for the under-dog, as because of their level-headed wisdom in statesmanship. This was especially the case in Tudor times, and various Ballads or dedications bear witness to the intense affection in which the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th Earls were all held.

Though Wolsey had wilily despoiled young Edward of some of his Manors in Lincolnshire, he remained on good terms with him and participated in the extravagant expeditions, then favoured by Henry VIII and Wolsey. As a boy he was in France with the latter at the " Field of Cloth of Gold " (1520) ; and later in 1528 he accompanied him to France on an embassy for the release of Pope Clement VII. He was still only a youth when the clouds began to gather, as Henry commenced his divorce proceedings (1526) but he stood by the King, no doubt witnessing the fall of Wolsey (1529) with foreboding. On 21st February 1530, he married Dorothy Katherine, daughter (by his second wife) of Thomas Howard, 2nd Duke of Norfolk, then deceased ; and by this marriage he became brother-in-law of the 3rd Duke, also Uncle to the poet Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, then a boy of 14, who was thus cousin to the 6th Earl of Derby's father. The marriage also made the 3rd Earl of Derby Uncle to two later Queens of Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, both grand-daughters by different children of the 2nd Duke of Norfolk. The 3rd Earl's ties with the Earls of Oxford through the marriage of Henry, Earl of Surrey, with Lady Frances de Vere, daughter of the 15th Earl of Oxford, have a bearing, discussed later, on the intimacy between the Houses of Oxford and Derby, which culminated in the marriage of the 6th Earl of Derby with the 17th Earl of Oxford's daughter, Elizabeth de Vere.

The 3rd Earl of Derby in 1533 supported Henry VIII in his interview at Boulogne with the French King Francis ; in the same year he attended the coronation of his niece Queen Anne (Boleyn). Later, in the threatened rising in the North (Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536) he remained stedfast to the King, raising forces in Lancashire and Cheshire in helping the 3rd Duke of Norfolk to suppress the revolt ; but he must have watched with anxiety the hostility of his brother-in-law (Norfolk) to Wolsey and later Thomas Cromwell. Unable to prevent the condemnation of the 3rd Duke or the cruel execution of his poet son Surrey in 1547, the 3rd Earl steered skilfully through all the perplexities of the time and passed unscathed through the perils of the Reformation, in the time of Edward VI and Mary. He was Lord Steward of England when the attempt was made to make Lady Jane Grey Queen, but he supported Mary ; he travelled from Knowsley in almost regal state to attend her coronation and later on 20th July 1554 in Winchester Cathedral he gave her away as bride to Philip of Spain. His escape from entanglement during the violent religious oscillations between 1548 and 1558 is all the more remarkable, seeing that in 1548 he had been appointed one of the Commissioners of the Reformation ; and no doubt he approved of the Prayer Book. What his own religious convictions may have been during the dangerous transitional period is unknown, but he had a broad mind, avoided bigotry and no doubt made mental

reservations in conforming, because when Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558 he supported her religious policy as a moderate Protestant on her first Council.

All the Stanleys however had not changed their faith. Much of Lancashire remained Roman Catholic and two of the Earl's own sons Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley plotted with Henry Percy and others to release Mary Queen of Scots from Tutbury, being temporarily imprisoned for their pains. Sir Edward Stanley was distinguished as a soldier in Flanders under the Earl of Leicester, who knighted him after Zutphen (1586), but his Roman Catholic faith drove him over to the side of Spain, like his renegade kinsman Sir William Stanley. On the other hand the Earl's eldest son Henry, later 4th Earl of Derby, was a strong though not bigoted Protestant.

In addition to these three sons the 3rd Earl had four daughters : Anne, who married Lord Stourton (p. 242) and, after his execution in 1567, Sir John Arundel ; Elizabeth, who married Lord Morley ; Mary, who married Lord Stafford ; and Jane, who married Edward, Lord Dudley. These were Aunts of the 6th Earl of Derby, and all the above including his Uncles Thomas and Edward, were children of the 3rd Earl's first wife. When she died he had children by his second wife Margaret Barlow, whose career we need not follow. After her death (1558) he married a third time, Mary, daughter of Sir George Cotton, by whom he had no children. The praises of his second wife, the Countess Margaret, were sung in a ballad by Rychard Sheale.

In the rising of the Northern Earls (Northumberland and Westmorland) in 1569 the 3rd Earl remained loyal to Elizabeth, so helping to stabilise the throne at a very critical time, for in the following year the Papal Bull of deposition was published and many of her Roman Catholic subjects were wavering in their allegiance. But the Earl's family, including his grandson William then a boy, no doubt witnessed with mixed feelings the arrest, release and re-arrest of their Roman Catholic kinsman Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk (son of the poet Earl of Surrey) and his final execution in 1572, after an abortive attempt at rescue by the young 17th Earl of Oxford.

The 3rd Earl of Derby died on 24th October 1572 at Lathom, and after lying in state for six weeks his funeral at Ormskirk in Lancashire was conducted with almost Royal pomp. It is described by Seacome who gives details of the 3-mile procession, in 31 sections, comprising officers, heralds, retainers and mourners to the number of about 600. Among the latter are mentioned the grandsons, " Wm. Stanley, Esq : Franc. Stanley Esq " i.e. younger sons of Henry, the new Earl, their horses each led by a " Gentleman," but the eldest grandson, Ferdinando is not mentioned. Cambden said that " with Edward Earl of Derby's death the glory of hospitality seemed to fall asleep."

Henry, 4th Earl of Derby (1572 - 1593)

Henry was born in 1531 ; as a boy (Lord Strange) he was the companion of Edward VI and subsequently said that the wily Protector (Duke of Somerset) had tried to use him as a spy on the young King's thoughts and acts. This was indeed the principal charge laid against Somerset when he was tried and beheaded on 22nd January 1551 ; and Henry's father the 3rd Earl had been one of the Peers who tried him. A project was mooted to marry Henry, when Lord Strange, to Somerset's daughter, Margaret, but this came to nothing, and in 1555 at the age of 23 he married Margaret, then barely 15, only daughter of Henry Clifford, 2nd Earl of Cumberland, by his wife Eleanor Brandon, Aunt of Lady Jane Grey, and daughter of Henry VIII's younger sister Mary Tudor (p. 25), widow of Louis XII of France. Margaret (born at Bromeham in Westmorland) was thus great grand-daughter of Henry VII ; and her father's ancestors had played a notable part in the Wars of the Roses, in support of the Lancastrian cause (as grimly portrayed in (2) and (3) *Henry VI*). Lord Strange's brilliant wedding at Whitehall Palace, before Queen Mary and Philip of Spain, was destined to have very important consequences, for through this marriage the 4th Earl's children became potential claimants to the throne, by virtue of earlier Acts of Parliament, in 1536 and 1544, which had authorised Henry VIII to determine the succession by his Will, i.e. failing issue of his children. His testament, duly signed and sealed in 1547, permitted succession to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth (who had been barred in 1536) but failing

their issue expressly excluded descendants of his elder sister Margaret, Queen of James IV of Scotland, and passed the contingent succession to the heirs of his younger sister Mary (p. 46) grandmother of Margaret, 4th Countess of Derby. As therefore neither Edward VI nor Queen Mary left issue and Queen Elizabeth remained unmarried, towards the end of her reign the very contingency had arisen for which legal remainder had been provided, so that the 4th Countess with her sons, Ferdinando 5th Earl of Derby and William later 6th Earl, had become potential Pretenders, failing the elder Seymour branch of the Suffolk line which was barred by the taint of bastardy (p. 47).

In 1564 Henry, still Lord Strange, was deputed by the Queen's Government, with Lord Hunsdon, to invest the French King at Lyons with the Order of the Garter ; and in the same year his Countess Margaret held the Queen's train during ceremonials at Cambridge University. Two years later in 1566 Lord Strange attended the Queen at Oxford University, which conferred the M.A. degree on him. Later, in December 1571, she wrote commending him for his close attendance on his sick father, but criticising his brothers (i.e. Sir Thomas and Sir Edward) for their indifference. In 1574 the Queen conferred the highest honour of the Crown upon him—K.G.—that is soon after he became 4th Earl.

Following the example of his father, the 4th Earl showed a marked interest in drama which went far beyond patronage of his own company (p. 204). Chester, one of the seats of the Earls of Derby where so early as 1488 Henry's great grandfather, George Lord Strange, had patronised a Mystery Play (*The Assumption*) at the High Cross, was in the 16th century, the scene of vigorous amateur Plays, which were encouraged by the frequent attendance of the 4th Earl. These Plays, mostly associated with the Whitsuntide and Midsummer festivals, were notable for " triumphs," pastorals and pageants either on the Roo-Dee, a flat plain where the River takes a bend, or at the High Cross in the town. One of these Plays that he witnessed, as Lord Strange, with his father the 3rd Earl in 1563, was *The history of Aeneas and Queen Dido* (see p. 70) ; another was *The Sheapperds Playe* in 1577, with his son Ferdinando, now Lord Strange, and perhaps William. In 1583 the Earl of Leicester visited the 4th Earl at Chester, when there was much play-acting by the citizens ; and in 1589 a piece called *King Ebranke with all his sons* was played before him at the High Cross, but beyond all this sustained patronage at Chester the 4th Earl made his country seats at Lathom and Knowsley the scenes of repeated performances of Plays by various acting companies (p. 17).

In 1579 his Countess Margaret made his position difficult by indiscreet reference to the fact that she was recognised by many people as heir presumptive to the Crown, and this having reached the Queen's ears, in March she was imprisoned for a short time. This did not cure her, for in August 1579, as is known from the reports of Spanish envoys (Lefranc) she committed more indiscretions, discovered by the Queen's agents. She was again arrested, and in the enquiry which followed it transpired that she had had recourse to sorcery, having in fact called in certain clairvoyants to ascertain how long the Queen would live ; and, herself detained as a State prisoner, several men and women concerned were accused of sorcery (see p. 40). After this lesson the Countess remained quiet, but it seems likely that she inflamed her young son Ferdinando with Royal ambitions. Further tension resulted from the 4th Earl's disapproval of the proposed marriage of the Queen with the duc d'Alencon about 1580, but after this trouble had blown over the Queen no doubt realised that Henry was thoroughly loyal ; though between 1579 and 1584 she managed to keep him mostly in the North, engaged in various useful activities. Early in 1585 she appointed him Ambassador-extraordinary in

Paris to confer the insignia of the Order of the Garter on Henri III, and he made a brilliant entry into Paris with a suite of 250 attendants. She also made him one of her Lords of Privy Council (1585), and though shortly afterwards his son Ferdinando toyed with the Babington plot (1586) for a moment (Lefranc) this does not seem to have weakened the Queen's confidence in his father, for he was appointed one of the Peers to try Mary Queen of Scots ; indeed when after signing the warrant the Queen hesitated, he with nine others signed the letter which finally authorised her execution on 8th Feb. 1587.

But his kinsman Sir William Stanley (p. 14) further complicated the position. This intrepid soldier, after brilliant service in Ireland, joined his forces with those of Leicester in the Netherlands (August 1586) and showed great skill at the battle of Zutphen, where Sir Philip Sidney was mortally wounded. But his Roman Catholic loyalties undermined his allegiance to the Queen, and after being appointed Governor of Deventer in Oct. 1586 he basely surrendered the fortress to Spain on 29th Jan. 1587. The Stanleys were now thoroughly divided in their religious convictions and great capital was made of the fact by Sir William Stanley and the banished Jesuits in the following decade, as will appear.

But the 4th Earl, who was made Lord Chamberlain of Chester early in 1588, remained firm through all the jesuitical plots which were now being hatched abroad against Elizabeth. She entrusted him with the peace negotiations at the Conference with the Duke of Parma prior to the Armada, after which in September 1588, following the death of the Earl of Leicester, he offered her his special services. In 1590 he was appointed Lord High-steward and sole Judge in the trial of Philip Howard Earl of Arundel, son of the 4th Duke of Norfolk and grandson of the poet, Earl of Surrey, for treason (see p. 292).

Seacome and the later historians are vague about the last few years of the 4th Earl's life, but the gap is to some extent filled by the diary of William ffarrington (*The Derby Household Books*) which furnishes a great mass of useful data relating to the Earl and his sons Ferdinando and William, at least in the North. William ffarrington, of Worden Hall, had been appointed to the office of chief steward by the 3rd Earl of Derby in 1561 and retained this office till the death of the 5th Earl in 1594, but was not re-appointed by William, the 6th Earl. Only fragments of his records have been preserved, namely for the years 1561, 1568 and the period 1586 to 1590, but from them we learn much. Thus the three Derby seats in Lancashire were run on a palatial scale, being organised on the plan of the Royal Household, in which special regulations even down to minutiae were enforced by a Council, while numerous officers were concerned in the household rule—Ushers, Chamberlains, Grooms of the Bedchamber and so on. In this stronghold of feudalism, there was much ceremonial and a vast amount of entertaining, the guests being gratified, among many diversions, by a company of minstrels, by Plays and by an Elizabethan "fool" (see p. 194).

Seacome says that there were 220 servants in the 3rd Earl's time, but ffarrington's list gives about 140 later, practically all men-servants. The weekly consumption of food in the time of William Stanley's boyhood was enormous, with lavish hospitality indoors, especially during Christmas, and repeated dramatic performances. There were also incessant outdoor sports, chiefly hunting (stag) and hawking in Lancashire and Cheshire. When not in London the family moved about from one house to another, generally spending a few months in each. Lathom (then Latham) the principal Lancashire seat, which had been re-built by the 1st Earl of Derby in 1496, was not only a palatial residence but a great fortress, almost like a small town, being encircled by a thick wall with seven lofty towers and two lesser ones ; in the centre stood the great square Eagle Tower as the inner citadel, and the whole fortress was surrounded by a moat for defence, but internally the decoration of Lathom was gorgeous (p. 36). Adjoining it was the mansion of New Park, and further South was Knowsley, both similarly furnished, but not fortresses. In Cheshire the chief Derby seat was

Stanley Palace, Chester, a large three-gabled house facing Watergate Street, probably originally part of the Dominican Friary ; but in North Wirral, Bidston Hall was chiefly used as a hunting lodge.

The troops of friends entertained by the 4th Earl of Derby, are of great interest because of their intimate association with William Stanley during his boyhood and youth ; the principal visiting families, besides the immediate Stanley relatives, being of the name :—

> Booth, Brereton, Egerton, Fitton, Gerrard, Grosvenor, Halsall, Hesketh, Holcroft, Langton, Lathom, Leigh, Leycester, Mainwaring, Molyneux, Osbaldeston, Radcliffe, Savage, Talbot, Trafford and Warren.

Between 1589 and 1590 ffarrington records the various dramatic performances at Lathom, New Park and Knowsley, by players of the Queen, of the Earl of Leicester and of the Earl of Essex, as well as by unspecified " Players " which no doubt refer to the Earl's own men or Lord Strange's company i.e. Ferdinando's ; but ffarrington confining his diary to Lancashire says nothing about the Earl's entertaining at his London seat (now Derby House, Channon Row — see p. 26) which was probably on the same lavish scale. From this diary it appears that the 4th Earl with his family was in London from January to May, and September to December 1587, from January to September 1588, and from February to June 1589, the intervening periods being spent in Lancashire and Cheshire. On 1st September 1587 ffarrington records the Earl's " depture towards the Cowrte " " and thence as Ambassador into the Lowe Countryes," i.e. as one of the plenipotentiaries to the Duke of Parma during the (now called) " peace offensive " of Philip of Spain while he armed for the invasion of Britain. On 26th September 1588 (i.e. after the Armada) the Earl arrived back at New Park " from his Jornye & Imbassage from ffflaunders."

It was probably in 1591 or 1592 that the 4th Earl made his first visit to his petty Kingdom of the Isle of Man, and Seacome mentions that while waiting for his passage he stayed at the Tower, Liverpool (built by Sir John Stanley in 1406), and was honourably entertained by the Corporation. It seems that the Isle of Man required serious attention because of some disaffection and of the danger of Spanish attack. How long he was there is not known but in 1592 he delegated the responsibility for fortification to his son William (p. 23) ; and a year later he died at Lathom on 25th September 1593, aged 62, being buried in the Derby Chapel of Ormskirk Church.

Seacome described the 4th Earl of Derby as a Nobleman " of the utmost probity," " of great learning and exalted genius " with " consummate experience in all the Maxims and Policy of public ··· life " ; Chaderton, Bishop of Chester, an intimate friend, described him as a " learned and witty man " ; Challoner, the poet, said that he was in great favour both with the Queen and her subjects ; while Thomas Newton and Mathew Gwynne showered praise on him in Latin lines.

The 4th Earl's children have been the subject of some confusion owing to the assumption by some historians that there were two, named William and Francis, older than Ferdinando and William, i.e. the two mentioned by Seacome (p. 14) who attended their grandfather's funeral in 1572 but the truth seems to be that there were only three sons, Ferdinando born 1559, William born *ca* 1560 and Francis born 1562 (who died young some time after 1572), because Joseph Foster in *Alumni Oxonienses* gives their ages in 1572, when all three matriculated at St. John's College, Oxford, as 12, 11 and 10 respectively. They were admitted as " comitis fil " and Francis is described in the Harleian MS. 1997 fo. 78 as " an active and towarde younge gentleman who died younge." But in addition to these three sons there must have been a daughter Anne, because her godmother, Ann Halsoll (daughter of Sir William Molyneux) in 1587 expressly mentioned Anne in her Will (*The Derby Household books* p. 146) as daughter of " Lord Henry Earl of Derby." She may have been illegitimate because the Earl's marriage was not really a happy one and he had at least three illegitimate children : Thomas Stanley, of Eccleshall, Dorothy

Stanley, who married Sir Cuthbert Halsoll (knighted 1604), and Ursula Stanley, who married Sir John Salusbury (p. 163); their mother being Jane Halsoll, whose distinguished family had intermarried with the Stanleys. The Earl's widow, Countess Margaret (*b.* 1540), who had inherited the scholarly tastes of her father, 2nd Earl of Cumberland, died in Cleveland Row, London, on 29th November 1596, when her son William was Earl of Derby. She must have been a very charming woman; " courteous " as Robert Greene (a Derby *protégé*) described her in his dedication of *The Myrrour of Modestie* in 1584; " vertuous and affable " as Thomas Lupton called her, in dedicating a long-winded tract to her in 1586 (Heywood, *Stanley Papers*). She was deeply interested in astrology, as well as sorcery; and Parker her Yeoman of the Wardrobe, who was a student of astronomy, designed for her a zodiacal screen at Lathom. This great planetarium was a conspicuous feature of the hall at Lathom where, as Challoner related in detail in 1576, it served to indicate the diurnal changes of sun, moon and planets.

Ferdinando 5th Earl of Derby (1593 - 1594)

Earl for barely seven months, Ferdinando is better known as Lord Strange, the title he had enjoyed since his grandfather's death in 1572. He was a brilliant youth, greatly beloved. After spending part of his boyhood as page to the Queen at Windsor he was sent, as noted, to Oxford University with his brothers in 1572, where in due course he graduated, and ultimately became M.A. in 1589. He was with the Queen during her entertainment at Worcester in 1575, and probably with her the same year during the Earl of Leicester's 19-day festivities at Kenilworth. When he was 20 (1579) he married Alice Spencer one of the six distinguished daughters of Sir John Spencer of Althorp in Northamptonshire, by which marriage Ferdinando had no sons but three daughters, Ann (*b.* 1580), Frances (*b.* 1583) and Elizabeth (*b.* 1587), who with their widowed mother were destined to be sources of grave embarrassment to their Uncle William, after he became Earl of Derby. In 1585 Lord Strange was appointed Deputy-lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire; in 1588 he was elected Mayor of Liverpool; and in 1591 free-man of Southampton.

When in the North he engaged in the chase and falconry, sometimes with William, both being very fond of outdoor sport; and, indoors, Lord Strange was probably the moving spirit in the production of the numerous Plays recorded by ffarrington. But the times were stirring and he was designed to become the centre of a Jesuit conspiracy, whose object was to induce him to set up his claim to the throne by virtue of his mother's descent, and because of his Roman Catholic sympathies. Since the execution of Mary Queen of Scots (1587) he had been looked upon as the hope of the Catholic party, because of his popularity in the North and the immense power of the House of Stanley. As a Prince* of Royal blood, had he survived his claims to *succeed* the Queen (backed by the enactments of 1536 and 1544) would have been strong, but in 1593 the conspiracy on his behalf involved destruction of the Queen and no doubt civil war. He may have toyed with the idea in 1593 but certainly prior to this he had supported his father's diplomacy on behalf of the Government and had fought for the Queen in the Armada; he had also been present with her at Oxford in 1592, along with the Earl of Southampton and other Noblemen, when Plays were performed in Christchurch Hall.

* He is called " Prince Ferdinand " in the catalogue referring to *Funebria* (1633) by Thomas St. Leger and Abraham Darcie; and his brother the 6th Earl is referred to as " Prince " in the Northumberland manuscript.

In 1593 the Catholics abroad, inspired by the renegade Sir William Stanley and the Vatican intriguing with Catholics in England, raised such acute questions as (1) the birth-legitimacy of the Queen, (2) whether the papal Bull of 1570 was valid, (3) whether the Queen might be deposed or assassinated and (4) who was to replace her ; the other leading spirits in these intrigues being Father Parsons and Cardinal Allen (a Lancashire man in exile at the Douai Seminary), all abroad for their safety. Robert Parsons, an inveterate enemy of the Queen and agent of the Pope, was born (1546) in Somerset and educated at Oxford ; after leaving England in 1574, he became a Jesuit in 1575, returned to England in disguise in 1580 for a short time, became Rector of the English College in Rome in 1588, spent several years in Spain trying to induce Philip II to invade England and incessantly plotted to restore Papal supremacy. His secret measures on behalf of Lord Strange, implementing the policy of Philip II and the whole foreign party, came to a head in September 1593 at the very moment when Lord Strange became 5th Earl of Derby, the intention being that when he declared himself the revolt should be the signal for a Spanish invasion. The plot failed because when approached by the agent, Richard Hesketh, who had been sent from Hamburg by Sir William Stanley and Cardinal Allen, the new 5th Earl, remained loyal to Elizabeth, denouncing Hesketh, who was executed at St. Albans within a very short time (*Hatfield papers*, V, p. 56).

The sequel to this failure was the 5th Earl's premature death within a few months (16th April 1594) at Lathom, after 16 days illness* in mysterious circumstances which were never cleared up. State papers show that many rumours were rife as to the cause of his death, often mixed up with superstition (as for instance Sir Thomas Leigh's accusations of sorcery) but the most probable explanation is simple murder. Jesuit vengeance for his denunciation of Hesketh, and fear of his power or of his knowledge of the ramifications of the conspiracy, provide ready motives, and the most likely instrument for compassing his end was the " homely woman who was found mumbling in a corner of his honors chamber " and administered " the juice of certaine herbs " (Stow). The symptoms described in the evidence, especially suppression of the urine and continuous vomits, which stained some silver andirons (Seacome) would be, at all events consistent with mercurial poisoning. In the ensuing enquiry by the Government, as shown by State papers, many sinister facts were brought to light incriminating a number of people in the plot to destroy the Queen, and several persons were suspected of causing Ferdinando's death, even his widow the Countess Alice, his own brother William, and Lord Burghley. These were wild rumours, and that relating to William, now 6th Earl of Derby, is mentioned in Nicholas Williamson's letter (p. 87) more than twelve months later to the Attorney-general, saying that the dowager Countess Alice, hearing this rumour about William, did not believe it but suspected Sir Thomas Stanhope and some others ; referring to a quarrel between one of the brothers and the Earl of Essex she added " but those foolish speeches that he spoke to Mr. Hastings that they two should one day fight for the Crown," she thought would be his undoing. These words indicate ambition for the throne, but there is nothing to show which brother she was talking about, and though Ferdinando had a difference with Essex in 1593 this was on a minor point, as shown by a letter of date 19th December 1593 from

* A full account of his illness and death is given in Stow's *Annales* (1605 ed. pp. 1275 - 1277) which substantiates, but is rather fuller than the report found among, the Talbot papers.

the 5th Earl to Essex, in which the former shows great dignity, good sense and restraint.

Whatever may have been Ferdinando's Royal ambitions he was " valiant " and " brave " (Peele in *Polyhymnia*—1590) and as Sir John Harington said, " one of England's greatest peeres," while the later historian Draper remarked that " like his father he was a young nobleman of great genius." As is well known he was the most distinguished patron of poetry and drama of the time, and Lord Strange's company of players (Chap. XI) being the foremost in the Country was especially illustrious in having produced Shakespeare's Plays. The merits of both Ferdinando and his Countess called forth unmeasured praise from various pens at the time—Spenser, Greene, Nashe, Marston, Peele, John Davies of Hereford and Lok, as to which only a passing notice is possible here. Lord Strange was not only a great patron of drama but a concealed poet himself who earned the pseudonym 'Amyntas ' from Spenser and Nashe, a pseudonym that he never used because he did not publish his lyrics. Nashe addressing Spenser in 1592 (p. 52) referred to him as " the matchlesse image of honour and magnificent rewarder of vertue," " so speciall a pillar of nobility," " so rare a scholler," of " extraordinary parts wherewith he astonisheth and draws all harts to his love." Robert Greene had previously (about 1589) dedicated *Ciceronis Amor, Tullies Love* to Lord Strange and though Greene's henchman Nashe used less conventional words of praise they were not simply extravagant flattery, because his words were not addressed to Ferdinando himself and are echoed by all the other writers. Spenser's lines in *Colin Clouts come home againe* (p. 52) show how highly he valued both Lord Strange's poetry and his patronage of poets, while the anonymous writer of *Polimanteia* (1595) said that the Muses after sorrowing for the recent death of the 4th Earl now " weepe for the sonnes eclipse."

None of Ferdinando's Poems can be identified as his because they were written only for private circulation, as is known from the preface to *Belvidere* (1600) where his name appears merely among the list of contributors, along with Spenser, the Earl of Oxford, Sir Walter Raleigh and several others, including " William Shakespeare " whose name is 13th on the list of " Moderne and extant [conspicuous] Poets." The editor of *Belvidere* lets the public into the secret of how he acquired his extracts of ' bits and pieces ' from poets who never published, by remarking that many were taken from " privat Poems, Sonnets, Ditties and other wittie conceits given to her [the Queen's] Honorable Ladies and vertuous Maids of Honour ; according as they could be obtained by sight or favour of copying."

The 5th Earl's widow, Countess Alice, was also immensely popular, and numerous eulogistic Poems were addressed to her by Sir John Harington, John Davies of Hereford (especially), Marston and others, including Spenser, who claimed relationship to her and also showered his praises on her distinguished sisters. She married again, in 1600, the Lord-chancellor, Sir Thomas Egerton, later (1603) Lord Ellesmere ; and her second daughter Frances married his son Sir John Egerton ; both ladies being important figures in the social life of King James's reign.

William, 6th Earl of Derby (1594 - 1642)

There is practically nothing about William Stanley in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, probably because the information relating to him is scattered and not easily accessible. To Prof. Abel Lefranc belongs the credit for compiling the first detailed history ; and the following brief account, which is considerably indebted to Lefranc's researches but is not in any sense a biography, is a factual synopsis of events whose significance is further developed in subsequent Chapters. William was born in 1560 or 1561 either in Channon Row, Westminster (*The complete Peerage*) or in Lathom (Draper), the uncertainty probably being due, like many others about his life, to the wholesale

destruction or dispersal of Stanley papers during the Civil War. He was educated at St. John's College Oxford* (see *The complete Peerage*; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*; Greenstreet, *The Genealogist*, 1891, Vol. VII, p. 206), but the present writer has recently discovered that William was entered, as a baby, for Gray's Inn (p. 147), where he no doubt completed his education. He must have been an exceptionally brilliant youth, if later historians are to be credited (see Chap. V), including Draper who observes that his "intelligence and agreeable conversational abilities made him a great favourite with his noble father." By birth an aristocrat *par excellence* but himself democratically minded, he was brought up in surroundings of intellectual refinement and splendour scarcely less luxurious than the Court itself; and an excellent picture of his home life in the North can be visualised from the detailed but briefly recorded information furnished by William ffarrington (p. 23), who knew him from a baby. Young Stanley no doubt appreciated this remarkable man's integrity, while disapproving of the man, for being cast in a different mould, gay and vivacious as well as studious, he was the very antithesis of the faithful Steward who, methodical rigid and austere, held strong puritanical views and obviously disapproved of the continual play-acting that he records at Lathom and Knowsley.

William ffarrington was also a magistrate, active in suppressing Popery in Lancashire by searching out recusants, including the followers of Cardinal Allen and Father Robert Parsons; he also imposed restrictions on the ale-licenses of Lancashire. Devoid of humour, imagination or romance, he yet succeeded in making a very good marriage which greatly increased his status, his wife being Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Talbot of Yorkshire, who was a relative by marriage of the Derbys. All this has prompted both Prof. Lefranc and Prof. Alwin Thaler of the Tennessee University to identify ffarrington as the original of Malvolio (*Twelfth Night*); and his attitude towards the "cakes and ale" of life, as read between the lines of his diary, certainly justifies this view. His portrait still exists (or did) at Worden Hall and shows him with sable fur on his shoulders and a large linked chain of gold across his chest—the symbol of office; in his right hand is a silver-headed cane, in his left an embroidered glove and he has rings on both hands. The general resemblance to Malvolio in appearance and character is sufficiently striking, and it seems significant that when William Stanley (often mentioned by ffarrington) succeeded to the Earldom, he did not re-appoint him Steward, as his brother and father had done.

In 1582, when Stanley was about 21 he obtained leave from his father and the Government to travel for three years, and setting out for France under the surveillance of a pedantic tutor Richard Lloyd (p. 68), who was probably recommended to his father by the Earl of Leicester, both arrived in Paris on 25th July 1582. It is known from a letter of Nicholas Faunt, secretary to Walsingham, dated 1st August, that "All our Italy gentlemen" were at Augusta and that others were for Paris, going "daily from hence with licence, as of late Mr. Stanley second son to the Earl of Derby." At Paris William was well received at the Court of Henri III, where his father was *persona grata*, and Lloyd's letters of 6th August and 6th October 1582 to Walsingham show that the pair, presumably supported by attendants, travelled south-westwards along the Loire, passing through Orleans, Blois, Tours, Saumur, and finally arriving at Angers (then Angiers) in October 1582, where Lloyd said that they would settle down for the winter, in a quiet place off the main route; this being the first indication of Stanley's marked tendency towards seclusion.

After this they seem to have pushed Southwards to Gascony, where they must have spent a long time at the Court of Henri of Navarre, at Nerac in Bearn, but an anonymous historian (p. 90) makes out that Stanley visited

* As noted on p. 17 he matriculated in 1572, with his brothers, but a special search at Oxford by the present writer has failed to ascertain if and when he graduated, because the records of St. John's College at that period are defective.

many other places including the Universities of France. The only documented evidence however is a letter from Lord Cobham to Walsingham, in June 1583, saying that the King of Navarre had " reformed his house, The Princesse his sister Catherine de Bourbon hath done the lyke ..... There are sundry noblemen, protestants and papists, repaired unto the Kynge of Navarres Court ..... There are dyvers speciall personnes of quallitie . and others too sende their children unto that Court " (State Papers, Foreign, France Vol. 76). This and the fact that William Stanley went to Spain make it reasonably certain that he was at Nerac (see p. 64).

We now lose (documentary) sight of him for some years, at least till 1587, though the void has been filled by various historical accounts and Ballads, partly legendary. Seacome (p. 89) speaks of the bravery of the " Great Sir William Stanley "* though he gives singularly few facts, except in relation to the much later struggle for his inheritance ; but Draper (1864) says he remained three years in France, passed into Spain and fought a bloody duel, which had been forced upon him by a Spanish Don in Madrid. There is no reason to doubt this story or certain other circumstantial accounts of his adventures abroad, but it seems that the principal source of these accounts is the 18th century pamphlet printed by Nuttall of Liverpool dealt with later (p. 90) describing " the celebrated Sir William Stanley," which though partly legendary was no doubt based on letters or documents which have since perished. This romantic narrative does not mention Nerac but includes in his itinerary France, Spain, Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey and Russia. It is probable that Stanley also visited Greece, and that on his journey back from Russia he took in Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands (included in *Sir William Stanley's Garland*) where he would be towards the end of 1586, so that as James Greenstreet, who was an authority on Ancient Rolls of Arms, suggested (*The Genealogist* 1891, Vol. VII p. 207) Stanley may have actually fought under the Earl of Leicester, his father's great friend, like his renegade namesake.

After many remarkable adventures he returned to England, and from ffarrington's diary it is possible partly to reconstruct his movements during the next few years (1587 - 1590). He probably arrived in London in February 1587, that is about the time of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots and State burial of Sir Philip Sidney ; here he would meet his father and family who were in London at Derby House, Channon Row (p. 26) from January to May, when they returned to Lathom. He must have gone with them or come on later, for it is recorded that he left Lathom on 6th July† 1587, no doubt for London ; on 10th December 1587 he came home (from Chester) to Knowsley but probably returned to Chester where (though ffarrington does not say so) the family seems to have spent Christmas. His father had been at " Cowrte " during the Autumn while Lord Strange had entertained guests at Knowsley, and after Christmas they all assembled there for the festivities, which included

* The repeated allusion in all the histories and Ballads to William as " Sir William Stanley " raises a very important question in connection with the Sonnet discussed on p. 251, namely whether this was a courtesy title or whether he was actually knighted before he became Earl. As late as 1590 ffarrington referred to him as " Mr. Stanley " " Mr. Wm. Stanley " or " Mr. Wm," and in the Isle of Man records (1592) he is called " Esquire " or "Armiger " but not Sir William, in which connection however it may be noted that Sir Francis Walsingham was often referred to in correspondence in the '80,s as " Mr. Walsingham," and Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby was always called " Mr. Hoby " by his wife in her diary (B. M. Egerton M.S. 2614). William might have been knighted by the Queen, say at Elvetham in 1591 (p. 74) or by his own father who could exercise the privilege or by an old custom he may have been created " Knight banneret " on some battle-field for bravery. But there are no records bearing on the point, and it is possible that William enjoyed but refused to parade the title, either from unusual modesty or to avoid confusion with his execrated kinsman Sir William Stanley.

† Dates of events quoted in ffarrington's diary are not specifically mentioned by him but are easily reckoned because he gave the date of the Saturday *ending* each week and named the weekdays on which events occurred within that week.

" Players," no doubt (p. 205) Lord Strange's men, but William seems to have left for London again at the beginning of the New Year (1588) probably after the christening of his niece, Lord Strange's third daughter, on 3rd January.

The times were critical and his father was engaged in the abortive negotiations with the Duke of Parma, but nothing is known of William's movements at this time or whether he fought the Armada, like his brother and Uncle (p. 27), which is likely enough since all accounts stress his bravery and military distinction. When the crisis was over the 4th Earl returned to Lancashire (New Park) on 26th September 1588 with Lady Strange, her husband returning a month later, possibly accompanied by William, for we hear of him on 21st November when he went from New Park on a visit to his Halsoll relatives, at Halsoll near Ormskirk, accompanied by Lady Strange. He returned the next day with Edmund Trafford (p. 211) and probably stayed over Christmas (1588) but he seems to have gone back to London at the beginning of the year (1589), being followed by his father and Lord and Lady Strange. The next we hear of him is on 28th August (1589) when he arrived at Knowsley and the next day he joined his father in Wirral. On 2nd September he hunted the stag with a large party (including his cousins Sir Edward Stanley and Lord Dudley) which returned to Knowsley in four days time. On 20th September he joined his father who was in Chester and then left for London with Lord Dudley. Lord Strange followed in December and must have joined him, some time, for the two brothers returned North early in the New Year (1590) arriving on 23rd January at Lathom where the 4th Earl was now in residence. On 2nd March William is mentioned as dining, and the next day as coming home from somewhere with Lord and Lady Strange ; also on 11th March as going hawking (" went to Hawke ") with his brother, but for some reason about the 16th of March he must have travelled to London and after staying only a fortnight there returned on 6th April 1590 to New Park " from London." Whether he went back to London is not clear but it is recorded that he " returned home " on 29th May. On 22nd June he definitely left New Park (" rydde towards London "), his father the Earl accompanying him for the first day and returning the next. About this time he had three servants in attendance.

Though there are no more records of him in ffarrington's diary, a good deal can be learnt from the scanty information he provides. It would seem that William was on excellent terms with his father, and also that he was very friendly with his brother and sister-in-law, judging by the occasions when they visited and dined together. He was also apparently on very friendly terms with the Leighs, the Leycesters, the Fittons, the Halsalls and the Traffords (p. 17), but there is nothing to indicate his interests, beyond ffarrington's curt references to hunting and hawking i.e. falconry. Other accounts are suggestive of a care-free disposition at this time, and in *Sir William Stanley's Garland* (original edition) there was, according to Heywood (*Stanley Papers*) " a wood-cut of its hero, with a staff under his arm, a gaily cocked hat upon his head and one arm extended," so that his capacity for full enjoyment of the throbbing life that centred on his father's houses need not be doubted but, much as we should like to know what part he took in the Play performances there, no information is forthcoming.

An analysis of ffarrington's diary shows that William Stanley, during the four years 1587 - 1590 spent most of his time in London (more than his brother Lord Strange) with only occasional visits to Lancashire and Cheshire, though part of the time he may have been in Meriden Manor in Warwickshire. As to his life in London at this time, by piecing together indirect evidence from various sources, it seems possible that he lived in chambers in Gray's Inn, probable that he sowed his wild oats, also that he figured frequently at Court and favoured young Earl of Southampton, with whom a few years later there are various records of close association.

About September 1592 he was sworn in as Governor of the Isle of Man (*Liber Scaccarius*, Rolls Office I.O.M.) with a special view to the fortification of the Island, begun by his father. In the Island he mainly resided at Castle Rushen which, and Peel Castle, he fortified, but in addition to his military

occupations he had administrative duties, and presided as Judge over the Courts of Exchequer, Courts of Chancery, Courts of Common Pleas and Courts of general Gaol Delivery (Manx assizes) up to November 1593 (P. W. Caine). He may have left the Island temporarily on occasions, and probably attended his father's funeral at Ormskirk in September 1593, but in November a Deputy-governor or " Captain " was appointed ; later his brother the 5th Earl just before he died (April 1594) appointed Randulph Stanley as Deputy-governor, who pressed for further fortification after William had left. Randulph however died in August 1595 and the Queen took it upon herself to appoint Sir Thomas Gerrard as Governor or Captain, the new Earl William provisionally assenting.

It is thus not certain where William Stanley was at the critical time of his brother's fatal illness but the legends that he was abroad in Russia are contrary to fact. Within a month of his death, as recorded by Raines (*Stanley Papers*, Part II, p. lxiv *Worden Evid.*), the new Earl William met ffarrington in May (1594) and dined with him at Stone in Staffordshire when ffarrington, who provided him with funds, was returning from a visit to London, which he left on 13th May. It is probable that the new Earl was also coming from London for he accompanied the Steward as far as Warrington, and the meeting at Stone must have been about 17th May.* After parting, ffarrington went on to Lathom where he made a last enigmatic entry of expenditure " ffor helpe at Lathome, horses and boats."

Soon afterwards, probably June 1594, William was in London, but whether he had as yet been acknowledged 6th Earl of Derby, has been doubted because his brother's widow the dowager Countess Alice was rumoured to be *enceinte*, and if she had given birth to a boy William would not have succeeded. The evidence on this point is contradictory, and two letters bearing on it discovered by Mr. E. B. Goodacre (private communication) are probably gossip. One, of 2nd May 1594 by Philip Gawdy suggesting that the Countess had poisoned her husband, said that she had given birth to a boy ; the other, dated 19th November 1594, by Henry Garnett (an alias of George Fenner—p. 30) said that the new Earl William's proposed marriage (p. 27) was postponed till the Countess had given birth to her child. Neither of these letters can be accepted as valid evidence, because there is a record showing that William was entered for Lincoln's Inn *as* Earl of Derby on 13th August 1594 (p. 147) which could not have been the case if a boy had been born in May (unless he died) and there was no later birth. The point is important as bearing on the reason for the postponement of his betrothal to Elizabeth de Vere (p. 27), as to whom it is known that marriage proposals had been mooted in May 1594, for on 9th May the Countess Alice wrote a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, Elizabeth's Uncle, sarcastically wishing his niece a better husband than William, whom moreover she called " the Earl my brother." It may be fairly presumed also that Elizabeth's grandfather, Lord Burghley, would never have entertained such a proposal if William had not then been secure in the Earldom, but whatever the reason, which is obscure, the betrothal was certainly postponed and the present writer's theory, discussed later (p. 72), is that the real reason was that arrangements had been made for his secret betrothal to the Queen, as a way out of the grave political difficulties which then faced the Government.

A point that has not been properly recognised by historians, but insisted upon by Lefranc, is that jesuitical machinations involved the new Earl William in a most perilous situation, owing to the publication of a treasonous book

* *Lucrece* was entered on the Stationers Register 9th May 1594.

that entangled him willy nilly in pretensions to the throne. This subversive book was entitled *A conference about the next succession to the crowne of Ingland*, nominally by " R. Doleman," but actually this was one of the pseudo-nyms of the Queen's inveterate enemy Father Robert Parsons, and in its compilation he was assisted by Cardinal Allen and Francis Englefield. Parsons published many books* on religious and political subjects, using various aliases including " R. Doleman ", " Nicholas Doleman " and " N.D." He had a secret printing press at East Ham, but this book on the *Conference* was " Imprinted at N [? Namur] with licence " and was impudently dedicated to the Earl of Essex (p. 148) from Amsterdam, with date 31st December 1593, though it only appeared after April 1594 when the 5th Earl of Derby was dead, for in a genealogical table which it included William Stanley is entered as Earl of Derby. It was to him that Parsons now transferred his attentions. The book, well bound in calf and written in English, purports to describe a discussion between law experts at a conference held in Amsterdam in the Spring of 1593, touching the claims of the various Pretenders to the throne in succession to Elizabeth ; but under cover of recondite historical learning, ostensibly impartial, Part I cleverly conceals a political motive by adducing historical precedents in Europe, including England, for the deposition or even assassination of a sovereign. Similar propaganda motives underlie the erudite analysis of Part II which sets forth in great detail the family histories of potential Pretenders to the throne ; the following being a brief resumé :—

The " temporall lawyer," through whose mouth Parsons utters his opinions, deals ably with their several claims, emphasising those of the Infanta of Spain and other foreign Princes ; these derived their titles by descent from either Henry II or from the first two wives of John of Gaunt, namely Blanch of Lancaster and Constance, daughter of the King of Castile, while the Tudor sovereigns were only descended from the third wife Catherine Swynford, through John, Earl of Somerset, born (with other children) before marriage and only subsequently legitimated by Act of Parliament. Parsons' sophistry leads him to the conclusion that, but for unpopularity as an alien ruler, the Infanta of Spain would be the easiest solution of a problem otherwise fraught with the danger of conflict and bloodshed between the supporters of any home-born Prince ; but when pressed for his opinion as to the chances of English Pretenders the " temporall lawyer " discusses them seriatim. He dismisses Henry Hastings Earl of Huntingdon (descended from George, Duke of Clarence), James VI of Scotland and Arabella Stuart for several reasons, the last two because they were illegal, having regard to the two Acts of Parliament (1536 and 1544—p. 14) which passed the contingent succession to the issue of Henry VIII's younger sister Mary i.e. excluding Margaret from whom James and Arabella were descended. Thus Mary, widow of the King of France marrying Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, had two daughters Frances and Eleanor ; the elder, Frances, marrying Henry Grey, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, had issue in the order Lady Jane Grey (beheaded 1554), Catherine and Mary, who died in 1578. Catherine married Henry, Earl of Pembroke, and afterwards (while he was still alive and not divorced) Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, a marriage therefore declared void (p. 47), thus rendering the children illegitimate, including Henry Seymour (Lord Beauchamp) the eldest son, though Parsons was not so sure of the younger son Edward Seymour. (Both were contemporary with the 6th Earl of Derby.)

After dismissing the senior Seymour line, on account of the taint of bastardy, Parsons finally proceeds to the claims of the younger branch of the House of Suffolk, descended from the above Eleanor, whose only daughter Lady Margaret was the 4th Countess of Derby, in which connection he stresses the noble part the House of Stanley had played in History, their great possessions, popularity and power. Inconsistently he considers that it would be undesirable to have three Queens in succession, and so dismisses the 4th Countess of Derby in favour of her sons, weighing up the merits of each (Ferdinando, then living) ; he favoured the younger, that is William Stanley because being unmarried he might contract a marriage beneficial to the State while Ferdinando had married a mere Knight's daughter and " divers men remaine not so fully satisfied & contented with the course of that Lord [i.e. 5th Earl] hitherto, and do thinke that they should do much better with his brother " [i.e. William].

* Including one in 1603 entitled *A treatise of the three Conversions of England* which is an important link in the chain of evidence discussed later (Chap. III).

There seems to have been premonition in these words, seeing that soon afterwards and before the book was completed by the genealogical tree, the 5th Earl was dead ; but it may be supposed that Parsons' choice was actuated by religious motives, since though (earlier in the book) he admitted that he did not know whether the brothers were of the Roman Catholic persuasion, he knew that others of the Stanley family were, that the Catholic North was devoted to the House, and that the English puritans, especially in London, would not support the 5th Earl though many Protestants would.

This final pronouncement by the Queen's enemy in favour of William Stanley at the moment he became 6th Earl of Derby, coming prominently as it did in the summing up of the very last paragraph of the book and following the abortive attempts a few months earlier to subvert the 5th Earl, greatly aggravated the embarrassment of the Government ; which as State papers show, so late as August 1594, was still engaged in secretly unravelling the ramifications of the 1593 conspiracy. The book was proscribed, all copies that could be seized were destroyed* and the severest penalties of treason were even attached to anyone found in possession of a copy (Lucas). The Queen, who would never face up to the problem of her successor, acutely felt the danger of her position (p. 50), and if she toyed for a short time with the idea of making the new Earl Prince consort (p. 45), she quickly recovered when an opportunity presented itself indirectly of crippling his power by means of the great lawsuit, which began in September 1594. This *cause célèbre* (p. 149), which was protracted for a matter of 15 years and threatened to ruin him, arose over the inheritance of his vast estates, much of which, even Lathom his principal seat, were claimed by his sister-in-law, the Countess Alice, on behalf of her three daughters, then (1594) aged 14, 11 and 7 respectively. She was entitled to a portion by the late Earl's Will, but her claims went much further, and these estates were very extensive, comprising lands and Manors in Lancashire, Cheshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Warwickshire (including Meriden Manor), Surrey, Essex and Wales, as well as the Lordship of Man. The 5th Earl, by his Will, had committed the interests of the Countess and her daughters to the Queen, but this need not have prevented her from helping to accommodate the dispute which only moved towards a settlement after she died ; indeed it is difficult to resist the conclusion that her inertia was designed to fetter the new Earl in any ambitions he may have had for greater power.

After his accession to the Earldom he signed himself " Will Derby," and occupied the London seat of his brother, father and grandfather ; this was Derby House, Channon Row, Westminster ; built by the first Earl of Derby in the reign of Edward IV i.e. when Lord Stanley. " Chanon row " is shown on Agas' map (about 1560) as overlooking the Thames at what is now Cannon Row Westminster Bridge ; so it was close, on the one hand, to Whitehall Palace and, on the other, to the Star Chamber of Westminster Palace. An earlier seat of the Stanley's had been a large house on the site of the present Herald's College near Doctor's Commons, but in 1552 the 3rd Earl exchanged it with the Crown for some lands adjoining Knowsley. At Channon Row the 6th Earl of Derby had, as close neighbours, his friends the Earls of Hertford, Lincoln, Sussex and Warwick, also a relative, Lord Dacre, and an intimate friend Sir Edward Hoby (p. 88).

Will Derby's romance with Elizabeth de Vere had probably dated from 1591 (p. 71) ; she was then a girl of 16, daughter of his distant relative (p. 262) Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, her mother Anne being sister of Sir Robert Cecil and daughter of Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's match-making

* For this reason the book is now exceedingly rare. There are three exemplars in the British Museum, two in the Paris Bibliotheque Nationale and one in the possession of the present writer, which probably belonged to the 6th Earl of Derby himself, for on the title page at the bottom right hand corner are the capital letters E D [Earl Derby] in fine Gothic characters and in ink so good that it has scarcely faded in 350 years.

grandfather. He naturally would not consider William Stanley without prospects, but unsuccessfully tried to arrange a marriage with no less than three Noblemen : first in 1590 the young Earl of Southampton, who declined, proposed by his mother and Burghley, second early in 1591 the Earl of Bedford who married Lucy Harrington instead and third the Earl of Northumberland, " but my Lady Veare hath answered her grandfather that she can not fancye him." She was probably secretly engaged to Stanley all the time but even when Lord Burghley accepted him, as the new Earl of Derby in 1594, now the most eligible bachelor in the land, there were still obstacles to the match, as already noted ; in addition to which Elizabeth's father, the brilliant and haughty Earl of Oxford (judging by later correspondence) did not approve, so that here as in *M. N. D.* " The course of true love never did run smooth." The wedding, which occasioned delight in the North,* took place on 26th January 1595 at the Royal Palace of Greenwich before the Queen, midst great pomp and ceremony, during which *M. N. D.* was no doubt first performed (see p. 71). After the wedding the couple remained in London for some months, the Queen being very gracious to the young Countess, then barely 20, and at least ostensibly affable to the Earl, whom she regarded as " a wise counsellor and brave captain " (Seacome) even if she feared him on account of his propinquity to the throne. Whether or not she thwarted him in the following April (1595) is not known (possibly over some dignity like the K.G. that he expected) but he quitted the Court suddenly with his bride and left for the North, though he was back in London in September, when his old friend (p. 40) Dr. John Dee the astrologer dined with him (twice). In general he kept aloof from politics and during the next two or three years spent the time variously in London, Lancashire and other parts of the Country, including Chester ; and there are records of visits to his Uncle, George the 3rd Earl of Cumberland, to Lord William Compton of Ashby, to Lord Mordaunt at Bridgnorth, to Sir John Puckering (Russell House) and Hackney where his father-in-law lived. In the Summer of 1596 he was at Knowsley and on 26th June paid an impromptu visit to Dr. Dee, then Warden of Christ's College Manchester, accompanied by Sir Richard and Lady Molyneux, her mother Lady Gerrard and others, as recorded in his diary by Dee who made them " a skoler's collation."

About this time there are records of contacts with other notable men including the Earl of Southampton, and Will Derby must have watched with concern young Southampton's growing infatuation for the Earl of Essex, and their overweening ambition. Both Derby and Southampton were barred by the Queen from the Cadiz expedition in 1596 and it seems (according to John Chamberlain the gossipy letter-writer) that in the Azores expedition of 1597 commanded by Lord Howard with Essex, Southampton, Lord Mountjoy, Lord Rich and Sir Walter Raleigh in support, the intention was for the " Earl of Darbie, Lord Gray, Lord Windsor " and Lord Compton also to participate " but it is thought shall not get leave." It is not known why Derby did not get leave for these affairs, or for the Irish expedition of 1597 in which he wished to serve. He was certainly in some sort of relation, how close is not clear, with Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom in 1596 he granted a lease of land (Haselbury Farm) but from Lady Raleigh's letter below and other circumstances it seems possible that Will Derby was jealous of Raleigh's attentions to his wife, the young Countess.

* In 1595 a Ballad was published entitled *A Lancashire Man's Joye for the late marriage of the Right honourable the Erle of Darbie.*

On 29th November 1596 his mother, the Dowager* Countess Margaret, who had completely lost the Queen's favour, died and the Earl presumably attended her funeral at Westminster Abbey, but whether it was worry about his mother or overwork he seems to have neglected his health about this time, judging from a letter (p. 87) a few days earlier from his Uncle George to Lord Burghley. Shortly before the Countess Margaret died, Thomas Lodge the well known writer who was a *protégé* of the Stanleys, and like the Earl a member of Lincoln's Inn, dedicated a religious prose work on the crucifixion jointly to her and Derby's Aunt Margaret the Countess of Cumberland ; the previous year Lodge had dedicated his satirical Poems, called *A fig for Momus* " To the Right Honourable and thrice renowned Lord, William Earle of Darbie," in which he said that William's father " in mine infancie, with his own hands incorporated me into your house." Lodge's sincere admiration and that of others, like Barnfield (p. 252) also in 1595, show that William was beloved no less than his late brother.

In 1597 the 6th Earl was entering on troublous times. Soon after the loss of his mother he lost his baby daughter Elizabeth, about 12 months old, and his young wife was in ill-health. Things were not going smoothly with the newly-wed couple, and even in 1596 the Earl had begun to be jealous of attentions paid to his wife in London. In July 1597 he took her North. They travelled with Sir Edward Fitton, who was very concerned about her health, accompanied by a great cavalcade of 500 horse, and were welcomed at various towns in Cheshire. At Warrington they were met by Sir Richard Molyneux accompanied by 700 cavaliers, and after a great banquet they went on to Knowsley (28th July). Soon afterwards, on 8th August, some letters arrived from London (from Lord Cobham, the Countess of Warwick and Lady Raleigh) which seem to have inflamed his jealousy, for the Earl broke out in a scene of great violence against his wife, whom he tyrannically immured " in a cell unseen." The particulars are described in a letter of Edward Mylar (a pseudonym of Sir Edward Fitton, according to Lefranc) to Sir Robert Cecil, the Countess's Uncle, recounting how the staff at Knowsley intervened in a deputation to the distracted Earl, who was on the point of returning to London without his wife. He relented and cancelled this wild intention ; his Uncle, the 3rd Earl of Cumberland, seems to have helped subsequently to patch up peace, and soon after this the couple went to Lathom on good terms again. A little later, on 19th and 21st August, they were entertained by the Earl's intimate friend Dr. John Dee in Manchester, and the following day (22nd August) the couple wrote a joint letter to Sir Robert Cecil, leaving the bearer to explain things [about the quarrel].

A month after this, came what must have been a sledge-hammer blow to the Earl, news of a letter written 20th September 1597 by Thomas Audeley to Edward Smythe in Paris, alluding to the Countess's infidelity with the Earl of Essex.† How the knowledge of this infamous slander came to him is not known (the words may have related to the Countess Alice) but the sequel was a further violent quarrel, of which details are unknown, leading to separation. We know from a letter written by Sir Edward Fitton (14th Oct. 1597) to Sir Robert Cecil that the Countess was ill and that he advised that she should come and stay with him " where she shall have rest during her pleasure";

* For nearly two years there were three Countesses of Derby, Margaret, Alice, and Elizabeth, who continued to be known as the " young " countess of Derby to distinguish her from Alice.

† " My Lord of Essex in no great grace, neither with Queen or Commons : with the Queen for that he lay with my lady of Darbe before he went " [on the Azores expedition of 1597]. On his return in October, Essex denied the misdemeanour. (Hatfield M.S. VII, 9, 392.)

we also know that months later they were still separated, for in the following year (July 1598) Thomas Ireland, Derby's lawyer-secretary, wrote to Sir Robert Cecil regretting it (p. 96). He said that the Earl was " most lovingly kind " in spite of his wife's departure " but his discontentment grows by reason of her absence, and they do not honourably dispose themselves to live together " as his Lordship's ancestors had done " which your Honour may bring to pass." (*Hatfield Papers*, Vol. 8, p. 281.) During this period of separation it is possible that the Earl received consolation from Sir Edward's younger daughter Mary Fitton (see p. 157). Her father being an old and intimate friend of the Stanleys, Mary (18 years younger) must have been known to William since infancy ; she had been one of the Queen's Maids of Honour since 1595, and in 1598 was a seductive girl of 20, but her love for him would only be that of a daughter.

At the end of July 1598 there was reconciliation between the Earl and his Countess, but his legal and financial difficulties were now becoming oppressive. He was faced with heavy expenses on his estate, and during 1595-6 he had carried out repairs on Chester Castle and his Chester residence, also on roads and bridges ; but the maintenance of Warrington bridge, which the 1st Earl had built and subsequent Earls of Derby had kept in repair, he was unable to undertake. His worst obligations however arose out of the litigation which dragged on, involving him not only in heavy law expenses, but in enormous sums by way of compensation to his nieces to avoid loss of territorial revenue, and in (what he was most sensitive to) threatened inability to maintain the magnificence of his illustrious ancestors. In 1599 he was criticised by Ralphe Wilbraham for endeavouring to raise £30,000 by sales of land which, owing to exploitation by agents and money lenders would have cost him £80,000 ; yet there is a record that at this time of financial stringency he generously devised numerous estates* in Flintshire, with the advowson of Bangor Church, to Sir Randall Brereton for 10,000 years at a pepper-corn rent (P. W. Caine).

He still claimed sovereignty over the Isle of Man, though this matter like the rest of his estates was in the melting pot ; soon after becoming Earl in 1594, the Bishop of Sodor and Man having informed him of the need of an Archdeacon, Derby delegated the choice to his cousin, Sir Edward Stanley, who selected Sir Henry Curwyn M.A., whereupon Derby instructed the Bishop to invest the clergyman, an absentee, directing in May 1595 that tithes should be paid to him, but objections arising, he eventually agreed (July 1595), the Countess Alice consenting, that the matter should be settled by the Tynwald Court, which reversed his instruction. But he resisted even the Queen's encroachment on his authority when in 1596 she appointed Peter Legh to succeed Sir Thomas Gerrard as " Captain " of the Island, for he wrote on 10th July 1596 (Plate VI) to Lord Burghley objecting. He authorised acts of the Manx Courts, but in general he seems only to have exercised nominal jurisdiction, i.e. from Lancashire or London, and not to have visited the Island again.

In January 1599, according to another letter of Chamberlain (p. 27) the Earl of Derby was designed with the Earl of Southampton and the Earl of Rutland to serve in the ill-fated military expedition of the Earl of Essex to Ireland, but though Southampton and Rutland left with him in March there seem to be no records of Derby's presence there ; and he was certainly at Court in March 1599. He was also in England during the following May and June. A letter from John Tyndall to Sir Robert Cecil, dated 9th May 1599 from Lincoln's Inn (State paper Calendar, Elizabeth, Vol. 270) shows that " my Lord of Derby " decided to go into retreat with his wife in a lodge on her late grandfather's estate at Castle Heningham (now Hedingham) in Essex.

* Eventually (1629) they came back to his son James, through the Earl of Worcester, who had acquired them ; the Earl's trustees, paying £2000 as compensation.

(Castle Heningham* had reverted to his wife and her sisters on Lord Burghley's decease on 4th August 1598.) The Earl was still in this cottage at the end of June, as is known from the letters of a jesuit spy, George Fenner, who stated that Derby was engaged in writing Plays. Fenner, who was the agent of Father Parsons, in fact wrote two letters from London both dated 30th June 1599, one under cover of Balthazar Gybels, Antwerp, and the other of Sire Humfredo Galdelli or Guiseppe Tusinger (State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. 271 Nos. 34 and 35). There is a lot of political information in these letters, which were intercepted by the Queen's Government, and in each of them there is the same allusion to the Earl, namely in the first mentioned :—

" Therle of Darby is busyed only in penning comedies for the commoun players,"

and in the second :—

" Our Earle of Darby is busye in penning commodyes for the commoun players."

Fenner and the Earl were perhaps acquainted, for they could have met much earlier (1584) at the Court of Henri of Navarre, whom a George Fenner was then serving on behalf of the Queen Elizabeth ; be this as it may, the discovery in 1891 of Fenner's letters by James Greenstreet† revealed what he called "A hitherto unknown noble writer of Elizabethan comedies," and Greenstreet's pioneer investigations showed that the Earl was a concealed dramatist or poet, like his brother Ferdinando, also that he was still the innocent centre of a web of intrigue abroad. Indeed the following August (1599), that is a month before the Earl of Essex deserted his post in Ireland there was a Spanish alarm ; the Queen raised a considerable army, commanded by the Earl of Nottingham, including 6000 men in London to protect her against the " enemy designs," with which the Earl of Derby would have nothing to do, since he preferred to write Plays.

In 1600 he was in Rome (Lefranc) but nothing is known about his visit or journey there and back. In the same year his Countess's life was despaired of after the birth of her third daughter, Elizabeth (second of that name, who died as a child in 1608) ; and his friend, the Earl of Southampton, became more seriously involved with the Earl of Essex. The Earl of Derby was one of the Commission, which in June 1600 ordered Essex to remain a prisoner in his own house ; but, with Southampton and Rutland, Essex was nevertheless bent on destroying Derby's wife's Uncle, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh and other advisers of the Queen. After the failure of the ill-fated rising of 8th February 1601 Southampton and Rutland were tried for treason before a Court consisting of the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Cumberland and over twenty other Peers, and the fact that the Earls of Southampton and Rutland escaped the extreme penalty might have been partly due to the intercession of Derby, whose disposition was very merciful (p. 98). A few months after the execution of Essex, Derby was created Knight of the Garter (26th May 1601), an honour so long overdue that it might be suspected that the Queen was responsible for the delay. Later in the same year (August 1601) he was deputed with other Noblemen to meet Maréchal Biron, then arriving with a large retinue at Gravesend ; Biron being an old friend of Derby whom he probably met at Nérac in 1583 (p. 66).

Since about 1597 the Earl had been involved in an irritating dispute, which developed into a Star-Chamber action, with one Stephen Proctor, whose estate adjoined the Earl's Manor at Kirkeby Malazert in Yorkshire and who

* It was originally part of the de Vere domains but had been made over to Burghley by his son-in-law the 17th Earl of Oxford, Derby's father-in-law.

† Described in three papers published in *The Genealogist* (1891, Vol. VII ; 1892, Vol. VIII).

had called the Earl a fool for spending his inheritance away. The case (p. 78) dragged on till about 1602 ; and there was more trouble in this year because Sir John Egerton, Derby's tenant neighbour in Wirral, Cheshire, was not only in arrears for rent but had been illegally spoiling Bidston Park* by removing its deer ; Kelley on behalf of the Earl taking action against him. In 1602 also the Earl had trouble in Richmond Park (p. 97) but his worst cares arose from the great inheritance law suit, and it was only about 1604 that enactments of Parliament paved the way for the adjustment of the dispute.

Seacome attributed an effort at compromise to the Queen but it was not till some years after her death that a commission was appointed to arbitrate. This Commission which included the Earl of Salisbury (Sir Robert Cecil was not created Earl till 1605) eventually confirmed the Earl of Derby in his possession of the Lancashire estates, Castles, houses and lands in Cumberland, Yorkshire, Cheshire and many parts of Wales, also Meriden Manor (p. 63), his London seat and the advowson of Chester Cathedral. Large slices elsewhere went to his nieces, and to give effect to this settlement by mutual compromise the law-courts (Common Pleas) were kept busy in London and Lancaster for a long time. By 1609 everything had been settled except the matter of sovereignty of the Isle of Man. The Countess Alice, who had so long contested his birth-right on behalf of her daughters, was now the wife of the Lord Chancellor (Lord Ellesmere—p. 149) and the latter would not forgo his wife's claims on the Island without compensation. Ultimately the King granted the Earl a Patent confirming him in the sovereignty, for which he had to find £2000. Having thus at last been re-instated in his dearly loved Lordship of Man, it is the more remarkable that he did not exercise this right but promptly vested the actual sovereignty in his wife, the 6th Countess. In this and, as will be seen, in his later abdication he was thoroughly quixotic, merely contesting his right as a matter of justice, rather than with the intention of enjoying it. After 1610 his wife dealt with all matters of policy connected with the Government of the Island, and in 1612 even resisted the King's Patent giving Manx land-owners full power to alienate, the Stanleys having always claimed manorial as well as sovereign rights, i.e. the formal approval of changes in ownership (P. J. Caine).

It may be that the Earl of Derby was keenly disappointed at not being called to the throne at the Queen's death on the 24th March 1603, but he certainly did not press his claims, and though his selection would probably have avoided the subsequent disastrous errors of the Stuarts it might have involved Civil war. Nothing is known of his attitude during the crisis ; he signed a letter on the 28th March with 24 other Lords of the Council to Lord Eure, took part in the meeting on 22nd April 1603 at Whitehall, and was present at the postponed St. George's Eve feast at Windsor (described by his cousin Lady Anne Clifford) being now, apparently for the first time, on the Privy Council. Any Royal ambitions he may have had were quenched by the decision of the Council (p. 51) immediately following the Queen's decease in favour of James VI, and his subsequent bearing towards James was one of unswerving loyalty. That they were on friendly terms may be supposed from the fact that they regularly exchanged New-year gifts and that the King in 1607 gave a present of plate to the Earl at the christening of his son James (*b.* at Knowsley 31st January 1607) afterwards 7th Earl of Derby.

During the next few years little or nothing is heard of the 6th Earl, but presumably he attended the wedding of his wife's sister, Susan de Vere, who married Sir Philip Herbert (later Earl of Montgomery) in January 1605. Late in the year, there is evidence that Derby had not even yet disentangled himself from the meshes of Catholic conspiracy, for it seems that Catesby, of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, admitted that he had intended to try and get his

* Bidston Hall, which the Earl rebuilt about 1600, was later his favourite Summer resort, and it was near here that he built some fine racing stables at Wallasey (p. 94). The surrounding Park which covered most of North Wirral was full of red deer, as to which Webb (*Description of Wirral*, 1616) said that " his lordship seems much to affect the same which offers a variety of noble delights " The Manor of Bidston was later sold (1653) to William Steele by the Earl's grandson, Charles the 8th Earl ; Steele later sold it to Lord Kingston, who in his turn sold it to Sir Robert Vyner, Lord Mayor of London.

support in the North, and Derby's letter of 16th December 1605 (Plate VII) shows that he was alive to present dangers. The Earl is stated by Pollard to have regularly attended the House of Peers ; if so he took no real part in the King's Government. He served on Councils and Commissions and held a number of appointments, such as extra-Privy Councillor, High Commissioner for the Province of York, Councillor of Wales, Vice-General of Lancashire and Wales, Chamberlain of the County Palatine of Chester, and Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire ; being content to discharge the responsible, if perfunctory, duties associated with these positions (e.g. musters in the North, below) rather than involve himself in the tangled skein of Jacobean politics.

Among the multiple complications of the protracted suit to save his inheritance were the criticisms he incurred over the management of his estate, and the strained relations with his sister-in-law, who continued to remain hostile though, as shown by his letter, about 1596 (footnote p. 270) he still retained affection for her. The gaiety of his youth, already saddened by earlier marital distress and sobered by the public events of 1601 and 1603, must have given way, under stress of litigious injustice and " the law's delay," to spasms of bitterness as middle age drew on ; if so his resilient nature found consolation in certain hobbies, chiefly sport, horses, music and drama. As to the latter, since 1594 he had patronised his own company of players (p. 206) which no doubt gave him an outlet for the performance of his own Plays, and at least one letter of the Earl has survived (p. 70) which shows that he continued to support production of Plays in the North, Lord Hereford's playing company having performed at Lathom early in December 1606 intending to return for Christmas ; but his wife was intolerant of drama or at least of his " delight " in players (pp. 69, 72).

In 1608 the Earl of Derby reviewed 700 troops leaving for Ireland and reported on their military insufficiency. On 25th February 1609 his Uncle Cumberland's sprightly daughter Lady Anne Clifford married the 3rd Earl of Dorset but it is not recorded that Derby graced her wedding. From now on we catch glimpses of him and the Countess of Derby in Nichols' *Progresses of James I*, where we learn that in June 1610 the Earl carried the " Staff of Gold " when James's son Henry was invested Prince of Wales, and dined with the Prince in the " Great Hall," Whitehall. He may have welcomed the Prince, the previous April, during his visit to Chester when a masque was performed on the Roo-Dee, but as to his untimely end in November 1612 Nichols does not say whether the Earl was at the funeral, or whether the following February he was present at the wedding of the Prince's sister, Elizabeth and Frederick the Elector-palatine.

Unlike his young wife and his various relatives, Will Derby figured to only a minor extent in society affairs, not being attracted by the glamour of costly masques or tilts in the brilliant social life of James's Court. The " young " Countess, being 15 years his junior and a favourite of the King, on the other hand, entered gaily into the round of diversions ; she participated for example in Queen Anne's entertainment at Dingley (1603), in the new King's procession (1603), and she acted in various masques such as Ben Jonson's *Masque of Beauty* (1608) and *Masque of Queens* (1609), also Daniel's *Tethys Festival* (1610), the day after the Prince of Wales' investiture, and in this she played the part of nymph. In April 1614 the Earl of Derby carried the Sword of State when the King rode to Parliament, and in July 1616 Nichols records an incident in London in which the 6th Countess was driving in a coach with Queen Anne, Lady Ruthven and Lord Carew, when a mob surrounded them thinking that the condemned Countess of Somerset was in the coach—the Countess of Derby had to get out and explain. On 4th November 1616

Prince Charles was invested as Prince of Wales, and in the procession the Ring was borne by the Earl of Derby, who afterwards dined with the Prince in state, together with others including the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Southampton, who acted as cup-bearer.

During this period the gossipy John Chamberlain, to whose correspondence with Sir Dudley Carleton we are indebted for so much society information, remarked that no new Plays were any good now ; and it is noteworthy that Shakespeare made no contribution to the spate of masques, orations and Poems which flattered the vanity of James I. In March 1617 the King commenced his " progress " North in stages and, after spending some time in Scotland, left at the beginning of August for his return South. After visiting Francis, 4th Earl of Cumberland at Broughton Castle, he passed through Lancashire, and on 13th August was presented with a petition for the restoration to the people of Sunday sports (after Church) which had been severely repressed by the puritans. Lefranc thought that this request was inspired by the Earl of Derby, for it is known that he did his best to preserve the sports of " Merrie England " and in 1619 sanctioned the provision of a cock-pit in Chester " under St. John's " which was greatly welcomed. The King after conferring many Knighthoods on his 1617 journey, including the legendary Sirloin of beef at Hoghton, knighted the Earl's friends John Talbot and Edward Osbaldeston at Lathom, where he spent two days. After this he was received at the Eastgate, Chester, by the Mayor and people, the Sword of State being carried by the Earl of Derby. [Later the King passed through Warwick, but did not visit Stratford-on-Avon, where Shakspere had recently been buried, nor are there records of any allusions at Warwick by the King or his entourage to Shakespeare, whose Plays, as Ben Jonson said in 1623, had so delighted " Eliza, and our James "].

After 1617 nothing more is heard about the Earl of Derby's company of players, which may mean that his interest in drama had then ceased because he was devoting himself more to horse-racing (p. 94) and music — at all events in 1624 he allowed the publication of one of his musical compositions (p. 41). In 1619 he was in ill-health and visited Bath (E. B. Goodacre) where he had probably been before, like other distinguished persons e.g. his Uncle, the Earl of Salisbury who had tried the cure at Bath in 1612 shortly before he died. As William Stanley, the Earl had been familiar with the Russian Court (Chap. V) and in 1601 there had been talk of betrothing his infant daughter, Lady Anne Stanley, to the son of the Emperor, but nothing came of it, and in 1620 when she was about 21 she married Sir Henry Portman ; soon widowed, she subsequently married Sir Robert Kerr, later (1633) the first Earl of Ancram, a Scottish Peer, who had literary abilities. Both were favourites of Charles I and Lady Anne acted as instructress to his children.

The 6th Earl of Derby had three sons, of whom only the eldest survived him, namely James who was given the courtesy title of Lord Strange, (which strictly had lapsed with the death of the 5th Earl) and later became the famous 7th Earl of Derby ; James was barely 20 when he married Charlotte de La Trémoille at the Hague, 26th June 1626. The Earl's second son was Sir Robert Stanley who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Arthur Gorges, and died in 1633 (see p. 53 for his epitaph). The third son Sir Charles Stanley, who died as a youth in 1629 and was buried in Westminster Abbey, seems to have been a trouble to his parents ; at least according to letters of his sister-in-law Charlotte, James's French wife, in 1628* he caused the death of his mother " de chagrin par des fautes entachant l'honneur." She also referred to other criticisms of the Stanleys " son mari et son beaupère seuls exceptés " (i.e. her husband James and the Earl of Derby were not included in these vague aspersions) ; and she made bitter allusion to the Earl's nieces (all now married) as " spoliatrices," deserving Ahab's fate for coveting Naboth's vineyard.

About 1623 the Earl of Derby's valetudinarianism took the form of first making Chester his principal home, and Seacome compares him to the " wise senators of Rome " who passed the evening of their lives in rural retirement. The facts are not very clear but he purchased a house on the banks of the Dee, which can hardly be the old Stanley Palace, built or rebuilt in 1591, now known as Derby House (Watergate Street) but the writer is not sure. Then in 1625 he voluntarily abdicated from control of his estates by vesting their management in his wife just as, earlier, he had the sovereignty of the I.O.M. She however i.e. the 6th Countess, who was Lady in waiting to Charles I's Queen, died in 1627 (11th March) in Richmond (Hampton Court) and though there is no evidence of any estrangement between the Earl and his wife, it is

* Marlet, *Charlotte de La Trémoille, comptesse de Derby* (1895).

not certain that he was in London or attended her funeral at Westminster Abbey. At all events his son James many years later wrote saying " my father upon the death of my mother, growing infirm and disconsolate, and willing to repose himself from the troubles of the world purchased a house on the side of the river Dee near Chester and retired to it ; reserving to himself a thousand pounds a year for life, and put the rest of his estate and revenue into my hands " (modern spelling). This final act of abdication however was in stages, James at first (1626) being appointed Lord of Man, Chamberlain of Chester, and Lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, jointly with his father, since he was under 21 and just then much occupied with his wedding. James' wife Charlotte, afterwards famous for her spirited and determined defence of Lathom against the Parliamentarian troops, was the daughter of the Duc de Trémoille ; and her mother, the daughter of the Prince of Orange, was a friend of Charles I's Queen. Lefranc records that at the end of 1627 Charlotte wrote a letter to her mother in France, describing how she had just seen her father-in-law, the old 6th Earl in his house in Chester, where she said he had stayed continually for the last three or four years. She went on to say :—

> " il me parle français et me dit force obligeantes pâroles, m'appellant dame et mâitresse de la maison, qu'il ne voulait point d'autre femme que moi, et que j'avais tout pouvoir."

These words throw an interesting side-light on the great-hearted old Earl, conversing with his French daughter-in-law in her own language and overwhelming her with courtesy, indeed with a generosity that bordered on quixotism. In due course she presented him with grandchildren that must have brought a streak of joy into his declining years, saddened as they were by much sorrow. Charlotte's allusion to " tout pouvoir " was not a mere figure of speech, because the Earl soon afterwards relinquished control of his estates in favour of James and his wife, by a series of deeds executed in 1628 and 1629. The chief trustees of these instruments were the Earl of Pembroke, his brother the Earl of Montgomery (dedicatees of the first Folio of Shakespeare's Plays in 1623) and Sir Thomas Hoby (see p. 88), but by these deeds the management was now made joint as between the Earl, James and Charlotte, James being still too young to incur the vast responsibility. But virtually James enjoyed full control with practically the entire revenue, which he dispensed in London and the North with the lavish hand of his father. There was later some hitch, owing to a dispute between James and his sister-in-law, Lady Elizabeth Stanley, widow of Sir Robert, then Countess of Lincoln, and in 1638 a further deed was executed, James consenting, which granted certain Manors in Lancashire and Cheshire to her and an annuity to her two sons, Sir Charles Stanley and James Stanley.

All this time the old Earl lived quietly in Chester, or in Bidston Hall during the Summer, no doubt finding recreation in music, and in attendance at the racecourses on the Roo-Dee or Wallasey sands ; but we do not hear much about him. In 1629 he must have come " out of his shell " when he served on an Ecclesiastical Commission for the Province of York (P. W. Caine), and again in 1630 when the Duchesse de La Trémoille paid him a visit, for he made it a state occasion ; the Mayor and Aldermen of Chester with " all the gentry of Cheshire, Flintshire and Denbighshire went to meet her at Hoole Heath with the Earl of Derby, being at least 600 men " (Draper) and there was a great deal of ceremonial splendour, showing that the spirit of princely magnificence was still alive in him. After this there seems to be no more information till his death in 1642, but he must have followed his son's career

with the deepest anxiety in the troublous times that preceded the Civil War.

James had taken his father's seat in the House of Peers in 1628 as Lord Strange, and at first took an active part in the Government, but he was not in sympathy with Charles I's policy, and probably because of this about 1635 he withdrew himself from London, mainly devoting himself to his family and estates in Lancashire. He had also probably realised, what later proved to be the fact, that the King basely suspected him of designs on the throne, for aware of the great popularity of the Derbys in the North, Charles I lent his ear too easily to the insinuations of his favourites, suggesting secret ambitions on the part of Lord Strange. This unfounded calumny was destined to lead to dire consequences. When it seemed that nothing could avert the outbreak of War the King, knowing that James sympathised to some extent with the popular feeling against his arbitrary measures, made a bid to secure Lord Strange's support. He gave it loyally, and though opposed to War he met the King and his Council at York in February 1639, and later in the Summers of 1640 and 1642 ; he urged the strategic importance of Lancashire in the coming conflict, placed £40,000 at the King's service, promised 3000 foot and 500 horse furnished at his own expense and 7000 more in three days time. These vigorous proposals were met with coldness, verging on suspicion and nothing was done beyond fixing on Warrington as Royal Headquarters. This was in July 1642, and when Lord Strange returned to Lathom he found that Manchester was arming against the King, who commissioned him to recover the town. On the 15th July with a small body of men he demanded the surrender of the magazine. The resulting skirmish and a fight near the same place a few days later were really the beginning of the outbreak of the Civil War though it was not till six weeks later that opposing armies began to manoeuvre. Seacome says that, soon after the skirmish at Manchester, Lord Strange raised no less than 60,000 troops, which were disposed strategically in three bodies in different parts of Lancashire. The power of the Derbys in the North was great, and such a large force at the outset would have been decisive had the King promptly accepted it and acted. He hesitated ; several of his advisers saw " ambitious designs in such large forces raised by " one who knew his near alliance to the Crown." The Derbys had been, so they said, treacherous in the past—witness the second Lord Stanley's betrayal of Richard III ; also Lord Strange's Uncle the 5th Earl of Derby, they hinted, had " declared his pretensions to the Crown " (Draper). These injurious insinuations were deadly ; they undermined the King's confidence, and he not only changed his H.Q. from Warrington to Nottingham but deprived Lord Strange of the Lieutenancy of Chester and N. Wales, and declined to accept his forces. This was in August 1642 and the effect was disastrous ; the men became dissatisfied and Lord Strange's army melted away.

Earl Derby from afar must have heard with anguish of these proceedings ; his prescient military wisdom may have led him to regret his son's precipitancy at Manchester, and his expert strategic knowledge must have made him deplore the King's vacillation, of which the Parliamentarians had quickly taken advantage. They seized Manchester which was a key position. Lord Strange recovering from the King's rebuff, now raised three regiments of foot and three troops of horse to support him, but here again malign influences prevailed, orders and counter-orders were issued and for a time he was even superseded in command. The effect of this crowning injustice on the subsequent course of the War was fatal to the Royal cause. The tragedy of September 1642 must have been patent to the feeble old Earl at Chester who was now breaking up. His son however never wavered in his loyalty to Charles I ; impeached by Parliament on the 16th September, on the 24th he began the siege of Manchester, which Charles cancelled a few days later by demanding his army at Shrewsbury. On 29th September 1642,* while he was on his way there, his father died in Chester, his end probably hastened by these tragic events. So expired the 6th Earl of Derby after a long and versatile life, a life of such deep and fundamental experience as to seen psychologically unique ; but alas a life with more than its fair share of trouble and sorrow, which pursued him to the end. He was buried in Chester, but after the Restoration, on 30th June 1662 his body was transferred to the Stanley Chapel

* A year notable for the death of Galilei (p. 145) and birth of Newton.

of Ormskirk Church, where his remains lie near to those of his decapitated son James.

The old Earl in his declining years no doubt grieved to see the rise of Puritanism, which threatened Art no less than the Monarchy. He must have felt, as we know his son did, that by wise rule popular feeling could have been tactfully directed into safe channels, and not allowed to develop into a dangerous flood. As it was, with rising political passions, reason was thrown to the winds and iconoclasm rampant singled out Drama for especially malignant hatred. The Earl's death coincided with the closing of the theatres, and spiritual gloom settled on the land. He had lived long enough ; he had seen the sacrifice of his son's friend and kinsman, the Earl of Strafford in 1641, and he must have realised that Charles I was blundering on towards his doom ; but he was spared much—the unspeakable miseries of the Civil War, the disastrous destruction of Lathom with all the priceless treasures it contained and the culminating tragedy of his beloved son's execution in 1651.

Space permits only a brief notice of James now 7th Earl, who is often called the " great " Earl of Derby, mainly because of the prominent part he took for 7 years in trying to save Charles I and later, at the cost of his life, Charles II. His full biography is given by Raines (*Private devotions* etc.—Vols. I, II, III) and Clarendon's *History*. His military strategy, less conspicuous than his personal bravery, may be criticised perhaps in so far as he left the defence of Lathom, one of the great epics of History, to his indomitable Countess in order to defend the Isle of Man. The eventual fall of the great citadel in December 1645 was tragic ; so furious was the vengeance of the Roundheads that, in violation of the terms of surrender, they not only destroyed it utterly but made wasteful havoc of all it contained (Raines) including the Derby papers and " all that art, taste and civilisation could accumulate " ; " With wild ferocity they stripped off the lead, dismantled the building, razed the towers to the ground " ; " The glory of the carved work was gone, the curious ornaments in their niches were destroyed, the deep oriels were despoiled of their glowing heraldic emblazonry " and nothing was spared. Perhaps the greatest tragedy of all was the destruction of the Eagle Tower and library which were store houses of documents, whose loss cripples investigation of Shakespearian drama in relation to both the 5th and 6th Earls of Derby.

The 7th Earl of Derby was a deeply religious man, a stout upholder of the Church of England as well as the Monarchy, and greatly interested in education, particularly in Cheshire, Lancashire and the Isle of Man, where he intended to found a University. He had literary ability, as to which he was very modest, spoke French and Italian, and was skilled in painting as well as music. A serious student of the Classics, he devoted much time to them, especially in the well-stored library at Knowsley, in the solitude of which he revelled, remarking that he was never less alone than when he was alone : " and so saith J. Derby " [in translating a Latin proverb]. But he also had his stables, kennels, keepers, fowlers and huntsmen, being devoted to horses, dogs, hunting and falconry. His life and habits indeed are known in such detail that we can fairly draw upon the information to fill in many *lacunae* in the biography of the 6th Earl of Derby ; for in his son, whether as gay Court gallant, lavish host, musician, linguist, writer, scholar, recluse or sportsman, it is possible to envisage more clearly, though in different form, the lineaments of his father, dimmed as these unfortunately are by the scantiness of surviving records. But though James was a copious writer who never published anything, whose writings full of deep thought indicate a similar unrevised carelessness in syntax to that of his father, and though they display consummate wisdom both in regard to private life and statesmanship, there is no poetry in them, not even poetic feeling. Herein he was the antithesis of his father.

CHAPTER III

PRIMA FACIE EVIDENCE.

AS recorded on p. 30, the 6th Earl of Derby was first proved to have been a concealed playwright by James Greenstreet in 1891, an heraldic expert who unfortunately died in 1892, but not before he had made some important preliminary biographical investigations, of which no serious notice was taken. The papers he published in *The Genealogist* however made it clear that the 6th Earl in 1599 was secretly writing Comedies " for the commoun players," that is to say for performance on the Stage. Nothing is known of any such Plays in the Earl's name, and for several reasons Greenstreet thought that they might have been Shakespeare's. We now know that William Stanley was no less deeply engaged in the drama than his brother, Lord Strange (to whose company Shakspere belonged), and that after his death in 1594 Derby similarly formed an acting company (Chap. XI). It was not however till nearly 30 years after Greenstreet's discovery that Prof. Lefranc of the Collège de France, without being aware of Greenstreet's pioneer work, reached the same conclusion, initially as a result of some historical researches connected with Henri of Navarre bearing on *Love's labour's lost* (Chap. IV). These led him to a comprehensive examination of the whole Shakespearian problem and eventually the establishment of a very convincing case (*Sous le masque de " William Shakespeare,"* 1919 and *Le Secret de William Stanley*, 1923). Later R. M. Lucas (*S.V.S.*, 1937) reached the same end from a quite different angle, laying great stress on certain contemporary testimony. The present writer, at first thoroughly sceptical, determined to embark on a critical investigation involving scientific procedure to test their conclusions by amassing new evidence, which as will be seen is decisive, and all this will be presented in its proper place, but in this Chapter we deal only with those basic circumstances, whether already known or newly advanced, which establish a *primâ facie* case. When a clever criminal covers up his tracks as carefully as Shakespeare avoided allusions which might betray his personality, his guilt if incapable of direct proof can be established by that species of inductive reasoning which in Law is called circumstantial evidence, provided that there are sufficient relevant facts available, positive and negative, *i.e.* clues that he was not able or not clever enough to conceal ; and as is well known such evidence is often more reliable than that of an eye-witness who frequently is deceived by appearances. In the case of Shakespeare where the problem is one of identity, a number of alternatives present themselves but these, as shown in Chapter I are easily narrowed down by induction to a few, and of these, as noted, each is open to some insuperable objection, except the 6th Earl of Derby.

Pre-requisites.—It is obviously first necessary to enquire how far he fulfils those conditions *sine quâ non*, laid down on pp. 5, 6. The first list of pre-requisites needs little discussion since they are mostly covered by the Earl's lofty patrician status, as recorded in Chapter II. Educated at St. John's College, Oxford and Gray's Inn (p. 147) he would be familiar with the classics and steeped in their lore, like other students of the period. There is ample

evidence that he could easily read Latin and speak French ; and with five years abroad he could no doubt read other foreign languages. He was a patriotic statesman, feudal and of Lancastrian as well as Welsh (Tudor) extraction on his mother's side. His extensive travels covered most of the countries of Europe, also Egypt, Asia Minor and Palestine. He was welcomed at foreign Courts during these travels, and at home he was on familiar terms with the Queen and her ministers. These qualifications which are considered more fully in Chapter V, show that he fulfils the conditions of the first group of pre-requisites.

The second more exacting group (p. 6) i.e. relating to ' technical ' knowledge is also met so far as evidence is available, but unfortunately it is scanty on some points, as to which reasonable inference only is possible. Where the information is fullest there is no doubt about the matter and this relates to government, law, military experience, sea, astrology and magic, sport, stagecraft, prosody and music, subjects with whose elaborate technique Shakespeare was extraordinarily intimate.

Statesmanship. The Earl of Derby was a Privy Councillor but intervened little in the Government either of the Queen or James I—indeed his share in the tangled skein of politics was so small that his name only appears in minor State documents. He was certainly " King " of the Isle of Man and served on various Councils and Commissions but played no part, in London, at all comparable to the illustrious services to State of his ancestors, or (later) of his son James. His vast knowledge and the recorded opinions of others show him to have had the eminent qualities of a statesman, yet he himself kept aloof from the turmoil and intrigue of politics, being content to serve for years in an advisory capacity to the Council. This modest and restricted service to the State, in the circumstances, was anomalous and calls for comment ; it did not arise from disaffection or indolence, for the facts point decisively the other way. It may have been due to thwarted ambition (which he seems to have had when young, p. 19) or to his retiring disposition or to some time-absorbing occupation, such as the Plays which in 1599 he was writing at Castle Heningham (p. 30). Whatever the explanation, he kept out of the lime-light and like a ' dark horse ' attracted little attention, but the words of Lodge and Barnfield decidedly suggest that addiction to drama and poetry was one of the reasons.

Thomas Lodge, the poet, who was the Earl's *protégé* and had been a member of his father's household (p. 28), in 1595 described him as " the true Maecenas of the Muses, and judiciall in their exercises." He used the word " judiciall " elsewhere as meaning " sagacious " and the Muses were of course the nine goddesses invoked by poets for inspiration. Maecenas, a Patron of poetry was the great far-seeing Statesman who supported the Emperor Augustus, but restrained him towards a humane policy ; in his relaxation he wrote Plays and charmed his circle of poets by his sincerity as well as by pearls of wisdom scattered with a lavish hand. Although in the 16th century other Patrons were compared with Maecenas, there is no misunderstanding the plain sincerity of Lodge's encomium in this case, implying that Derby was a wise Statesman, sagacious in the practice (" exercises ") of poetry.

Barnfield in 1595 was even more explicit, as will be seen later (p. 252) for his words clearly set forth the Earl of Derby as a great example [in poetry] that he would strive to emulate. It may be therefore taken as certain that Derby was not an active politician partly because of his close pre-occupation with poetry, sport and drama, to which also should be probably added a thorough dislike of political insincerity, for this may be fairly presumed from the general tone of his letters.

Law. Numerous Judges or barristers, including Malone long ago and more recently the late Sir George Greenwood, have commented from time to time on Shakespeare's remarkable intimacy with Law which, embedded in countless images, runs like a thread through his works. Often unsuspected,

legal concepts are woven into subtle imagery so frequently (nearly 150 times in the Poems and Sonnets alone) as to disclose a mind saturated with the Law and, as the legal experts inform us, it is the sound Law of a Judge, technically flawless in its terminology, such indeed as could never have been acquired merely from books or even by service as a law-clerk ; only a training *ab initio* in the profession extending over years, according to Greenwood, could underlie the easy familiarity displayed by Shakespeare, who in such a complex subject, bristling with technicalities, must otherwise have tripped up somewhere. This of course is one of the strongest arguments in favour of Bacon, but it must be remembered that several Elizabethan poets were trained at one or other of the Inns of Court and that some of them employed legal images or portrayed actions at law, though not with the frequency and apt subtlety of Shakespeare. Among the law-educated poets was William Stanley, trained at Gray's Inn (p. 147) and a member of Lincoln's Inn, who was a Judge in the Assize Courts of the Isle of Man between 1592 and 1594, who was involved as Earl of Derby in a protracted litigation as well as in minor law cases, and whose letters teem with the technicalities of the Law.

Military knowledge. When young, William Stanley was distinguished for his skill in arms (p. 90). Later, though documentary evidence is lacking, of any campaigns in which he actually participated, he was frequently associated with military affairs, as for instance in 1592-3 when he directed the fortification of the Isle of Man or in 1608 when he reviewed troops for Ireland (p. 32). Indeed all through the reign of James I, and even Charles I, he was constantly advising the Council as he raised troops in the North, reporting on military technicalities, defects in armament, proportion of archers, and so forth.

Sea. Stanley's travels included the Mediterranean, English Channel, North Sea and Irish Sea ; later he was Vice-admiral of Lancashire and Wales, in close association with the Admiralty, from all of which it is obvious that he had an extensive experience of the ways of the sea (cf. p. 76) and of naval affairs.

Astrology and magic. Astrology, the fore-runner of Astronomy, and magic, the forerunner of Science, the former seeking to link human destiny with celestial phenomena and the latter with supernatural practices, have from primitive times exercised a most potent sociological influence on mankind, which is by no means moribund yet. Whatever the poet's private beliefs may have been, it is certain that he was familiar with the whole theory and practice of occult arts, the technique of which reveals itself repeatedly in his Plays and Poems. The frequency of astrological words like : *auspicious, moon-calf, opposite, sphere, septentrium, zodiac,* etc or images concealed in words such as : *aspect, conjunction, eclipse, fatal, predominance, star-crossed, star-blasting, trigon, zenith,* etc., shows that these ideas welled up from the sub-conscious reservoir of a mind well stocked with astrological lore : and the same thing holds for magic, the terminology of which is ubiquitous, as for example in words like : *ducdame, distil, love-juice, paddock, sprite, sleight,* etc., or words concealing a magical image, like : *charm, conjure, enchant,* and so on. All these esoteric malign influences are so skilfully interwoven with Fate and Destiny in the Dramas that, reading them even in these enlightened days, we may feel that human life is the plaything of the gods. While other playwrights occasionally made dramatic use of astrology and magic, with Shakespeare they so permeate his entire work in constant and subtle imagery, as to show that he had not only meditated profoundly on these mysteries but on the whole riddle of the heavens.

Sorcery, that form of magic enchantment which invokes evil spirits, and necromancy, the art of divination by communication with departed spirits, were also put to dramatic use ; and this intense fascination which all the occult arts had for Shakespeare was part and parcel of Stanley's immense erudition. When for instance the Duchess of Gloster in (2) *Henry VI* (I, 4) appealed to sorcery in spite of her husband's warnings against Royal ambitions, the circumstances exactly resemble those of William Stanley's mother (p. 15) though in general the incident is founded on Hall's historical account and therefore in no sense decisive. What *is* crucial is the fact that the 6th Earl of Derby was an intimate friend of old Dr. John Dee the well known astrologer-magician, as first pointed out by Lefranc. Dee interested many notable people of Queen Elizabeth's time, including the Queen herself, who patronised and consulted him, also Lord Burghley, the Earl of Oxford, Sir Walter Raleigh and numerous others, but with no one was he more closely associated than with the Earl of Derby, as is shown by Dr. Dee's diary, which records not only numerous contacts between them but reciprocal interest.

The friendship was of long standing, for according to Nuttall's pamphlet (Chap. V) they met in Moscow when Stanley was young (about 1585) but as there is a gap in Dee's diary between 1583 and 1586 no record exists. When Dee was back in England, and Stanley had become Earl, the former recorded some of Derby's movements and even the birth of his first child, Elizabeth on 26th December 1595 (noting for purposes of horoscope that it was at 4 a.m.). Dee was then in London ; he wrote to the Earl's secretary on 11th June 1595, cited a letter of the Earl to Mr. Warren on 21st June, dined " with the Erle of Derby at Russell Howse " on 13th September 1595 and about a week later (22nd) dined with " the Erle of Darby " again.

Shortly after this Dee was appointed, by the Queen, Warden of Christ's College Manchester, apparently (judging by the letter of 21st June) through the Earl's influence, and while Dee was here he was visited by Derby on several occasions. Thus on 26th June 1596 Derby with some friends (p. 27) paid Dee an impromptu visit at 3 p.m., and a month later (27th July) Dee noted the Earl's departure for London ; on 19th August 1597 " the Erle and Cowntess of Derby cam to Alport lodg " [College of Astronomy], and on 21st August, that is two days later, " the Erle and Cowntess of Derby had a banket [banquet] at my lodging at the colledge hora 4½." Dee's diary is incomplete after this so that there are no more records of further association, but it is clear that Derby must have been deeply interested in the astrologer's immense knowledge. His fascination for such matters was no doubt primarily acquired from the great planetarium at Lathom (p. 18) and his mother's penchant. As a boy too, Stanley's imagination must have been stirred by the new star (Tycho Brahe's) which startled the world in 1572 ; this brilliant object, dwarfing the brightest stars and visible in daylight, may well have started a train of ideas in young William's mind, on the relation between celestial and terrestrial events, such as later developed into an intellectual pursuit.

Sport. From ffarington's diary it is known that there was continual outdoor activity at the 4th Earl of Derby's seats in Lancashire, chiefly falconry and hunting. William Stanley himself is recorded as having hunted for four days in September 1589 and as having gone hawking with his brother on 11th March 1590. He keenly supported horse-racing (p. 94) and was a thorough sportsman (like his brother and his son after him, of whom there is more information), having a full establishment of kennels, hounds, stables, keepers and falconers. One of his favourite deer-parks was near Bidston, Cheshire, but in addition to the chase it is also known that he shot game in Richmond Park. Shakespeare's ' horsey ' and sporting knowledge is disclosed by technical terminology in countless images, often unsuspected ; as for example in words like ' manage ' or ' pace ' (horse images, e.g. *V. and A.* line 598 or *Pericles,* IV, 6, 66-70).

Music. The dramatic use of music and the intense musical feeling in so many of Shakespeare's Plays sharply differentiate him from other playwrights, by showing not only his passion for but his technical comprehension

of the art. His use of music is indeed *sui generis*, the very essence of most of his Drama, and not confined to the Songs, which themselves must have been very beautiful, as originally sung to the lute. The Plays are in no sense Operas, but in the luxurious surroundings of the great Houses where many of them were performed, the call for a musical background must have gone far beyond the frequent Stage directions which have survived in the Folio i.e. " Music " which only partly indicates what is requisite in the way of incidental music for full dramatic effect, especially in tender situations or at moments of high emotion or when magic, destiny or death are involved. No one, not even Wagner or Verdi, has ever put music to more *truthful* dramatic use than Shakespeare, though, alas, modern producers often do not recognise its potency. His own words in *12th Night*, *Julius Caesar*, *As you like it* and other Plays reveal his sheer delight in music, and in the sweet moonlight scene at Belmont in *Merchant of Venice* it is easy to see how low his estimate was of anyone not stirred by music. His musical vocabulary is rich and technically correct even in minutiae, as for instance in the different keys of the Gamut in *Taming of the shrew* (III. 1) ; he never trips up as others sometimes did. Musical terminology is brought into subtle word play or repeated images ; and even the musicians' names Gatling, Rebeck and Soundpost of *Romeo and Juliet* (IV. 5) are allusions to string-instruments.

In those days the musical outlet for the people took the form of Ballads and Lyrics for the lute (p. 245) ; but concerted instruments were mainly used in the great Houses or for supporting public Play performances. There was a Minstrel's gallery at Lathom and at Knowsley, and here no doubt young William Stanley first learnt his passionate love for music. Later he may have met Dowland (p. 253) and it is known (Lefranc) that he was even a musical composer, for in 1624 Francis Pilkington included in his *Second Set of Madrigals* "A Pavin [pavane] made for the Opharion, by the Right Honorable, *William* Earle of *Darbie* and by him consented to be in my bookes placed." This was at Chester where the Earl must have known Thomas Bateson who published two sets of Madrigals, in 1604 and 1618, the second being "Apt for Viols and Voyces." Pilkington, the Earl's *protégé*, was a minor Canon and precentor of Chester Cathedral, his father and brother having been in the service of the 4th and 5th Earls of Derby, he himself having been associated with the Cathedral most of his life ; and his Patron, the 6th Earl had sufficient interest in religious music to place £100 a year at the disposal of the Cathedral organist. Apart from the Cathedral there was a company of musicians at Chester which the Earl patronised, and it is on record that so early as 1596 they supported his company of players when they acted at Gawthorpe Hall (p. 206) in Cheshire. So there is ample evidence that the Earl was a skilled devotee with Shakespeare's technical understanding.

Other qualifications. As to the remaining pre-requisites, though there are records of his great " worth " and wisdom, there is no surviving evidence, known to the writer, that the Earl of Derby had any special knowledge of natural history, philosophy, medicine or psychology, training in which he could have acquired in the course of his general education or at the various Universities which he visited abroad (Chap. V). His education was certainly very protracted, he was still under a tutor at 21 and had an insatiable curiosity for all knowledge (Nuttall p. 90) ; so that through cosmopolitan travel alone his stores of knowledge must have greatly exceeded those of his father, brother and son, each of whom was an accomplished scholar. His knowledge of stage-craft also must have been profound, with such dramatic experiences, known or inferred, as he had at Lathom, Knowsley, Oxford and Gray's Inn ; while finally his skill in prosody was superb, as may be gathered from certain Poems that can be proved to be his (Chap. XII).

It is thus clear that the Earl of Derby fulfils the pre-requisite conditions, so far as recorded evidence is available and though when considered singly, they are in no way remarkable for any patrician of the period, *in toto* by revealing a Shakespearian versatility they furnish the first links in a lengthening chain of evidence.

John Speed. As Lucas (*S.V.S.*) first discovered, the puritanical historian Speed, in his *History of Great Britaine* (1611) stated by implication that Shakespeare was the poet-authority for the lies of the jesuit propagandist Robert Parsons. Speed does not name either openly, but his allusion to Shakespeare is none the less certain because he refers to him as the poet-creator of Falstaff, spoken of as Oldcastle ; and similarly there is no doubt, that Parsons is meant though he calls him " N.D." one of Parsons' pseudonyms (p. 25). Speed connects the two by referring to Shakespeare as Parsons' poet—" his Poet," an expression which is not justified by any conceivable personal intimacy between say Shakspere and Parsons, who carried on his subversive operations from abroad. On the other hand there *was* a connection between Parsons and the 6th Earl of Derby of a most serious nature, for the latter was Parsons' favoured candidate for the throne, urged (see pp. 25-6) in his book on the *Conference* in 1594. The 5th Earl, previously favoured by Parsons, does not come into the picture as he was dead at the time of *Henry IV* ; if then, as Lucas contended, Speed meant by " his Poet " Parsons' selected successor to the Queen, the evidence would be decisive. That in brief was Lucas's argument and these are Speed's words : -

> " That N.D., Author of the three conversions, hath made Ouldcastle a Ruffian, a Robber, and a Rebell, and his authoritie taken from the Stage-players, is more befitting the pen of his slanderous report then [than] the credit of the judicious, being onely grounded from this Papist and his Poet, of like conscience for lies, the one ever faining, and the other ever falsifying the truth . . ."

As is well known Shakespeare changed the original name Oldcastle of *Henry IV* to Falstaff, and this apparently because of a protest by the Earl of Derby's kinsman, Lord Cobham, who was a descendant of Sir John Oldcastle, the rebel (or martyr), condemned for treason, hung and burnt in 1417. Speed and Lord Cobham regarded him as a martyr, but in any case Shakespeare never meant his mighty creation (i.e. Sir John Falstaff) to be identified with Sir John Oldcastle (though it was taken this way) or any other person. He made amends later not only by changing the name but by saying in the epilogue of (2) *Henry IV* that " Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man." That the original Falstaff* was Oldcastle is shown in other ways, such for example as the oversight in the 1600 Quarto of (2) *Henry IV*, " old " having been carelessly left in the marginal stage-direction, where elsewhere it has been changed to " Fal."

Next, as regards ' N.D.,' he is unambiguously identified with Robert Parsons, one of whose pseudonyms was Nicholas Doleman by means of Speed's index. Moreover Parsons who wrote over thirty books, published no less than six, between 1599 and 1604 under the initials ' N.D.,' including this one on the *Three conversions* denounced by Speed. " This Papist " Parsons moved about the Continent a good deal, but after 1574 he was not in England, except once in disguise in 1580 ; and while it is inconceivable that he ever met the player Shakspere, Parsons who was in France and Portugal in 1582 and 1583

* Falstaff as a boy ((2) *Henry IV*, III, 2, 28) is made page to Thomas Mowbray [1st] duke of Norfolk, one of the Earl of Derby's ancestors, who figures prominently in *Richard II* (I, 1).

might have met William Stanley, then in France, but as to this nothing is known.

How then did Shakespeare come to be definitely linked with Parsons by Speed, sneeringly as " his Poet " unless Shakespeare the man was, as Lucas urged, his proposed candidate for the throne, the Earl of Derby? By itself the inference is dangerous because it is deductive ; there might be some other explanation—for example Parsons might in some unknown way have inspired the creation of Falstaff, and other equally improbable alternatives may be suggested. Regarded critically therefore Speed's words taken alone are not convincing, but when the circumstances are considered, especially the caution he used in giving utterance to them, Lucas's case becomes more impressive. Speed was born in Cheshire and probably regarded the whole House of Stanley as a *locus* of Roman Catholicism because of its ties, just as Parsons did. When Speed, in guarded terms, denounced both Parsons and the creator of Falstaff in the same breath, he was careful to avoid mentioning names, though he was a precise historian, who in the same paragraph openly mentions Copus, Stow and Otterburn as libelling the same man (Sir John Oldcastle) and *elsewhere* speaks openly of Doleman i.e. Parsons. From this it may be gathered that the " Poet " was someone he dared not mention openly in 1611 ; yet he was Shakespeare whose linkage with Parsons (as nominee for the succession) is moreover independently confirmed by an Epigram of John Davies (below). For Davies, as will be shown, stated that Shakespeare might have been a King and, though Lucas did not stress the immense significance of the conjunction, no other man calling himself Shakespeare had the double claim (1) to the throne and (2) to be " his Poet " but the 6th Earl of Derby, Parsons' candidate. What, in effect, the puritan Speed said was, that Parsons in his book on the *Three Conversions* had made Sir John Oldcastle i.e. Falstaff a ruffian etc., on the authority of the Play *Henry IV*, that this discreditable slander was invented only by himself [Parsons] and his poet [Shakespeare] the former always feigning and the latter always falsifying the truth.

John Davies of Hereford. Davies's cryptic allusion to the man Shakespeare is in the form of an Epigram, towards the solution of which endless ingenuity has been exercised in the vain attempt to explain it in terms of the player Shakspere ; but the first to penetrate its significance was Lucas (*S.V.S.*). This Epigram (No. 159) is one of a group of 292 in *The Scourge of Folly* of date somewhere between 1608 and 1611, as may be easily gathered from internal evidence i.e. allusions to many personages and their doings which can be dated. The Epigram is re-produced below with hyphen and italics as Davies wrote it (according to Grosart's reprint) :—

To our English Terence, Mr. Will: Shake-speare
Epig. 159.

Some say good *Will* (which I, in sport, do sing)
Had'st thou not plaid some Kingly parts in sport,
Thou had'st bin a companion for a *King* ;
And, beene a King among the meaner sort.
Some others raile ; but raile as they thinke fit,
Thou hast no rayling, but a raigning Wit :
And honesty *thou sow'st which they do reape ;*
So, to increase their Stocke *which they do keepe.*

These remarkable words should be studied in connection with the man who wrote them. John Davies was a pen-man of exquisite calligraphic skill, as well as a prolific writer of poetry, some of which is good, though most of it is inferior to that of his name-sake Sir John Davies. He was employed as a

teacher of all forms of writing, not only by the Universities but by various Noblemen for their sons. In the course of his teaching he resided for months at a time in several of the great Houses, thus acquiring a rich experience of contemporary life and manners especially among the nobility ; indeed it is this experience which gives his voluminous poetry such a piquant interest. Among his most intimate Patrons were Bacon, the Earls of Pembroke and the Earls of Derby, all of whom he seems to have held in great veneration, judging by the eulogistic poems he wrote, particularly to the 3rd Earl of Pembroke (and his mother Mary, the 2nd Countess of Pembroke) also to Alice, 5th Countess of Derby and her second husband Lord Ellesmere, the Lord Chancellor.

In view of the hundreds of Poems and Epigrams he devoted to his contemporaries, both Lords and Commoners, including several to Derby's near relatives it is all the more remarkable that he never addressed one to the 6th Earl of Derby himself, though by his intimate association with the family he must have recognised his literary distinction, no less than say Lodge or Barnfield. Also only one Poem, this Epigram 159, specifically mentions Shakespeare, though there are two poems of interest in which Davies refers to actors. One is in *A select Husband (Speculum proditori)*-1606, with five stanzas, commencing " I know a man," and the other is in *The Scourge of Folly* (Epigram 180) commencing " I came to English Aesop once." In both cases an actor (Shakespeare was suggested by Grosart) is described as playing the part of King, evidently at Court, but when the words are critically studied it is evident that Davies is simply describing some professional actor, though whether this is Shakspere, the top of whose performance according to Rowe (hearsay), was the ghost in *Hamlet*, is more than doubtful. There are no records indicating that Shakspere ever played the part of King (he may have done) but William Ostler, portrayed elsewhere by Davies as " Roscius " and " Sole King of actors," whose fine performance (probably Richard III) is the subject of Epigram 205, would fit one or both of the above cases. The point is unimportant except in so far as it shows that the incongruity of actors temporarily becoming Kings intrigued Davies.

He seems to have had a similar idea in his mind when he wrote his Shakespeare Epigram but, unlike the two other Poems, here the playing of King is " in sport." It has always been assumed (except by Lucas) that this playing was by a professional actor, despite the plain warning implied by the words " in sport " and by the reproach that such playing was derogatory to the player. The only commonsense interpretation is that Davies meant someone whose dignity was compromised by playing " Kingly parts," and though his words about sport might fit the Earl of Oxford, who had acquired the reputation of being a great comic actor (Lefranc) he was dead when the Epigram was written, and in any case is excluded by the sequent words, since he had no claim to the throne, like the Earl of Derby. The latter beyond reasonable doubt had been an amateur actor (p. 88) and however cautiously Davies veiled his meaning he said clearly, that but for acting the part of King (more than once) Shakespeare might have been not only " companion for a *King* " but a " King among the meaner sort."

Though it is easy to assume that the word " King " is used figuratively or is even the name of a person, in the attempt to fit Davies's words to a plebeian actor, such *ad hoc* assumptions have no support ; indeed the fact that Davies was repeating gossip (" Some say ") divests his words of figurative meaning and it is impossible, despite all efforts, to make any sense of the Epigram as applying to an actor, who had no Royal qualifications, one who would perform professionally, not." in sport," one who could hardly have disqualified himself on this account from becoming a favourite of James I. Two alternative meanings may be read into the words " companion for a *King* " written about 1611 ; one as referring to James I and the other to Queen Elizabeth, regarded

as " King." The first alternative is excluded by the fact that the disqualification was dual (as indicated by the word " and," line 4) in that it *also* prevented Shakespeare from attaining kingship, which would be inconceivable while James I was on the throne (though not before, if he had been one of the Pretenders) and this exclusion is confirmed by Davies himself, in saying " for a *King* " and not " of the King " as would be natural if he had been referring to James I at that time. The word " for," in fact suggests something with purpose behind it.

Since the idea of King's favourite is thus forbidden by self-inconsistency, the only other interpretation that meets the case is to suppose that Davies meant the late Queen, who not only spoke of herself as a " Prince " and " Kinge " but was frequently referred to as such by her subjects, " prince " for example in the Epilogue (p. 215) of *Mucedorus* ; and some courtiers after her death spoke of " King Elizabeth." Also about 1597 the Earl of Essex, when in her disfavour, wrote a Poem " Poor Labouring Bee " complaining of her treatment and allegorically calling her " King " (Queen bees were then called King bees) ; in fact the title was occasionally applied to other women, including (later) Maria Theresa, who was called a King by her subjects. Also in *Mucedorus* (I, 4, 108) the Clown asks (in jest it is true) " Whats that same King a man or a woman." There is therefore nothing fantastic in the supposition that Davies deliberately cast the word into italics (though not the second word " King "), so that the phrase should convey (to those who were ' in the know ') husband or consort of the Queen. The word " companion " then generally implied something inferior, as for instance when in 1535 Coverdale referred to a wife as a " companyon," as did others later * ; and Shakespeare in (1) *Henry VI* (V, 3, 148) made Suffolk say of the inferior future wife of Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou, that she was " Fit to be made companion with a King."

There are several circumstances dealt with later (p. 72) which have led the present writer, following up a suggestion by Lucas, to the conclusion that a secret plan was formed in the Summer of 1594 for State reasons, by which the new 6th Earl of Derby entered into a provisional engagement with the Queen, the intention being that he should become Prince Consort and eventually King of England. On this hypothesis, the trial plan fell through because, in the Queen's eyes, he had compromised Royal dignity by a degrading association with the Stage, and if in his earlier histrionic excursions he had acted " in sport " parts like Henry VI, Richard II and Richard III, the Queen, ' ferreting ' this out could easily make it an excuse for rupture, as in numerous earlier† espousal ventures she had always found a way out. At all events Davies's Epigram, which admits of no self-consistent interpretation except in terms of the Earl of Derby, becomes intelligible on this hypothesis of secret betrothal ; and much else also becomes clear. Thus when Davies used the expression " among the meaner sort " he was speaking of Royalty, in which connection it signifies indirect inheritance, as by female descent, a meaning which was

* In 1573 Queen Elizabeth, refusing the Earl of Leicester, said she would never " marry my subject or make him my companion " [consort].

† Elizabeth had over 20 suitors between 1547 and 1583 as well as other love affairs, open or secret, but in all cases diplomacy supplanted any affection she may have felt, even in earlier courtships (Lord Thomas Seymour, Philip of Spain, Eric of Sweden, Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles, Dudley, Courtenay, Arundel, Pickering etc) and it is questionable whether she ever intended to marry at all. As a mature, even old, woman she revelled in her " lovers " ; all except Hatton were years younger than herself and during the period 1572 - 1583 d'Alencon, whom she came near to marrying, was yet used with superb skill as a pawn in her tortuous game of politics, but her English lover favourites Raleigh, Blount and Essex were simply so much food to her vanity. The suggested Derby engagement, which in the absence of external documentary evidence could never have been serious, is believed at most to have been only a tentative, insincere, short-lived and very secret understanding.

first urged by Lucas though on grounds that were not convincing. Shakespeare's own text however confirms it, for in (1) *Henry VI* (II, 5, 122) Richard Plantagenet is made to say of the dead Edmund Mortimer (a Pretender by female descent) to whose dying words Richard had been listening in his own interest :—

> Here dies the dusky torch of Mortimer,
> Choked with ambition of the meaner sort.

The preceding context here shows that the words " meaner sort " implied female descent, for though the scene contains historical inaccuracies Mortimer's ambition, far from being mean, aimed at the throne itself by descent from Philippa, daughter of Lionel Duke of Clarence.

It is of course true that the words " meaner sort " in other contexts might connote something inferior or below the rank of gentleman (the word " sort " then often signifying exalted station) but as applied to Royal Pretenders these words certainly mean doubtful qualification such as indirect descent, say from a King's sister ; as was the case with the 6th Earl of Derby who, descended from Mary sister of Henry VIII (and then only through his mother), might have " beene a King among the meaner sort," had he not put himself out of court by playing " some Kingly parts in sport."

Next as to the words " our English Terence," Sir George Greenwood who, greatly intrigued, never fathomed the meaning of the Epigram, pointed out that Terence was an inappropriate synonym at the time Davies wrote because Terence was a comedy-writer and Shakespeare was then more than this ; but he observed that ' Terence ' was really a *nom-de-plume* and not the name of the real author or authors who wrote in his name. Montaigne had already recognised this ; because Cicero had said it was believed that Terence's elegant Comedies were written by C. Laelius, while later Quintilian had stated that ' Terence ' was believed to be the pen-name of the great statesman, Scipio Africanus Lucanus. (Such a belief is virtually admitted in Terence's prologue to *Adelphi*.) It may or may not be significant that Davies addressed his Epigram in such a way as to emphasise the analogy between Terence and the hyphenated name " Shake-speare " as a *nom-de-plume*. Even his use of the shortened name* " Will : " may even have its significance, seeing that the Earl of Derby always signed his first name ' Will.' But though addressing an Earl he would be constrained to preserve the *incognito* by pre-fixing " Mr." [Master] before the pseudonym, just as, long previously, Gabriel Harvey had addressed the great poet Edmund Spenser as " Mr. Immerito " (his original pseudonym).

Davies, who was very closely associated with the Earl's sister-in-law (Countess Alice) and with his brother, in a Poem to her spoke of one of the brothers (probably Ferdinando) as " my Deere Lord, sole Master of mine all," and this intimacy with the House of Stanley would let him into all sorts of secrets, such as that concealed in his Epigram, where his mild criticism of Shakespeare is in keeping with a very similar but much earlier criticism (1596) of the Earl of Derby, which the writer has recently discovered in the Northumberland manuscript (Appendix II).

Paraphrasing the Epigram, by inserting the present writer's interpretation in square brackets, we have :—

> To our English Terence [a second Scipio whose literary pseudonym is] Mr. Will Shakespeare. Some say, Good Will, that which I now say sportingly : had you not played some Kingly parts in sport [and thereby mocked Royal dignity in the Queen's severe judgment] you might have become [her companion or consort and so *ipso facto* on her demise] a King [William III] of the meaner sort [by your descent from Mary Tudor through your mother]. [Like a Royal Prince] you have a *reigning* not railing wit but sow for others to reap.

Mary Tudor, dainty widowed Queen of Louis XII (who died 1st January 1515), later Duchess of Suffolk, was the younger sister of Henry VIII who, as noted previously, named her issue for succession by will, in accordance with the Acts of Parliament in the 28th and 35th years of his reign, that is failing issue of his other children ; and Parsons said that his

* Shakspere of course may have been called Will, at least by his brother, as years later, Oldys said. This name appears in the registration of his death (1616) and twice in the list of actors in Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio, where however, all the Christian names are abbreviated. Elsewhere in numerous records Shakspere's first name is always given in full, and in his signatures (p. 110) as Willm, Wm, or William.

testament was executed with " the kings hand or stampe unto it, and divers witnesses names besides and was enrolled in the Chauncery." By this will Henry deliberately excluded his elder sister Margaret, thus passing the contingent succession to the House of Suffolk. But in this House there were marriage irregularities, like those of Henry VIII himself, and if resulting illegitimacy of children barred them from the throne it is certain that at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign Henry Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, of the elder Suffolk line was ineligible as explained below.

In the first place, though Parsons gives no precise information and the data are confused, it is a fact that Charles Brandon (crea. Duke of Suffolk 1514) before he married Mary Tudor (secretly in Paris early in 1515 and openly at Greenwich 13th May 1515) had been as a boy contracted in marriage to Anne (daughter of Sir Anthony Browne) whom he first repudiated but later re-married with great pomp ; also though he had two children by her he obtained a church dispensation to set her aside and marry her widowed aunt, Lady Margaret Mortymer, 30 years older than himself. Soon tiring of this lady the burly Duke then had the marriage annulled on the grounds of consanguinity and married Mary, so that the question of the legitimacy of his two daughters by her, that is Frances and Eleanor, turned on the legal and ecclesiastical validity of the annulment of the Anne and Mortymer unions.

Mary, later becoming anxious about the point at the time of Henry VIII's divorce proceedings, through Wolsey secured a special Papal Bull (12th May, 1528) which by confirming the Mortymer annulment made her marriage valid ; it also confirmed Suffolk's earlier marriage with Anne who died some time in 1515. There was certainly no doubt about the legitimacy of the later-born Eleanor but there was a question about Frances born in 1516, apparently because at that time Lady Mortymer claimed to be Suffolk's wife ; and later the Duke of Northumberland recognised this doubt when in his nefarious plot to usurp power he sought, as wife for his son Guildford and therefore Queen, first not Lady Jane Grey, daughter of Frances, but Lady Margaret Clifford daughter of Eleanor (who in 1537 had married Henry Clifford, later 2nd Earl of Cumberland). So determined in fact was the all-powerful Duke to secure her in some way that failing to get her for Guildford he actually affianced Margaret to his brother Sir Andrew Dudley (*d.* 1559), a scheme which was frustrated by Northumberland's fall in 1553, which enabled her to marry Sir Henry Stanley, later 4th Earl of Derby, in 1555 (see genealogical tree).

Whether or not Frances was herself illegitimate there can be little doubt about her three daughters, Jane, Katherine and Mary, for her husband Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset later Duke of Suffolk, had a wife alive and undivorced (sister of Henry Fitzallan, Earl of Arundel) when he married Frances ; also after the execution of Jane, the children of her second daughter Katherine by Somerset's son the Earl of Hertford, were illegitimate because Katherine had married Henry Herbert, later 2nd Earl of Pembroke, previously (1553) and he was alive and undivorced. Further as there were no witnesses of the secret Hertford union it was annulled by the Court of Arches and sentence of the Archbishop (Parker) of Canterbury. This certainly bastardised Lord Beauchamp, if not the second son, Edward Seymour, who was born after the parents had made a declaration of marriage before witnesses. As for Frances' third daughter, Mary Grey, she was under the same disability as her sisters ; as a child she too was contracted in marriage by Northumberland, to Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton who deserted her, and later she married a man beneath her (Thomas or Martin Keyes) and died in 1578.

All these tangled irregularities certainly raise disputable legal questions, seeing that Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth had each in their turn been bastardised, but it is indisputable that in 1594 the only claimant legally free from the taint of bastardy and having the parliamentary sanction of the Acts of Succession was Margaret Clifford's son, the 6th Earl of Derby. The fact that he never pressed his claim but, as in other matters of State as well as literary matters, remained modestly in the background, is in keeping with a disposition which he seems to have inherited from his grandfather the 2nd Earl of Cumberland, who rarely came out of his scholarly shell.

Returning to John Davies's Epigram there are still some other curious features to note. It is distinguished from all his other Epigrams by its italics, and in the entire set of 292 this is the only one so italicised (apart from an occasional Latin word). What did Davies mean by this ? Elsewhere in his Poems he is very free, almost pointlessly so, in his use of italics, as for example in *Wittes Pilgrimage, Papers Complaint, Muses Sacrifice* and so on. But there are no italics in the text of *The Scourge of Folly* or in *English Proverbs* which follow it (not counting headings) with the single exception of this very Epigram 159. As far as can be made out elsewhere, he used italics for emphasis (as

we do now) though he spoilt the effect by overdoing it. Assuming then that he meant emphasis in Epigram 159, the two prominent ideas in his mind when penning it were : the first word " King " [i.e. Queen] and the exploitation of Shakespeare's honest work, of which others reaped the reward.

Another singular circumstance is the enigmatic content of the two short Epigrams 160 and 161 immediately following the Shakespeare Epigram and which, in the present writer's view, are associated with it, not merely by contiguity (note for instance " much adoo "). They run :—

No. 160 *To his most constant, though most unknowne friend : No body*

You shall be serv'd, but not with numbers now ;
You shall be serv'd with nought, thats good for you.

No. 161 *To my neere-deere well-known friend ; Some-body*

You looke that as myself I you should use ;
I will, or else myselfe I should abuse ;
And yet with rimes I but myselfe undoo,
Yet am I somebody with much adoo.

If it is not waste of time to try and solve riddles like this, one must ask why Davies should pose such cryptic puzzles immediately after his critical praise of Shakespeare. When Davies addressed Epigrams to other people like Ben Jonson, Inigo Jones, etc (and he addressed a large number) their meaning is generally plain enough, but those two short Epigrams are full of mystery. Is his unknown ' Nobody ' Will Derby, resolved not to be known as the author of Shakespeare's Plays, and did Davies mean by the second line of No. 160 ' least said, soonest mended ' ? Is his near-dear friend " Somebody " of No. 161 his beloved Earl, who had appealed to his *protégé* not to betray his secret ? Did Davies swear that he would keep this secret honourably but was afraid of opening his mouth for fear of undoing himself ? These be questions indeed. Davies was an incorrigible literary chatterbox ; he gossiped about everybody and it apparently cost him a severe struggle in this case not to ' blab.' One can well imagine that Derby, knowing this, put him on his honour not to disclose what he knew and that poor Davies did his best by saying as little as possible.

Concealment and relations with the Queen.

Critics may ask : why all this care to remain *incognito* ? Why should Shakespeare, if that were not his real name, wish so determinedly to hide his personality and rob himself of glory ? The question seems natural enough to us in these days when every author is striving for *kudos* but matters were very different then, with the Tudor Nobility at least. First it is manifest that Shakespeare by his *insouciance*, by the unimportance that he attached to his own work (except the two Poems he published) showed an amazing modesty in achievement, not seeming to realise his pre-eminence or to think his masterpieces worth preserving. Actuated by an irresistible impulse, his main concern was the sheer joy of creating ; he cared little as to what became of his creations and as Davies said he sowed for others to reap. But it is necessary to suppose *ex hypothesi* that William Stanley carried his indifference to the point of permitting the credit to be transferred to an agent or Bathyllus (the name of Maecenas' favourite), a Batillus—who thereby reaped the glory. The concealment was deliberate, so that we must seek deeper motives than mere indifference ; one (for Stanley) being obligatory aristocratic etiquette imposing privacy. For it was *infra dig.* in those days, in fact unheard of, for a Nobleman to publish poetry or Plays, at least in his own name. There is plenty of contemporary evidence to prove this ; for example Robert Greene in his *Farewell to Folly* (1591) said that it was the custom of amateur writers, afraid of publicity, to employ an agent or " Batillus " in whose name the work was ostensibly written (see p. 212). Puttenham in his *Arte of English Poesie* (1588) said that " very many notable Gentlemen in the Court . . . . have written commendably

and suppressed it agayne, or els suffred it to be without their owne names to it : as if it were a discredit for a Gentleman to seeme learned and to shew himself amorous of any good Art." Drayton's friend Selden in *Table Talk* said " Tis ridiculous for a lord to print verses ; tis well enough to make them to please himself but to make them public is foolish." That is why there are so many anonymous Lyrics and Sonnets of the period, often under such designations as "A.W." or " Ignoto," some of which (discussed later) it is now known were by aristocratic writers, including young William Stanley in the '80,s, long before the name " Shakespeare " first appeared (1593) as author of *Venus and Adonis.*

Shakespeare, unlike other poets, strangely refrained from adding his voice, at least openly, to the swelling chorus of praise which was lavished upon Queen Elizabeth ; unlike other poets he never wrote an Epigram to anyone and in his Plays he rarely alluded to contemporary people or events, an obstinate silence which itself suggests the imperative need for an *incognito.* While externally there are no records of any personal contacts between the Queen and Shakespeare *quâ* poet, in the Plays there are two or three allusions to her one of which suggests familiarity (p. 75) , and a woman of such brilliant intellectual attainments as the Queen must have greatly admired his genius—yet patronage was neither sought nor given. While Spenser, Churchyard, Peele and a host of other poets sang their paeans of praise, Shakespeare pointedly refrained and this " silver-tongued Melicert " as Chettle said in 1603 did not even drop " one sable teare /To mourne her death." The thing seems incredible, for surely if Shakespeare had been a commoner poet he would not court such a heavy disadvantage but like others seek the gracious favour, during her life time, of a Queen who as Chettle said " to his laies opened her royal eare " ; but so far as the present writer can make out the only flattering Poem he ever addressed to her, apart from the seven restrained Sonnets (Appendix III), is the early " Cynthia Lyric " (p. 247) whose initials W.S. are identifiable (p. 266) with William Stanley.

It is easy to understand Shakespeare's otherwise inexplicable indifference towards the Queen by picturing her relations with the Earl of Derby, against the simple background of history. Part of the policy of the Tudor sovereigns from Henry VII to Elizabeth was the merciless extermination of all potential rivals for the Crown. The first victims were of the House of York, various descendants either of Edward IV, of George Duke of Clarence, of his sister Elizabeth or of his sister-in-law Catherine, i.e. the Earls of Buckingham, Suffolk and Warwick, Countess of Salisbury, the Courtenays etc. Even Henry VIII's niece, Margaret Countess of Lennox, daughter of his elder sister Margaret, was in danger so long as she was heiress-apparent, that is until the birth of Edward VI, but Mary Queen of Scots, Henry's great-niece and Queen Elizabeth's chief rival, was sacrificed ultimately, following the 4th Duke of Norfolk who had aspired to become her consort. The descendants of Henry's younger sister Mary, were similarly in danger ; Lady Jane Grey, her grand-daughter, was sent to the block by Queen Mary in 1554 and Katherine Grey was persecuted by the young Queen Elizabeth on account of her secret marriage with the Earl of Hertford, whose issue she declared illegitimate. The other grand-daughter, Lady Jane's cousin Margaret Clifford, was long imprisoned by Elizabeth for suspected pretensions to the throne, but escaping with her life both her sons the 5th and 6th Earls of Derby came under similar suspicions ; and while this wholesale persecution of potential Pretenders no doubt averted civil war it was a terrible warning to all.

In 1594 after the death of Ferdinando the new 6th Earl of Derby, now the last *legitimate* Pretender under Henry's will, imperturbably recommended to the world as such by Parsons, found that his position had become still more perilous through increasing popular discontent with the Queen's rule. It was a matter of high politics not animosity, for from her childhood there had been close ties with the House of Stanley, so that the Earl continued to remain

in friendly relations with her, outwardly at least. She graced his wedding in her Palace at Greenwich (p. 71) and was playfully fond of his young Countess Elizabeth but never seems to have made him one of her Council. He continued his late father's practice (in common with many others) of presenting the Queen with New Year gifts in money and plate, and in some of his letters to others he (unconsciously) reveals complete loyalty. But in the dangerous crisis of 1593 - 1594 the Queen would be aware of his great popularity among the Roman Catholic section of her people, specially adored as he was in the North ; she could no doubt have found means of destroying him, but the necessity never arose because he remained absolutely loyal, and discreetly declined to court popular recognition. He could well postpone his claims to the throne till the question of the Succession was settled (as he might hope in his favour) but the History Plays would be a potential source of danger if they were construed as the Earl's propaganda, for though he had, *ex hypothesi*, written much that was harmless, some of the Drama was politically perilous, his fearless daring having gone far beyond that of other playwrights. The Lancastrian bias would not be subversive in Tudor times, rather the reverse, but the free play given to Royal delinquencies, to usurpation or deposition, and the merciless exposure of Royal crimes must have been matters of very grave import to the Queen's Government, because some of these Plays like *Richard II* were (innocently) tendencious and revolutionary. As the Queen (in the '90,s) greatly feared deposition and even assassination, so fear for his own life, as Lucas urged, may well have been the most powerful motive for rigorous concealment from the people.

The Queen seems to have turned against him finally soon after the Essex rising in 1601. A remarkable conversation between her and the Town Librarian and keeper of the Rolls, William Lambarde, took place at East Greenwich on 4th August 1601, of which Lambarde made a memorandum (see Nichol's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* Vol. III, p. 552). He was a " learned lawyer " of Lincoln's Inn, who was in her confidence, and so far back as 1585 had strongly advised her to intervene in Flanders. The conversation recorded is somewhat ambiguous owing to the fact that no names are mentioned, but it turned on the subject of Richard II, and the Play *Richard II* which she reviled. In the previous February Sir Gelly Merrick had applied to Augustine Phillips (not to Shakspere) to have it acted with the object of publicly exhibiting the deposition of a monarch, and so inflaming the passions of the people on the eve of the Essex rising (7th February 1601). Met with the objection that the Play was an old one, the company was bribed with 40/- to secure its production, and this act cost Merrick his life. The real author of *Richard II* had nothing to do with this subversive misuse of his Drama, much less innocent Shakspere (whose name in any case need not have been suppressed in Lambarde's account and who did not come into the picture at all). The conversation with the Queen opened with the angry remark,* " I am Richard II know ye not that ? " to which Lambarde replied " Such a wicked imagination was determined and attempted by a most unkind Gent. the most adorned creature that ever your Majestie made." He might have meant the Earl of Essex, but the Queen in her reply seems to have meant Shakespeare, by saying darkly " He that will forget God, will also forget his benefactors ; this tragedy was played 40^{tie} times in open streets and houses." Essex of course, whose death she lamented, had nothing to do with those forty productions and everything points to Shakespeare as the object of her rancour. Previously she had imprisoned an innocent historian, John Hayward, in 1599 for including an historical account of the deposition of Richard in his *Life and Raigne of King Henrie IV*, a " most treasonous booke " which compromised Essex to whom it was dedicated, and is mentioned in the recorded deposition of witnesses at the trial following the rebellion. It is sometimes supposed that the Play, revived the day before the rising, was some " Harry the iiij " mentioned in the evidence, but there can be no reasonable doubt that the actual Play which the actors were bribed to produce was Shakespeare's and though his name is not mentioned, it is referred to as the " play of Kyng Richard . . . . so old & so long out of use." If an actor playwright

* She had good reason ; her own cousin Lord Hunsdon had nick-named her " Richard the second," and the closing years of her reign paralleled those of Richard II in respect of favouritism, unjust taxation and projected deposition.

like Shakspere had written this detestable Play we may be sure that the Queen would have imprisoned or otherwise destroyed him. It was a different matter with a powerful Nobleman like the Earl of Derby against whom the Queen could bring no charge consistent with her dignity, and the fact that this (to her) execrable deposition scene (cut out of the first Quartos) escaped censorship, defiance of which would have meant the Star-chamber for any ordinary playwright, speaks volumes.

It is doubtful whether the Queen still entertained bitter feelings against the Earl of Derby for the next year or two but she certainly did not nominate him her successor. Accounts differ only slightly as to what she said on 23rd March, 1603 just before her death, when pressed to name her successor, and they all agree that she consented to James VI of Scotland. But one account, vouched for by Robert Carey (closely related to the Earl of Derby by marriage, but a supporter of James) later Earl of Monmouth and a favourite of the Queen, makes out that the dying Queen said " I told you my seat had been the seat of Kings, and I will have no rascall to succeed me " ; while another account, vouched for by her Maid of Honour, Mistress Southwell, gives the essential words as " no rascal's son " This difference makes it impossible to say which Pretender was specified as a rascal ; perhaps the Earl of Derby who was apparently in London at the time and might have attended the special meeting of the Council and Noblemen at Whitehall six o'clock the next morning. He may have been disappointed at the decision in favour of James I, urged principally by his own wife's Uncle, the Queen's Secretary, who like Lord Henry Howard had been in secret correspondence with James for some time ; but at least the long suspense was ended and the Earl remained free to compose *ex hypothesi* the great Shakespearian Tragedies which followed.

Spenser and Shakespeare.

A matter for surprise, of long standing, is the omission of Shakespeare's great contemporary, Edmund Spenser, most generous of poets, to sing his praises, that is in the name " Shakespeare " ; but so early as 1579 he wrote about a joyous youth, called " Willy " and " Willye," while later in 1591 he paid a glowing tribute to a poet whom he also called " Willy," evident allusions (p. 236-7) to William Stanley. Spenser was related to his sister-in-law, Alice Spencer then Lady Strange, and must have known William as intimately as his brother Ferdinando, whom he warmly praised in *Colin Clouts come home againe*. This Poem, dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, was also written in 1591, after Spenser's return to Ireland from London but it was not published till 1595, after he had made some later interpolations as noted below. The Poem is remarkable for the praise he bestows on many contemporary writers, given shepherd-pseudonyms, some of which can be readily identified while others are doubtful. But there are two of which there is no doubt, Amyntas (Ferdinando, 5th Earl of Derby) and Amaryllis (his wife Alice), linked together by Spenser (lines 432 to 447) in deploring the recent death (p. 19) of the former and sympathising with Amaryllis " left to mone " his loss. These lines should be read carefully because of the four lines which follow and which, it is generally admitted, refer to Shakespeare—but by the pseudonym "Aetion."

It has been suggested in some quarters that Amyntas might be Thomas Watson who died in 1592. This is not so because, firstly, Spenser makes it clear that Amyntas was not only a poet but a *patron* of poetry and secondly because elsewhere (lines 536 and 571) he specifies the bereaved Amaryllis as one of the three sisters (daughters of Sir John Spencer) to whom he was related while in his dedication of *Teares of the Muses* (1591) he had referred to this relationship in addressing her as Lady Strange. There is thus no doubt whatever about Amyntas, but Spenser (from the wording) seems to have written an earlier panegyric to him,

while he was alive, possibly following the gentle reminder of Thomas Nashe in *The Supplication of Pierce Pennilesse* (1592). In the latter, Spenser is taken to task for not having, in his *Faerie Queene* (1590), chanted the praise of Ferdinando, " matchlesse image of honour, and magnificent rewarder of vertue Jove's Eagle-born Ganimed thrice noble Amyntas " ; Nashe accusing him of forgetfulness in not including among " that honourable catalogue of our English Heroes," " so speciall a pillar of nobility " as one of " his derived descent " etc.

From Spenser's opening line (432) of the interpolation, as appearing in 1595—" There also is (ah no ! he is not now) "—it is probable that he took Nashe's hint, soon afterwards, by inserting his eulogium to Ferdinando, that is between his praise of the " shepheard of the Ocean " (Raleigh) and Astrofell (Sir Philip Sidney). What the original lines were (there are now a total of 16) cannot of course be known, but the fact that in the last four he used the pseudonym Aetion, apparently for Shakespeare, strongly suggests that these four lines were not altered like the preceding lines to the since-deceased Ferdinando, first because Aetion signifies ' eagle ' (Gr. *aetos*) and would be suggested to his mind by Nashe's " Ganimed " in 1592 (with its eagle *motiv* for Ferdinando) and second because the poetic name Shakespeare did not appear till 1593, while Aetion was a singularly appropriate pseudonym for a member of the Stanley family (see p. 10). Before Spenser could publish his Poem, Ferdinando was dead (April 1594), a staggering fact rendering necessary the alteration, which was generously but not neatly contrived (for the whole interpolation stands out from the context) ; in grieving for his death, Spenser speaks of him in his quaint shepherd-language as a poet who could " pipe " with passing skill, " the noblest swaine / That ever piped," adding " did he other which could pipe maintaine " [patronise].

The important four lines *immediately* following this praise of Ferdinando precede some lines to Astrofell the " Paragone " Sir Philip Sidney, and so stand quite apart from the praise of untitled poets (either named or identifiable as Alabaster, Churchyard, Daniel, Fraunce, Golding, Lodge and Peele) :—

> And there, though last not least, is Aetion ;
> A gentler shepheard may no where be found :
> Whose Muse, full of high thoughts invention,
> Doth like himselfe heroically sound.

That these crucial lines refer to Shakespeare is the more certain because of the epithet* " gentler," and most commentators, even Sir Sidney Lee, accept the allusion. That they refer to William Stanley, as first suggested by Lefranc, should follow from the immediate context alluding to his brother and sister-in-law in the interpolated passage ; and this inference is confirmed by several considerations, (1) the heroic cast of Stanley in his adventures, (2) Spenser's relationship to his sister-in-law and (3) the pseudonym "Aetion " recalling the Eagle Tower Lathom and the well known crest of the House of Stanley (p. 10). These lines cannot refer to Shakspere the player who was not in Spenser's *milieu* at all, and only introduced a falcon and spear into his crest several years later ; moreover the last line clearly shows that the words " heroically sound " apply specially to " himselfe," not to a name (i.e. Shake-speare) as has been weakly contended by some commentators, bent on linking Spenser's praise (which was probably in 1592) with the Stratford player by ignoring the fundamental disharmony.

Epitaphs. In Tong Church, Shropshire, there is a monument to Sir Thomas Stanley (p. 14) Will Derby's Uncle, on which is inscribed an epitaph in two stanzas (see *S.V.S.* p. 216) admittedly written by Shakespeare, as anyway Sir William Dugdale (an authority on monuments) affirmed about 1660. Apart

* But the word " gentle " then frequently signified a member of the Nobility (Greenstreet).

from several distinctive qualities of this fine epitaph, Shakespearian authorship is confirmed by the characteristic word-play (on Standleigh) of the last line : " Stanley, for whom this stands, shall stand in heaven." It would be as natural for the Earl of Derby to compose this epitaph (probably about 1600) for his Uncle, as it would be improbable for Shakspere in far-away Stratford to have had anything to do with it, his own epitaph (p. 121) being vulgar doggerel. The tomb and epitaph of Tong have been the subject of a good deal of discussion including some mis-statements of fact, as pointed out by Mr. E. B. Goodacre, but in spite of all efforts to find a link with the Stratford player none have been established. The only reasonable explanation is that the 6th Earl of Derby himself composed this epitaph, and co-operated with his impoverished cousin, Sir Edward Stanley (Sir Thomas's son) in erecting the monument ; in which connection it is of interest to note Shakespeare's pious sentiments towards the dead as found for instance in *Cymbeline* (IV, 2).

Two other epitaphs bearing strong marks of Shakespearian authorship are those on the noble alabaster monument in the Sir Thomas More Chapel of the Old Church, Chelsea.* Their importance lies not only in the date, 3rd January 1632 [1633], long after Bacon, the Earl of Oxford and Shakspere were dead, but in the fact that the one on the left was written for the 6th Earl of Derby's second son, Sir Robert Stanley (p. 33) and therefore probably by his poetic father. The monument and both epitaphs were first described by Raines (*The Stanley Papers Part III*, Vol. 2.) and his wording of Sir Robert's epitaph is reproduced below :—

To say a Stanley lyes here, that alone
Were Epitaph enough, noe brass, noe stone,
Noe glorious Tombe, noe monumental Hearse,
Noe Heralds' blazon, and no Poets' verse,
Can dignifie his Grave, or sett it forth
Like the Immortal form of his own worth :
Then, Reader, fixe not here, but quitt this Roome
And flye to Abram's bosome—there's his Tombe ;
There rests his soule ; and for his other parts,
They are embalm'd and lodg'd in good men's hearts.
A braver monument of Stone or Lyme,
Noe arte can rayse, for this shall outlast Tyme.

Whether these noble lines are genuinely by Shakespeare may be a matter of opinion, but they satisfy the present writer's critical judgment for several reasons especially (1) the rhythm and *thought*, (2) the characteristic word repetition (see p. 171) and (3) the demonstrably advanced age of the poet. The lines recall the Tong epitaph and Sonnet **55** (whose forecast is now fulfilled by the irony of Fate) ; also the words " brass, nor stone " appear in Sonnet **65** and in *Winter's Tale* (I, 2, 360). As for (3) the approximate age is accessible by a new method of spelling analysis, described in Chapter IX, dependent on the frequency of words spelt with *y* instead of *i*, of which there are six such spellings in this and the shorter epitaph on the right hand panel of the same monument devoted to Sir Robert Stanley's two baby children, Ferdinando and Henarite. The epitaph writer's age works out at about 70, only of course as a rough figure (The Earl of Derby was then about 72, Ben Jonson 60 and Milton 25). Both the Chelsea epitaphs are notable for their dignified feeling and typical imagery, which in the second one (not quoted) envisages " The Eagle Death " as carrying away the infants i.e. like Ganymede, but taking " Their Soules to Heaven." These epitaphs naturally raise the very interesting question whether since the time of his last Plays " Shakespeare " wrote much beautiful poetry which was never preserved.

Veiled allusions. The prevalent literary practice of satirical attack by oblique allusion, instead of open criticism, makes it difficult to interpret the true meaning in those few cases where Shakespeare was the subject of satire, and though numerous more or less scathing attacks can be simply referred to the player, there is little of evidential value in what certainly relates to the poet Shakespeare. What was said mostly refers to his poetry, but while there is no mystery about the numerous records which mention Shakspere, either as

* Since destroyed by German bombs (May 1941) ; but the monument survives except for the broken right-hand urn.

actor in London or maltster money-lender in Stratford-on-Avon, allusions to the poet like that of John Davies of Hereford (p. 43), are often carefully veiled, as was pointed out by Lucas ; yet though the fact in itself is significant its use as evidence is at best doubtful. For example John Davies put the initials W.S. in the margin opposite some lines in *Microcosmos* and *The Civile Warres*, but the context does not unambiguously suggest Shakespeare, and the initials might be those of William Shakspere, William Sly, William Smith or Wentworth Smith. But in *The Neue Metamorphosis* by J.M. (perhaps John Marston) containing the lines :—

It seemes 'tis true that W.S. said
When once he heard one courting of a Mayde

metrical necessities, which exclude Sly and the Smiths, demand a name like William Stanley or William Shakespeare. William Shakspere, also possible, can hardly be admitted because this W.S. is, beyond reasonable doubt, identical with the W.S. of *Willobie his Avisa* (p. 56), who identifiable indirectly with William Stanley through the " Mistress Poem " (p. 254). In *Histriomastix* there is an interpolation of unknown date (between 1598 and 1610) almost certainly by John Marston, at that time a stinging satirist, attacking Shakespeare as if he were a Knight of the Garter, but there is a line missing, either by accident or design, which obscures the full meaning of the interpolated dialogue between Troylus and Cressida. As Lucas pointed out, the author of *Troilus and Cressida* is made the subject of cruel ridicule. The context, with the words " garter blue " and the line :—

That When he shakes his furious Speare

clearly suggest identification of ' W shakes Speare ' with Troilus himself who, deceived by his wife, could be construed as the Earl of Derby. At any rate such a malicious thrust would sting the Earl, after his marital troubles of 1597-8 and his elevation to the Knighthood of the Garter in 1601, during which period the Play *T. and C.* was mainly written (p. 199).

Less ambiguous than the above is the dedicatory Sonnet of John Donne, (*Divine Poems*) " To E of D," the significance of which was first pointed out by Lefranc, who however thought the date was between 1607 and 1609, and omitted to take into account the relations between Donne and the Earl of Derby. These must have been close because Donne, like Derby a member of Lincoln's Inn, had been for four years secretary to Lord Ellesmere, second husband of Derby's sister-in-law, Countess Alice, also because Donne was intimate with the Earl of Derby's son-in-law Sir Robert Kerr, later the Earl of Ancram (p. 33) and with other relatives. As regards date, the Holy Sonnets were composed in 1617-8 (Sir Edmund Gosse) so that they could not have been dedicated to the Earl of Dorset (Thomas Sackville) as has been erroneously supposed, because he died in 1608. It is true that the *Divine Poems* were written over a period commencing probably in 1608, and one was certainly in 1613 (" Good Friday ") but the seven (" La Corona ") Holy Sonnets of which six were dedicated to " E of D " were much later. The beginning and end of Donne's Sonnet only need be reproduced (modern spelling) :—

" To E of D with six Holy Sonnets "

See Sir, how as the Sun's hot Masculine flame
Begets strange creatures on Nile's dirty slime,
In me, your fatherly yet lusty Rhyme

* * * * * *

You are that Alchemist which always had
Wit, whose one spark could make good things of bad.

It is noticeable that Donne, speaking in the present tense, praises an elderly experienced poet in terms singularly applicable to Shakespeare; one as he says whose " invention " was equal to his " judgment " and whose " engendering force " operated like an " Elixir " that could change dross to " gold." Such specific attributes could apply neither to the old deceased Earl of Dorset, nor yet to his son Robert 2nd Earl of Dorset, who in any case died in 1609, nor to Robert's young son, Richard who since he died at the age of 34 in 1624 was (3rd.) Earl of Dorset at the time, nor to his younger brother Edward (4th) Earl of Dorset though he was " learn'd in th' muses " (Herrick). Richard the 3rd Earl as a matter of fact married the Earl of Derby's cousin Anne Clifford in 1609 but he was only 28 in 1618 not " fatherly." Looking these facts in the face, and even the image of the opening lines borrowed from *Antony and Cleopatra* (II, 7, 29), how are the initials " E of D " to be explained? They cannot stand for some obscure person E of place D because he was obviously a poet of great literary distinction; the Stephens M.S. actually made him Earl of Doncaster, which is stupid for there was never such an Earl [James Hay was created Viscount Doncaster in July 1618] and in actual fact there were in 1618 only three Earls of D besides Derby and the excluded Dorset. They were Devon (non-existent but *de jure*), Devonshire and Dunfermline, both of whom were politicians who could never have earned an encomium so singularly distinctive of Shakespeare himself. The " fatherly " Earl of Derby, then 58, some 13 years older than Donne, inductively remains as the only possible E of D; and if it is asked why Donne did not make his dedication direct to ' Shakespeare ' the answer probably is that he was thinking of the man not the pen-name, praising him just as he praised Derby's niece Elizabeth in her own name (Countess of Huntingdon) in the well known Poems that he addressed to her.

Willobie his Avisa.

The chief interest of *Willobie* (October 1594), a long rather monotonous Poem in dialogue, lies in the line, written only a few months after *Lucrece* was published :—

And **Shake-speare,** *paints poore* **Lucrece** *rape.*

and in the fact that Shakespeare or rather " W.S." is made to appear as one of the past wooers of the chaste heroine Avisa, whilst offering advice to the unsuccessful " H.W." It may be doubted whether " Hadrian Dorrell," as he signed himself, was the real name* of the author or author-editor, and it is generally believed that this was a pen-name, under cover of which a slur was cast upon Shakespeare; indeed several critics consider that the real author was Matthew Roydon, though Dorrell in one of his stanzas spoke of himself as a beginner (" My tender Muse . . .") which Roydon certainly was not in 1594, having graduated M.A. (Oxford) in 1580.

It never seems to have occurred to anyone but Lucas (*S.V.S.*) that W.S. might stand for William Stanley, and that much of the mystery surrounding *Willobie* is cleared up on this assumption. The whole Poem with its various epistles and explanatory addenda, as well as the later attack in 1596 by Peter Colse (also Roydon, according to Acheson) constitutes an enigma, as to which the numerous theories which have been put forward are open to objection at one point or another, while none are at all satisfying in terms of William Shakspere as W.S. Dorrell told a rather ' cock and bull ' story of how he got

* If so he may have been related to " William Dorrell of Litlecote in the county of Wilteshire," " Prebendary of the Church of Canterbury," who was arraigned for " certain horrible offences " (Acts of Privy Council, 1579).

the manuscript from his " chamber fellow M. Henry Willobie," who was killed in foreign wars, and probably much of what he said in Preface and subsequent "Apologie " (1596) is sheer fiction, but in the second edition (1596) he emphatically re-affirmed that Willobie was the original author, also adding that Avisa was a purely fictitious heroine, symbolising Chastity. Charles Hughes in his investigations, described in his reprint (1904), found that there was a real Henry Willoughby (*b.* 1575) who matriculated at St. John's College Oxford in 1591 and that he had a younger brother Thomas, which suggests that some of Dorrell's statements were true, since in the 2nd edition (1596) he included a Poem written by Thomas, " Frater Henrici Willoby." As the introductory Canto I describes Avisa as a Mayor's daughter, and gives certain topographical details which indicate the West Country, Hughes was led by the Willoughby clue to identify Avisa as probably Avys Forward (*b.* 25th March 1575), probably a barmaid at Mere and Cerne Abbas. G. B. Harrison proposed Sherborne and Cerne Abbas but Dr. Creighton, who thought that the real author was H. W. signifying Henry Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton, placed the scene near Winchester, supposing that Avisa means Bird, a name possessed by more than one Mayor of Winchester at that time.

On the other hand Acheson who has made a most thorough investigation of the Davenant family, held that she was the illegitimate daughter of William Bird, a wealthy draper and Mayor of Bristol, and that she married, about 1591, John Davenant of London who is later (1604) known to have been the host of the Tavern in Oxford (Cornmarket Street) and may have operated the neighbouring George Inn in 1592. This does not square with " thy [Avisa's] parents meane estate " (Canto II) or with some Latin lines by Peter Colse. who said that she was not only the wife but the *daughter* of an inn-keeper ; but if Acheson's theory, which is supported by much documentary evidence, is sound it would mean that Avisa was Anne Sachfeilde, that she was separated from Davenant about 1596, died about 1600 and that, after this, Davenant married his second wife, Jane Shepherd, who was the mother of seven children, including the famous Sir William Davenant (*b.* 1606) ; anyway it is now clear that his second wife had a spotless reputation, so that the later traditions of Aubrey and Wood must have mistakenly fixed the *liaison* of his first wife [Avisa] on the second (aided by the hints of Sir William himself).

There is however such a gulf between the fancies of poetry and hard documented facts that it is impossible to extract from *Willobie* any satisfactory link between the two, especially since the puritanical Dorell (whoever he was) certainly tried to befog the situation for reasons of his own. If any realistic credence can be attached to his Cantos and to the criticisms in *Penelopes Complaint* (1596) by Peter Colse (whoever *he* was) Avisa whose name was Anne (Latin lines of " P.C. S.D.") served as a barmaid near a Castle, with a spotless reputation to the age of 20, when she married a man in her own " state " and was " content," in spite of repeated attempts by various men on her chastity. That her husband was Davenant is suggested, as a hint, by Dorrell in one of his epistles, where he says that he knew " one A.D. who was as chaste as Avisa." She had been wooed unsuccessfully by W.S. before the others came on the scene and W.S. must have been Shakespeare, because his advice in seven stanzas (Canto 47) is a roughly paraphrased version of the licentious 9-stanza Poem found later in the *Passionate Pilgrime*, commencing " Whenas thine eye hath chose the dame " (see " Mistress Poem," p. 254) which had probably been seen by " Dorrell." She must have been an extraordinarily attractive girl, but if her fictional experiences with men are to be credited she simply tortured them by dalliance, tempting them to distraction, while talking virtue *ad nauseam* and revelling in the subtle flattery (in which sense she was by no means a *rara avis*). Whether as Acheson urged, on various imagined links with the Plays, she was Shakespeare's " dark lady " of the

Sonnets is more than doubtful, and the present writer (on equally conjectural grounds) is of opinion (see *S.S.*) that Shakespeare sought her as his mistress somewhere in the West Country (perhaps even in Bath) *after* he had discarded the " dark lady " in the Spring of 1591. Whether " H.W.", who loved her desperately but whose advances were rejected, was as Creighton, Harrison and Acheson supposed the Earl of Southampton, is also doubtful since Dorrell called him " Henrico Willobego, Italo-Hispalensio," but this is probably ' all moonshine ' and it is possible that Southampton who was in Oxford in 1592 (p. 119) saw her (as Mrs. Davenant) at the George Inn ; at all events Dorrell who wrote *Willobie* in Oxford could have easily ' ferreted out ' the love adventures of a barmaid defending a compromised reputation.

When we find in *Willobie* that W.S. had been an " old player " [at the game, not actor] " who not long before " had tried his luck with Avisa and that the first suitor is a " Noble man " who wooed Avisa before marriage, one who is of " riper years," " high estate " and is called " your wisdome " but is nevertheless rejected in spite of offers of wealth, it seems possible that he and W.S. were the same, despite the fact that he shows a revengeful spirit after rejection, which of course is poetic licence. No doubt Dorrell ' had his knife ' into W.S. the quondam libertine he strove to denigrate, and by unwarrantably hyphenating the name, " Shake-speare," he drew attention not only to its pseudonymic connotation but, seeing that Pallas or Minerva the goddess of wisdom was a spear-shaker, more maliciously he thus conveyed the idea of a threat, by brandishment of a lance ; a thrust peculiarly applicable to the new Earl of Derby who in 1594 unwillingly threatened the throne and who then would be sensitive to any earlier indiscretions. At any rate there are strong indications that someone with powerful influence suppressed *Willobie* and moreover intervened to stop the publication of subsequent editions, while this and all the mystery about the book are simply unintelligible in terms of any plebeian actor.

As to the scene of Avisa's adventures, the present writer from hints in the text has tried to identify it with Salisbury, assuming that the " badge of Englands Saint " was the Old George Inn, the " Castle " Sarum, and " Old Helicon " Wilton, the idea being that Avisa was a barmaid first at the Castle Inn and then after marriage at the Old George ; but after many local enquiries no evidence was found. There are for instance no records of the marriage of John Davenant in the registers of St. Edmond's or St. Thomas' Churches (but the register of St. Thomas' has lacunae between 1580 and 1600) and the register of Stratford Church below Old Sarum goes no further back than 1654. John Davenant (1572 - 1641) Bishop of Salisbury (1621) was second cousin to the other John in question (Acheson) and there were other Davenants in Salisbury in the 17th century. Attempts to ascertain if John Davenant was tenant of the Old George have failed and there was no mayor of Salisbury between 1580 and 1594 called Bird.

Very shadowy is the traditional idea, sponsored by Lee, that Davenant's wife, that is Avisa not his second wife, was " good pintpot " (Mistress Quickly) of *Henry IV*; but (though the characters as depicted fail to fit) not a little interest attaches to a letter (8th July 1599) some years after *Willobie*, written by the young Countess of Southampton (Elizabeth Vernon newly wedded) to her husband serving in Ireland, in which as a piece of gossip she told him that " Sir John Falstaff " had made " Dame Pintpot " the mother of a boy (p. 88). This boy was certainly not William (later Sir William) Davenant, who hinted that he was Shakespeare's son as well as godson if the legends of Oldys and Aubrey are to be credited ; but reasons are given later (p. 88) for supposing that " Sir John Falstaff " was simply a nick-name for the Earl of Derby. Gossip and legend are slender foundations on which to build any hypothesis

but if these tales conceal a kernel of truth, it may amount to this : that the Earl of Southampton knew that the Earl of Derby in 1598 had been in Oxford and that Lady Southampton hearing of the birth of a boy the following year irresponsibly assumed that W.S. had at last overcome Avisa's scruples. [In any case she had separated from her husband in 1596 so that paternity may be probably sought elsewhere.]

Negative evidence. In general, expected events which do not occur can only be regarded as trustworthy links in any chain of evidence when either frequency or singularity gives them significance. Taken by itself for instance the fact is not remarkable that the name Shakespeare was never mentioned by anyone till 1594 i.e. Dorrell, seeing that *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, bearing this name, had only recently appeared, but when coupled with the fact that several Shakespeare Plays had certainly been performed in London for a few years previously, and with the fact that, as indicated by Spenser's earlier allusions, the poet was well known in certain circles, though not as ' Shakespeare,' it might be reasonably expected that some one would have referred to him as Shakespeare before 1594 if that had been his real name, whereas if it were a *nom-de-plume*, first assumed in 1593, the unbroken silence would become intelligible. The pen-name might also account for the remarkable absence, as noted by Ingleby, of any later praise by many notable contemporaries (Bacon, Selden etc.) and particularly the strange omission of Thomas Lodge who did not include ' Shakespeare ' among the " divine wits " in his *Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnes* (about 1596). Edward Guilpin who included Chaucer, Drayton etc. in his *Skialetha* (1598) also omitted Shakespeare. These omissions are parallel to the converse omission of John Davies to name the Earl of Derby as dramatist in his numerous Epigrams on famous contemporaries, while praising Shakespeare, and it is difficult not to connect all these omissions with the equally singular reticence of Spenser, who as noted never mentioned the name Shakespeare, though he praised a brilliant poet whom he called Willy, reasonably identified with his Aetion. Ben Jonson, whose noble eulogy in the Folio shows a deep appreciation of Shakespeare (at least in 1623) nevertheless omitted to include him among the best authors (Chaucer, Spenser, Sidney, Donne etc.) fit to be read, in his *Discoveries—Praecepiendi Modi* (some time after 1630). The evidential significance of these otherwise inexplicable omissions, where praise of poets was the theme, lies in the circumstance that if the Earl of Derby used the pseudonym ' Shakespeare ' these men and a few others like ' Dorrell ' or Thomas Heywood (p. 249) were practically the only writers who could have been in the secret ; so thinking of the man himself, it either never occurred to them to refer to the pen-name or else they preserved a discreet silence. Philip Henslowe (p. 128) and Edward Alleyn, who left voluminous records relating to payment of Play authors, never make any allusion to Shakespeare, from which it must be concluded that he received no payments and so differed radically from contemporary playwrights.

Further negative evidence is to be found in the singular omissions of Shakespeare himself. Unlike so many other poets, he neither toadied to the Queen or to notable contemporaries ; nor did he so far as is known publish any of his Plays or take the least care to preserve them, or take action against their piratical publication in disgracefully garbled form, or protest against a number of inferior and spurious Plays fathered on him by unscrupulous publishers, most damaging to his great reputation. Nor, under great

provocation, did he take any notice of Ben Jonson's unkind sneers (Chap. VII) or Greene's vituperative attack on ' Shake-scene ' (p. 112), and though there is evidence that on one occasion at least he was annoyed about piracy (p. 249) it would seem that he was obliged to remain (as Greenwood said) " William the silent." As Jusserand pointed out, such a record of inaction is altogether unique in literary history. It certainly is, but it scarcely befits the character of a money-lender like Shakspere who exacted a small sum from an old friend acting as security for a defaulter (p. 105). Such inaction is intelligible in terms of a disdainful patrician, indifferent to what others said or did ; moreover the Earl of Derby dare not take action without grave risk to his incognito.

The pen-name.

While most authors are willing enough to publish in their own names, others from time immemorial have sheltered behind a pseudonym from various motives, principally fear of attack by hostile detractors. In Roman times the motive with Scipio Africanus (Terence) was probably privacy ; in Elizabethan times, with Spenser (Immeritô) before he came out in the open, as with Marston (Kynsader), the desire was to find shelter from attack. In the case of the Earl of Derby, as stated (p. 49), both aristocratic and political reasons operated, but after the Folio ascription to Shakspere in 1623 the belief that ' Shakespeare ' was the real name of the dramatist was justified, though as will be explained in Chapter VII it has no more importance than similar mistaken beliefs in respect of other writers who have since masqueraded under pen-names, like ' Mark Twain,' ' Mark Rutherford ' or ' Fiona M'Leod ' and many others. The hyphen so freely used in the case of ' Shake-speare ' is a plain indication that at least some writers and publishers at the time believed the name to be a pen-name (see below). Sir George Greenwood some years ago postulated a parallel, in which he imagined some hypothetical clerk with literary pretensions, of the name George Eliot, who in the 19th century was supposed by his friends to be the author of a number of brilliant novels (*Adam Bede, The Mill on the Floss*, etc.) appearing in this name. If the clerk had chosen dishonestly to accept the honour of being putative author and Miss Evans had never let the world into her secret, the case with this great novelist would have been not unlike that of Shakespeare and Shakspere. Why the real author should have selected Shakespeare as pen-name when any other might have served his purpose, is an open field for speculation, but it may be observed that when Charlotte Bronte based the pen-name ' Currer Bell ' on her own initials she (unconsciously) followed the precedent predicated of William Stanley ; like whom Thomas Moore similarly retained his Christian name when he published his early Poems under the pen-name ' Thomas Little.'

Sir Walter Scott published his novels anonymously ; indeed for years even persisting in the denial that he was the author. Motives in cases like these are purely private, but if one may speculate there is much to be said for the view that William Stanley when he first used the pen-name Shakespeare adopted the name of Shakspere, his agent or Batillus, in its new London spelling (p. 111). It may be however that Lucas was right in suggesting that it was a nick-name given to him by his friends for having talked about his claims to the throne (at which he shook a spear) though this seems unlikely, for in 1593 when the author's name ' Shakespeare ' was first used (in the dedication of *Venus and Adonis* to the Earl of Southampton) there were no prospects of the throne for William Stanley—then, it was his brother who might but did not make such claims. The name was not new or rare ; l'Estrange Ewen, Mrs. Stopes and others have shown from many records that under various spellings it had been widely spread over the country for at least two centuries. The present writer has also found the surname in a record concerning musters (*Acts of Privy Council* 1578 - 1580) but the first record of the Stratford player's name being spelt ' Shakespeare ' was in London, in 1595 (p. 107).

Whatever the reason may have been for adopting the pen-name it is most significant that the author should have only signed himself twice ' William Shakespeare ' viz. in 1593 as above and in 1594 when he dedicated *Lucrece*, also to the Earl of Southampton, but it is doubtful if he authorised the name, (spelt ' Shake-speare), found below *The Phœnix and the Turtle*, published in 1601 (p. 163), though the hyphen surely implies that ' Shake-speare ' was not a real surname at all. As Lucas pointed out, the hyphen occurs in numerous allusions to Shakespeare as well as on the title pages of some of the Quartos. Hyphenation even of two surnames appears to be modern practice, but to find a hyphen used to *separate* into two portions an existing surname is extraordinary ; the name Shakspere for example was never hyphenated in the many documentary references to the actor except when Greene in his attack (p. 112), called him " Shake-scene," and when Ben Jonson in his Folio (1616) listed him, among other actors as Shake-Speare, believing him to be the poet. The poet himself certainly did not use the hyphen but wrote " Shakespeare " (1593 and 1594) and its use must be therefore ascribed to others, either to indicate that it was not a real name, any more than Shake-scene, or because the fashion was set by " Hadrian Dorrell " who invented the hyphen apparently to set people thinking of the man (W.S.) behind the pen-name and so to compromise the reputation of the new Earl of Derby, as noted. Since others, later, merely followed suit without penetrating the *incognito* they tacitly admitted that the hyphenated name was a pseudonym as prominently, if not so surely as John Davies, who not only knew the Earl of Derby but, by using the synonym " Terence," candidly advertised that Shake-speare was not the real name of the poet at all.

CHAPTER IV

EVIDENCE FROM THE PLAYS

SHAKESPEARE'S drama lends itself to such amazingly elastic interpretation that it not only truthfully reflects present day experiences but sometimes seems to reflect actual individuals or events of the period. In fact however, Shakespeare is so tantalisingly vague and non-committal, even in allusions, that conjectures as to such people or events are mere fanciful guesses unless induction (pp. 2-3) founded on a group of coincidences pointing the same way, raises probability above the level of chance. Nothing is easier than to pick out sporadic coincidences to suit favourite predilections or any theory, and it behoves the investigator in this field to walk warily indeed. Orthodox imagination for example has discovered some correspondences with the life of William Shakspere, but there is not one of these that cannot be equally well or better explained otherwise, so that they are worthless as evidence. So are, for the same reason, the identifications of certain characters in the Plays with the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Southampton, Florio, Chapman etc, where some commentators have perceived symbolical, allegorical or even satirical allusions ; all highly imaginative and mostly quite unconvincing when critically scrutinised. Whether the remarkable correspondences with the life of the Earl of Derby, large numbers of which have been brought to light by Lefranc, stand in a different category remains to be seen ; they are convincing because confirmed by ties of self-consistency in linked groups, though there are other apparent Derby coincidences in the Plays which are susceptible to alternative interpretation and are therefore evidentially valueless. Whether certain or uncertain, they are exceedingly numerous and among the former the more striking cases are submitted in this Chapter.

State affairs. Shakespeare's dramatic exposition of political cause and effect is astonishing, indeed absolutely unique. In dramatising the errors of humanity many searching truths are unerringly exposed, affecting religion, usurpation, civil war, foreign relations, justice and a host of other questions of high policy, all betraying a statesman's intimacy with the intricate problems of government. It is not likely that, as Lefranc supposed, he had any ulterior design behind this elaborately dramatised history, because it all seems to flow too easily from his pen, following the very pattern of his Art without moralisation ; but so far as an undesigned moral can be drawn from any of Shakespeare's Plays it is, in the case of government, that pusillanimity breeds disaster no less than injustice, that weak rule is as dangerous as mob rule, and that (as Lefranc pointed out) neither the murder of Princes nor foreign intervention in England (invited by rebellious elements) is ever justifiable. While detesting the fickleness of the mob Shakespeare was no believer in divine right of Kings, much less in tyranny, and his profound comprehension of human psychology underlies a political wisdom which is without parallel in literature (wisdom, alas, that has been largely lost on succeeding generations of men). Beyond this, the fearless revelation of unpleasant skeletons in the cupboards of Nobility

and Royalty, by one for whom the Star Chamber evidently had no terrors in those dangerous times, makes it frankly incredible that Shakespeare was a plebeian writer who dared to meddle* in matters of such a high reach.

All this becomes at once intelligible in terms of William Stanley, because he had, as it were, inherited an instinct for every thing appertaining to Government from his forefathers. Their (Stanley) record of service to the Crown resembles their dominion as Kings of Man in being one long story of prudent statesmanship. In the Isle of Man Sir John Stanley (*b.* 1390), who without violence broke the domination of the papacy 100 years before the Reformation, initiated an ideal system which, implemented by his descendants, became in Elizabethan times a model in self-government that might well have been copied in England ; in fact it was only tardily and imperfectly adopted, till eventually it served as a model for the British Commonwealth itself, but during the " reign " of the 6th Earl of Derby, Lord chief Justice Coke said " the Isle of Man has such laws, the like whereof are not to be found in any other place." This miniature State had then indeed solved the problem of the greatest happiness for the greatest number mainly by the benevolent rule of successive Stanleys ; it was they who, providing a parliament freely elected by the whole people (originally in 1422 on Tynwald Hill), codified laws for regulating the administration of Justice, and above all for rectifying disputes between Church and State. The feudal system of the Stanleys worked without clash between people and aristocracy because, despite the fact that they exercised control mostly from the main-land through Governors or Captains, this control was altruistic not despotic ; unlike the Sovereigns of England they were pioneers in progressive enlightenment and by their legislation they happily effected an ecclesiastical-political amalgamation between the clergy and laity, which abolished sectarian warfare. Centuries of Stanley rule left the Island, as Mackenzie said, a petty Kingdom " with surplus revenue, with no debt, with no internal taxation, retaining its primitive self-government and without a shadow of compulsion " (*Manx Society's Journal*, 1860 Vol. III). In all history there have never been shrewder, wiser or more just rulers than the Stanleys ; it was ' in their blood,' at least down to the time of the 6th Earl. His son the 7th Earl showed his Cecil blood by some despotic and Machiavellian tendencies, but he was an adept at government ; and even so late as 1726 the 10th Earl of Derby (last King of Man) insisted on " justice, law and reason." The 6th Earl himself, imbued with the ideals of his forbears, played his tolerant part in the Island, first as Governor and then as titular King ; saturated as he was with the precepts of just government no one was better qualified to display the supreme statesmanship of Shakespeare's Dramas.

Vocabulary. Dr. Appleton Morgan has estimated the total number of different words (excluding inflections) in Shakespeare's Plays as 15,000, Craik as 21,000 and the present writer (computing by a mathematical formula) as 24,000. This enormous vocabulary (Milton's was about 7,000) presents a veritable *embarras de richesse* for purposes of evidential utilisation ; but certain broad facts emerge from a detailed study of Shakespeare's astonishingly rich language. First it serves as a faithful witness to his overpowering erudition, grounded on deep learning as well as personal experience. Then it is noticeable that many anglicised words of foreign origin (chiefly Latin and French) ' crop up ' repeatedly with their specialised connotation, while others reflect different English regional dialects. But of these unquestionably the most numerous are Northern dialectical words, particularly those common in Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire. The Plays contain hundreds of such Northern words (and not a few Scottish) many of which were uncommon in the South, such as : *a-height* (on high), *brach, breck, bullen* (candle), *clean* (quite), *clout, collop, dank, drab, feck, fleer, geck, gleek* (trick), *giglot, kam* (awry), *lief, mewe, nief* (fist), *nuncle, puke, sliver* etc, while some like *aroint*, and *misconster* (p. 210) were virtually confined to Cheshire and Lancashire.

Even the Northern idiom is easy to detect here and there (" out upon him," " a mind to it," " bag and baggage," " come your ways " etc) especially with the Clowns, and the

* Ben Jonson was punished for a much less serious indiscretion than the audacities of Shakespeare's Histories. Shakspere lacked the educational facilities by which he could acquire the massive knowledge and experience behind these Plays, much less the private information (not found in the Chronicle histories).

importance of this rich dialectical vocabulary lies in the fact that it is not used so much for purposes of characterisation (as for instance the Scotch dialect in Greene's *James IV*) as sporadically and spontaneously. Also the influence of Northern environment in up-bringing seems palpably disclosed by the great prevalence of tell-tale Northern *s*-inflections with plural verbs in the 3rd. person indicative, such as *makes* (make) *hides* (hide) etc. (see p. 172).

Geography. Shakespeare's geography, being ubiquitous in its range, is evidentially inconclusive, except in so far as its abiding realism manifestly betrays extensive travel experience as distinct from mere book-learning. As for the cliff at Dover (*King Lear* IV, 6) the actor Shakspere might have been there with his travelling company, but there is no evidence and not the least likelihood that he was ever in France, Italy, Denmark and other countries, with which Shakespeare was just as familiar as he was with the Cliff at Dover ; even orthodox criticism has been constrained to admit an intimate knowledge of Italy. It is of course possible to interpret, as is commonly done, " Wincot " and " Burton Heath " of *The taming of the Shrew* (Induction) as villages near Stratford-on-Avon, but " Greece " in " old John Naps of Greece " is reasonably believed to be a misprint for Greete, a place no where near Stratford, but just South-east of Birmingham and about 12 miles West of Meriden. Also, though Wilmcote is only four miles from Stratford, and Barton-on-the-heath 15 miles to the South (the villages identified with " Wincot " and " Burton Heath ") there is a Burton Green and Westwood Heath within about a mile of each other near Meriden Manor in the heart of the old Forest of Arden in the North of Warwickshire ; and it is quite as likely that " Wincot," with its " fat ale wife," was Wilnecot (near Tamworth) at the extreme North of Warwickshire, as Wilmcote near Stratford. Be this as it may, Stratford, well away to the South, or its environs, are never mentioned identifiably in the Plays, while places well to the North are implicit in Falstaff's march in (1) *Henry IV* (IV, 2), for he had come from St. Albans, Daventry and Coventry, so must have passed through Meriden on his way to Sutton Coldfield. This is the route, to and from Meriden to London, that William Stanley, before and after he became Earl of Derby must have often taken, a circumstance which could explain why the seven* places in Warwickshire, unambiguously named in the various Plays, are mostly far distant from Stratford (Warwick being the nearest) ; and all lie within the North-eastern sector of the County.

It is pertinent here to rectify the blunders of ignorant critics who have " discovered " supposed solecisms in Italian topography, for as Sir Edward Sullivan (*Nineteenth Century and after*) showed in 1908 and 1918, Shakespeare had the most intimate knowledge of the North of Italy and the contemporary means of communication. Owing to the intricate canal system, several inland towns were then virtually ports, Milan for instance because of the Naviglio Grande connecting it with the Ticino ; so that Prospero of the *Tempest* might well have been conveyed thence by bark to sea. The usual route from Verona to Milan was by boat to Legnano and thence by road, the route no doubt taken by Valentine in *T.G.V.* (I, 1, 54,) ; so also a water journey from Mantua to Padua, as in *T.S.*, or from Padua to Venice as in *M.V.*, was then usual. The flight of Sylvia and Eglamour from Milan in *T.G.V.* was a Northerly one and the " mountain foot " (V, 2, 46) must have been near Pallazzolo on the Mantuan frontier : so also the " North gate " (*T.G.V.* III, 1, 259) in Milan where Valentine bade Launce to tell Speed to meet him was no doubt in Porta Venezia, not Porta Nuova, " Saint Gregory's well " (IV, 2, 86) being just quarter of a mile North of this gate. (The allusion to the " emperor " in *T.G.V.* I, 3 refers to the visit of Charles V to Milan in 1533.) Then again the " Saggitary " (*Othello* I, 1, 159) was not an inn but the Arsenal (as Knight pointed out) and the unusual oath " by Janus " in *Othello* (I, 2, 33) and *M.V.* (I, 1, 50) suggests familiarity with the Temples to Janus in Italy, near the amphitheatre in Verona for example ; also " Veronessa " (so spelt in the Folio) of *Othello* (II, 1, 27)

*Including Barston, locally pronounced Barson as in (2) *Henry IV*, V, 3, a hamlet about four miles from Meriden. Hinckley mentioned in V, 1 is outside the North-east boundary of Warwickshire (about 20 miles from Meriden) and ' Woncot ' in the same scene (so spelt in the Folio but nowadays rendered as ' Wincot ') may be Wilnecot or some fictitious place

misread as ' Veronese,' was literally a ship, one of the galleys which Verona then supplied by canal to Venice. Belmont of *M.V.* was an actual pair of villas near Venice which have recently been identified by Lefranc, not Monte Belmonte near Bologna, and the word " traject (III, 4, 53) wrongly written " Tranect " in the Folio, was simply a trading vessel (described by Guazzo as " tragetto "). The name Baptista for a woman in *Hamlet* and *T.S.* is not a solecism ; it is paralleled by the wife Baptista of the Duke of Urbino—she died in 1572. Also when Hamlet in the Play (III, 2, 278) noted that the story of Gonzago's murder in Vienna was " writ in very choice Italian " he betrayed not only a knowledge of the language but of the fact that after 1329 the Gonzagas were Dukes of Milan. Bergamo (*T.S.* V, 1, 80) though an inland town was described as the centre of a sail-making industry in *Schotti Itinerarium Italiae ;* and scores of other examples could be cited proving personal familiarity with the terrain, history and customs of North Italy as distinct from book learning. Even the paintings of the Siege of Troy are so realistically described, in 24 Stanzas of *Lucrece*, as to imply minute inspection, either of some foreign tapestries as suggested by Sidney Colvin, or more likely the series of pictures by Guilio Romano in the Palazza del Te at Mantua ; indeed it would seem from Shakespeare's eulogy in *Winter's Tale* (V, 2, 108) that he had seen the inscription (brought to light by Elze) on Romano's tomb at Mantua, describing him as *sculptor*, as well as painter and architect, ignorance of which versatility has led some critics woefully astray. The fact is, Shakespeare's knowledge of Italian geography (and French) parallels his intimate knowledge of Italian (and French) character, as revealed in hundreds of little ways by the fine and subtle shades depicted. Similar *nuance* in the delineation of Welsh character is found in certain Plays, and familiarity with Wales is indicated in *Richard II*, the *Henry IV* pair, *Henry V*, *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Cymbeline* ; indeed such easy familiarity distinguishes William Stanley (whose links with Wales were through ancestry, inter-marriage and land-ownership) from Bacon and the Earl of Oxford, who were equally acquainted with France and Italy.

Love's labour's lost.

The erudite historical investigations of Abel Lefranc, particularly of the period 1577 - 1584, inevitably led him to the study of *L.L.L.*, which he was forced to conclude was the work of some Englishman residing at Nerac in the Court of Henri de Bourbon King of Navarre (later, 1589, Henri IV of France) because there are so many incidents in the Play which were first recorded in the diary of his Queen Marguerite de Valois, not published till 1628. These are mostly personal or local circumstances, that could only have been known to an author who had been on the spot with King Henri, his Queen and their entourage, several of whom are more than plausibly identifiable with the principal characters of *L.L.L.* Lefranc, who noted the extreme incongruity implicit in the raw untravelled " rustic " Shakspere as author of such a polished and mocking piece of scholarship, in or about 1589, eventually from a number of possible Englishmen who were at Henri's Court at Nerac in Bearn, singled out William Stanley principally through his tutor Richard Lloyd as will appear. It is true that no *direct* documentary proof exists that William Stanley* was then at Nerac, but there is ample indirect evidence, including the letters of Faunt and Cobham (pp. 21-2), that he was i.e. in 1583, on his way to Spain. Also, in spite of many features which are strictly true to history, there are other things in the Play *as we know it* which are not. Thus the King of Navarre, sometimes referred to as ' Duke ' in *L.L.L.* is called Ferdinand, though there never was a King of that name (the name of Stanley's brother) but the character and action of " Ferdinand " faithfully reproduce King Henri, just as the " Princess of France " of the Play perfectly fits Henri's Queen Marguerite ; yet she announces herself in the Play as the daughter of the King of France (Henri III) and not his sister, indeed all through the Play she poses as a virgin Princess and not as a Queen. Here then is a discrepancy if the Play is to be read as literal history, since Lefranc absolutely identifies the character of the

* Greenstreet drew attention to the curious repetition in *L.L.L.* (I, 1) of the study as *three years*, which was the time allotted to Stanley for his leave (p. 90).

" Princess " with that of Marguerite de Valois. As however both Henri of Navarre and his Queen were prominent living people about 1589, when the original Play was written (p. 190) some camouflage would be necessary to conceal their identity, and it is a most crucial fact that in this original but unknown text of *L.L.L.* the " Princess " was really " Queen." For in the first Quarto (1598) calling itself " Newly corrected and augmented," many traces of the first draft appear through slips in the editing, and the word " Queene," or its abbreviations, carelessly left in the margin, are found instead of " Princesse " to suit the 1598 text. Even in the Folio (1623) and (still corrupt) modern versions the word " Queen " survives in the actual text itself (IV, 2, 136 and 145, IV, 3, 41) which all through reveals historical contradictions, resulting from changes made by the author in 1597 i.e. when the Play was presented before Queen Elizabeth at Christmas. How far these confusions were in the original Play cannot be known but even as altered *L.L.L.* faithfully characterises Marguerite de Valois while some of her words are discrepant.

Thus there are inconsistencies in I, 1, 134, II, 1, 2 and 137 and V, 2, 725 and 818 where to suit Marguerite, " daughter " " father " or " father's " should be " sister " " brother " or " brother's." Also " King," (V. 2, 725) should be " duke " i.e. Francis, duc d'Alençon (later d'Anjou), whose death on 10th June 1584 (following his abortive engagement to Queen Elizabeth) did as a matter of fact occasion Marguerite's departure for Paris, much as in V, 2.* She was actually sister of this Francis (not daughter), as she was sister of the late Charles IX who was " decrepit, sick and bed-rid " and died in 1574, and of Henri III (*d.* 1589) then ruling King of France, all being children of Henri II and Catherine de Medici. Elsewhere in the Play the relationships historically fit Lefranc's identification, as for instance : in the words " Charles his father " (II, 1, 162) referring to Charles IX and Henri II (both deceased), or in " King of France " (II, 1, 30), or " King my father " (II, 1, 153) referring to Henri II, or when in IV, 3, 41 the King of Navarre apostrophises his wife Marguerite (" O queen of queens "). The present writer explains the sister-brother-father discrepancy by supposing that the author, either in 1589 or later, designedly confused Marguerite's attributes with those of her earlier accomplished and charming namesake, Marguerite de Valois (*d.* 1549), also a Princess of France, who curiously enough had a husband Henri (d'Albret) King of Navarre (grandfather of Henri de Bourbon, King of Navarre) and a brother Francis (Francois I of France) but she was daughter of Charles, duc d'Angoulême, who was not King. Subject to these assumptions as to confusion, Lefranc's general thesis is unimpeachable ; himself a distinguished scholar and specialist in this particular field of French history, he has clearly proved that *L.L.L.*, for which no literary " source " is known, furnishes a true picture, especially in II, 1, of the tangled geographical and financial relations between the King of France and Henri of Navarre. During the earlier religious wars the French King's Governor had sacked Langon near Bordeaux, while in reprisal Henri eventually seized Mont de Marson and de Cahors (1580), as a result of all of which Aquitaine had been " mutilee," or as Shakespeare puts it " gelded " (II, 1, 148) ; but Henri refused to relinquish his conquests till he had received an indemnity (the disputed 100,000 crowns of II, 1) and the long promised dowry (" dowry for a queen "—II, 1, 8) still due to his wife Marguerite. Lefranc further showed on the evidence of Cobham's letter to Walsingham in 1583 (p. 22) and a letter in 1582 of Marguerite to her husband, that Henri had actually retired from political controversy, for the religious reform of his House at Nerac [in the Play it is for study].

Henri had been living apart from Marguerite (whom he married on the eve of St. Bartholomew in 1572) for some years, but at the end of 1578 they were brought together by an astute manoeuvre of her mother, seeking to make the Peace of Bergerac (1577) effective by political conquest through the subtle influence of love. This was the famous occasion when Marguerite and her ladies descended like a veritable whirlwind (" l'escadron volant ") on Nerac, just when he and his courtiers had resolved to practice puritanical austerity ; intentions that were blown to the winds when wanton Marguerite got to work with her sparkling suite, for as is known Nerac gave itself over to a perfect

* Philippe Lauzan at the time described how Marguerite, then at Nerac, mourned for her brother ; but the crisis made her husband presumptive Henri IV of France.

orgy of love-delight and wit, which afterwards in her diary she associated with the happiest years of her life. *L.L.L.* then is the echo of all this, and it may be observed that in V, 2, 747 the " Princess " thanks the King for granting her suit, showing that Marguerite had succeeded in the delicate negotiations which concluded with the Peace of Nerac (1580). Further the ' Muscovite ' episode of V, 2 must have been written soon after Stanley had returned from Russia (p. 91) impressed by their costumes.

In dramatising the brilliant life at Nerac the author wisely on second thoughts modified its representation to avoid indiscretion. Sufficient intense realism however remains in the Q and F texts, by way of principal characters, allusions and the whole spirit of the Play to justify amply Lefranc's identifications, especially of " Ferdinand " and the " Princess " with Henri and his Queen, as to which there cannot be the least doubt. For instance, quite apart from realistic characterisation, in scene V, 2 there is : (1) the Princess's allusion (V, 2, 8) to the King's economy, in paper on which he wrote, even in the name of Cupid, " margent and all," a strong characteristic of Henri in a love Poem to his beloved mistress Gabrielle d'Estrées ; (2) the Princess's allusion (V, 2, 87) to the patron saint of France (St. Dennis) foreshadowing him as the future King (1589) of France ; (3) the King's question to the Princess " How fares your majesty " (V, 2, 734), showing that she was a Queen and (4) Armado's words addressing her as " honey monarch," " sweet majesty " and " most royal couplement " (V, 2, 528, 887, 533). Elsewhere, the King falls in love with the " Princess," just as in actual fact he did at Nerac with his wife Marguerite after long separation ; and there are all sorts of other concordances with historical facts. In this way the courtiers are very easily identified by Lefranc*) through purely documentary evidence, even in detail. Thus Biron (Berowne) is Charles de Gontant, Maréschal de Biron [who was well known to the Earl of Derby—p. 30], then bosom friend but later adversary of Henri IV who executed him in 1602 ; Boyet is the elderly Guy de Pibrac (*d.* 1584) " entrepreneur " of the Academie de Paris (founded by Charles IX) " chancelier " of Queen Marguerite, who was constantly pestered by his love advances ; Longaville is Henri d'Orleans, duc le Longueville, Governor of Picardy ; and Dumaine is probably the duc de Mayenne, friend but also later adversary of Henri in the '90,s.

Evidentially, however, the most important character of the Play is Holofernes, hitherto identified on the slenderest grounds as John Florio, without serious external evidence in support and repudiated over 100 years ago by the keen critic Charles Knight. Lefranc proves him beyond doubt to have been Richard Lloyd, because his character not only suits perfectly but because he in 1584 (a few years prior to the Play) wrote a ridiculous work on the *Nine Worthies* which is humorously parodied in *L.L.L.* as the " pageant of the nine worthies." Lloyd's book was published in London by R. Warde under a long and pedantic title, beginning "*A briefe discourse of the most renowned actes and right valiant conquests of those puisant Princes, called the Nine Worthies* " etc, etc, and these worthies were Joshua, Hector, David, Alexander, Judas Maccabaeus, Julius Caesar, Arthur, Charlemagne and Guy of Warwick. It is known from various sources, including the Harleian MS.S. 2057, that the Chester pageantry included the nine worthies, the three graces, the goddess

* Lefranc's historical investigations are much too lengthy to summarise adequately here ; suffice it to say that scores of records he has brought to light find their echo in *L.L.L.*, as for example Pibrac's [Boyet's] entertainment of Marguerite on her journey to Nerac at the end of 1578 prior to the negotiations with Henri (as in II, 1), or the numerous presents given by Henri to Marguerite (as in V, 2, 1-4) one of which was obtained through his valet Thomas Papillon [Moth]. Stanley's father stayed at the Hotel de Longueville during his state visit to Paris in 1585 (p. 16).

of plenty and the four seasons, two of which were Ver (Spring) and Hiems (Winter); and as these latter were really part of the nine worthies "show" composed by the pedantic Holofernes and appear at the end of *L.L.L.* as two singers, it is fairly obvious that the pompous Lloyd had drawn his inspiration from the Chester pageantry, and that the author of *L.L.L.* had drawn his both from Lloyd and Chester. As to the latter, the above manuscript records an actual performance of the Nine Worthies pageant in the town, in 1621, and no doubt earlier performances had been rendered by the inhabitants, who revelled in this kind of thing (see p. 71). Only five worthies actually appear in *L.L.L.* (the performance being interrupted) but two of them announce themselves in exactly Lloyd's manner ("I Pompey am," "Judas I am"), indeed all through the style and handling of the worthies is only Lloyd's, thinly disguised. Even the wording in places is almost the same, as for instance in the lines:

L.L.L. "your lion, that holds his poll-axe sitting on a close-stool."
Lloyd. "a Lyon Wich sitting in a chaire hent a battel-axe in his paw argent"

and Lefranc quotes a number of other absolutely decisive parallels.* These show how Lloyd's dull pedantry had been transformed into a clever burlesque, scintillating with humour, not unlike that in the closing scene of *M.N.D.* which is similarly founded on Chester histrionics (p. 72). It is thus proved that William Stanley's tutor, Richard Lloyd (p. 21), was 'made fun of' in *L.L.L.*, and it is equally certain that he alone was the original of Holofernes. [Thubal Holoferne, it may be noted, was the name given by Rabelais to the tutor of Gargantua who is supposed to have pictured Henri's grandfather, Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre mentioned above.]

The actual scene of *L.L.L.* must therefore be accepted as Henri's famous Chateau at Nerac in Bearn on the right bank of the Baise, then a veritable academy of wit and wantonness, despite the endeavours of his sister, Catherine de Bourbon (p. 22) and his mother, Jeanne d'Albret, to impose puritanical austerity. The King's favourite, Corisande d'Antoins, was there and many illustrious personages (du Bartas, Pibrac, Turenne, Rosny etc.) most of whom, like Henri and his courtiers, succumbed in Marguerite's "Guerre des Amoureux"; indeed not only is the whole atmosphere of this gay Court brilliantly reproduced in *L.L.L.* but even some personal incidents relating to the ladies, which Lefranc considers as founded on fact. Thus Marguerite's diary, which even *refers to German clocks* (cf. III, 200), records that two months before her journey South she had visited her brother the duc d'Alençon at Alençon, so that one of her Maids of Honour [Katherine in the Play] could well have met Dumaine there (II, 1, 61) and another [Rosaline] have heard about "Berowne"; again Marguerite records how in 1577 she visited Spa, Mons and various places in Brabant, in a round of balls or similar festivities, thus explaining the dialogue between Rosaline and Biron ("Did I not dance with you in Brabant once"—II, 1, 114-5). Also though the allusion of Maria to Lord Perigort's wedding in Normandy, where she met Longaville (II, 1, 43), may be fictional it is a fact that Longueville had close connections with Normandy. Who the three Maids were is problematical, though Lefranc identifies Katherine of II, 1, 193 with Catherine de Bourbon, Henri's sister, who was actually "heir of Alençon," this lady having been purposely confused with another, Katherine de Tournon, whose sister Hélène died of love for the Marquis de Varembon. This sad story is apparently the subject of the

* Though Lefranc made no reference to the Coventry pageant of the nine worthies, that it was not this pageant but Lloyd's "discourse" which was burlesqued, is proved to the hilt by the absurd parallel in style and wording.

conversation beginning V, 2, 11, because it recalls a lengthy account found in Marguerite's diary, which furnishes a still more extraordinary parallel with that of Ophelia (p. 70); suggesting that the author of *L.L.L.* and *Hamlet* having heard the story at first hand from Marguerite was deeply impressed by it. Even the contrast between Spanish character, as caricatured in Armado, and the delicate delineation of French character is noticeable; the subtlety of which is only truly appreciated by a Frenchman like Lefranc—their foibles, lightness, manners (including bad) all are true to life.

Such intimacies demonstrate that the author of *L.L.L.* had not only stayed for some time at Henri's Court in Nerac but that he had thoroughly entered into the gay and brilliant life there. Even the topography bespeaks familiarity. In Armado's fantastic letter to the King (I, 1) describing the " place where " the illicit assignation between Costard and Jaquenetta occurred, " thy curious knotted garden " gives the orientation. This is easily identified as Henri's famous garden of rectangular flower beds, similar in design to the knot-gardens which were so greatly affected by Elizabethan England. There is a water-colour picture of this " knotted garden " in the museum of Nerac (Morhardt) so that its exact position is known, and M. Marcel Durey has prepared a detailed geographical plan of Henri's Chateau, Park (La Garenne) with surroundings, exactly as it was in Henri's time. The Chateau and Park stood on the North side of the River Baise, along which ran Marguerite's favourite 3-mile walk. Opposite the Chateau was the bridge over the river and just beyond on the South side or left bank stood the knot garden. From its western corner a line drawn in a N.E. direction strikes a point on the other side, beyond the bridge where the Royal Park lies, a point where the lovers met. Henry Plantey pointed out that Shakespeare made a clear distinction, in Armado's letter, between the knot garden and the Park on the other side " ycleped thy park," Armado nautically giving the direction in which the meeting-place lay as " north north east and by east " (i.e. N.E. by N.) of the western corner of the garden. This is topographically correct and shows, almost uncannily, that the author of *L.L.L.* was familiar with the neighbourhood.

William Stanley, with Richard Lloyd, was travelling in France in the autumn of 1582 (p. 21), and probably arrived at Nerac in 1583 with the other young aristocrats from England mentioned by Cobham. Bacon's brother Anthony was there but there is no record that Francis himself was (he was in France from 1576 to February 1579) though he is alleged to have said (in cipher) that he was in love with Marguerite. What unambiguously identifies Stanley and not Bacon with the Play is the Chester connection and Stanley's tutor Richard Lloyd. This wearisome gentleman, 15 years older than Stanley, had previously been in France and Italy, having been sent there in 1580 by the Earl of Leicester, so when the 4th Earl of Derby appointed him as travelling tutor for his son in 1582 the choice must have seemed suitable. He was one time secretary to the Earl of Essex and, like William, he knew Dr. Dee (to whom he was related) but there must have been little in common between precentor and pupil, for as Lloyd's letter to James I (B.M. Add. MS.S., 19402) in 1610 shows, he was absurdly pedantic in airing his knowledge of Latin (like Holofernes), so that it may be supposed that the lofty spirit of his sprightly pupil groaned under his insipid tutelage.* Stanley, who on the evidence must be accepted as author, is therefore to be pardoned the gentle raillery in *L.L.L.* devoid of sting as it is, but it was an indiscretion that might have undone him, because as with the other characters of the Play the disguise was thin. The events at Nerac were evidently still fresh in his mind when he first drafted *L.L.L.* and, judging by its coruscating wit, they made a deep impression on him, as from her diary we know they did on Marguerite, whom he painted so skilfully.

* These and other interesting facts relating to Richard Lloyd were brought to light by James Greenstreet (*The Genealogist* 1891, Vol. VII and 1892, Vol. VIII).

Hamlet.

In a sense *Hamlet* is an academic Play, which calls for a cultured audience acquainted with University life ; yet Hamlet's character is admitted by most orthodox critics to be an autobiographical reflection of Shakespeare's own, though Shakspere never breathed the atmosphere of a University. The first Quarto (1603) explicitly states that the Play had been acted in the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, as well as in London, and Boas thought that an early version had been performed at Oxford in 1593 ; this might have been with Lord Strange's company as performers, though in fact the University (especially Christ Church College and St. John's) encouraged their own students in drama but generally banned public performers. As is well known, this flower of literature is founded on the story of Saxo Grammaticus, rendered into French by Belleforest, but his novel was not translated into English till 1608, long after *Hamlet* was composed, and there is no evidence that Shakspere could read either Latin or French. Indeed there is much to the contrary, and to suppose that an imperfectly educated actor with his arid and commonplace life-history (Chap. VI) could have achieved such a monumental masterpiece as *Hamlet* is to sin against reason, to mock good sense. The whole tenour of the Play, and even the aspersions cast on Denmark at the time of the second Quarto (1604) when Queen Anne, a Danish Princess, was a patroness of the children players, betoken a fearless aristocratic author who, projecting his personality into that of Hamlet, singularly resembled the Earl of Derby speaking as a Royal Prince or as Lucas said *en Prince*. Portrayed with transparent sincerity, the complex psychology of Hamlet most certainly derives from living experience ; the personal accent, mordant irony, philosophy, intellectual tension and confessions of indecision all ring absolutely true. Never was sincerity (p. 4) more manifest ; yet throughout the Prince speaks *patronisingly* with the refined judgment of an exalted critic.

Shakespeare's own special love for his creation itself speaks eloquently, since by revising the Play more than once (pp. 192-3) that is by making it longer and more spiritual but *less fitted for the Stage*, such labour of love exposes the fallacy of orthodox theory that he was a playwright under contract to supply Plays for profit, " for gain not glory " (Pope). The author loved the theatre for its Art, not emolument, and Hamlet's solicitude for the players, so thoroughly like that of the Earl of Derby, is pure patronage, wholly incongruous to the self-portrayal of an actor ; indeed the long scene II, 2, especially its latter portion, brings out clearly the *noblesse oblige* in Hamlet's princely reception and treatment of the players, as if recalling many a similar scene at Lathom and Knowsley. The few words on ambition, after the entry of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, represent the Earl's own views ; and when Rosencrantz tells the Prince that the Players were " even those you were wont to take such delight in " he repeats almost verbatim what the young Countess of Derby said about her husband. For, about 1600 (Cecil Papers, Hatfield collection, LXXII, 104) he importuned the Countess, on behalf of his acting company, to intercede with her Uncle (Sir Robert Cecil), so that " his man Browne with his company may not be debarred from their accustomed playing " ; and the Countess in her letter concluded by saying " my Lord taking delight in them it will keep him from more prodigal courses " (modern spelling). It is noticeable that the Earl's deep interest in players on this occasion coincided with a crisis similar to that in the above scene, where Hamlet asks why the players travel (i.e. to the provinces) and is informed that " their inhibition " was on account of the " late innovation " (which as Boas pointed

out means tumult or commotion, as in (1) *Henry IV*, V, 1, 76, and elsewhere) probably the Essex rising (1601).

From Hamlet's words in II, 2 to the 1st Player about the Play that was " caviare to the general " Lefranc made out that the Prince spoke as actual *author* of "Aeneas tale to Dido," some lines of which he recited, and that at least his ability is implicit in the intention to insert " some dozen or sixteen lines " for trapping the King into disclosure of his guilt. This fictional but princely author, Hamlet, admitted to be the mirror of Shakespeare himself, and a patron-lover of players, goes into raptures after the great success of his dramatic stratagem (III, 2), declaring that he had qualified for a " fellowship in a cry of players," a remark that would be redundant in respect of a self-depicted professional actor but singularly appropriate to the amateur Earl of Derby. So too, in Rosencrantz's remarks to Hamlet during the conversation in II, 2 about the children, a clear distinction is drawn between " poet and player," inapplicable to any actor-playwright. All through in fact Hamlet speaks with keen histrionic judgment but as *patron*, and in his direction to Polonius (II, 2) to " see the players well bestowed " he echoes, as Lefranc observed, the Earl of Derby's own sentiments expressed in a letter he wrote on 11th December 1606 to the Mayor of Chester, asking him to treat Lord Hereford's players* well and hoping " that you will pmit [permit] them to use theire quallitie " ; the last word being similarly used by Hamlet in the same scene when he asks " will they pursue their quality " and later says " give us a taste of your quality." The Earl of Derby is easily singled out from other conceivable aristocratic authors. Thus, like Hamlet, he was a courtier—soldier—scholar, who had visited foreign Universities and so meets Ophelia's description (III, 1, 160). Further a link with Chester is furnished by the turgid lines of "Aeneas' tale to Dido," recalling beyond doubt the amateur Play *History of Aeneas and Queen Dido* witnessed in 1563 by the Earl's father (p. 15), a crude performance of which his son William must have heard accounts, if he did not see a later production. Then, the use of poison in compassing the death of Hamlet's father (and later of the King), *not* found in Belleforest's original (Lefranc) recalls the poisoning of the Earl's brother in 1594 because (as described in Stow's *Annales*, 1605 edition p. 1276) before he died Ferdinando was confronted by a ghost which " twise or thrise seemed to crosse him " [spread its arms], while in the Play there are Horatio's words (I, 2) " I'll cross it, though it blast me," when the Ghost re-enters. Another link is found in the precepts of Polonius to Laertes (I, 3, 57-80) a poetic rendering (in inverted commas in the first Quarto) of the maxims that Lord Burghley, whose character fits Polonius (Looney), gave to his son Sir Robert Cecil, the Earl's Uncle by marriage. A further remarkable coincidence (brought to light by Lefranc) is the extraordinary parallel between the unrequited love, culminating in the burial scene of Ophelia (V, 1), and the life history of Hélène de Tournon (p. 67) in Flanders who (as Marguerite de Valois in her diary described) died of love for the Marquis de Varembon. Like Hamlet he accidentally came on the scene of the funeral and fainted, his soul " *allant dans le tombeau.*" Lucas (*S.V.S.* p. 170-176) has given a translation of this long and sad story so that it need not be reproduced here, but it made a great impression on sensitive Marguerite, and the complete resemblance in circumstances not only to the Hamlet - Ophelia relationship but to Ophelia's burial

* " my Lo. of Harforth his men." Viscount Hereford, son of the unfortunate Earl of Essex was actually restored to his father's title in 1604, but the players under his patronage continued to style themselves Lord Hereford's men (Murray).

can hardly be a chance coincidence ; it rather means as already suggested that William Stanley got the story from her own lips about 1583, her diary not having been published till (1628) long after *Hamlet* was composed.

Stanley probably travelled through Denmark and Germany about 1586, perhaps visiting Wittenberg University ; here on the registers for that period are to be found the names of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern* (Morhardt). There has long been a legend that Shakespeare was in Denmark in 1585, but if true this could not refer to Shakspere who did not leave Stratford till about 1587 and had not even got a footing on the Stage so early as 1585. As for documented facts, we know that Kempe was the leader of an acting company (the Earl of Leicester's) which went abroad in 1585 and acted at Elsinore. The company was there for some months and again in June 1586, after which they went to Saxony before returning home, but the list of actors' names given by Murray (*English dramatic companies*) does not include Shakspere.

Midsummer night's dream.

In 1916 the eminent (orthodox) commentator [now Sir Edmund K.] Chambers adduced evidence that *M.N.D.*, as an epithalamium, was first produced to celebrate the marriage of the 6th Earl of Derby with Elizabeth de Vere, the Queen's god-daughter and Maid of Honour. Stow (*Annales*) records that this brilliant wedding took place on 26th January 1595 at Greenwich Palace, no doubt before the Queen, and Chambers (who thought it might have been at the Savoy Chapel) quoted a letter written shortly before (5th January) the wedding, by Arthur Throgmorton to the bride's Uncle (Sir Robert Cecil) mentioning " my lord of Derby " and offering a short, masque† (declined) to be given " before the other masque " which was no doubt *M.N.D.* The (orthodox) biographer Sir Sidney Lee accepted Chambers' thesis, and as Lefranc later pointed out the allusions in V, 2 to " house," " each several chamber " of " this palace," which evidently refer to Greenwich, there can be little doubt that the Play was performed at the wedding. It may be therefore presumed that Puck's word " Gentles " in the epilogue means (see footnote p. 52) noble spectators present, also that the performance was given by the Lord Chamberlain company (named in the 1600 Quarto) because this company, which had recently consisted of Lord Strange's men, had performed some Plays at Greenwich Palace only a month earlier (26th and 28th December 1594) ; but as there is no record of any payment by the Treasurer of the Chamber (E. K. Chambers) it seems likely that they were paid by the Earl himself, Lord Strange's brother. Chambers, observing that the character of Theseus was most appropriately drawn to symbolise the much-travelled Earl of Derby, also abandoned the Kenilworth pageantry of 1575 (once thought to be the source of the fairy scenes in the Play) for a similar lavish entertainment of the Queen by the Earl of Hertford at Elvetham Manor in Hampshire in 1591, a source which was confirmed by the present writer in 1939 (*S.S.*), who not knowing then that Chambers had suggested it gave reasons for believing that William Stanley fell in love with Elizabeth de Vere at Elvetham.

Much credit is due to Lefranc who discovered the Chester sources of the comic scenes of *M.N.D.*, in the remarkable cycle of performances there, especially those associated with the ' Midsummer ' festival. This festival, unique in its way, dated back to the middle ages and was held on St. John's day (24th June), eventually superseding the more popish Pentecost

* The same names, evidently known to Stanley, were found by Agnes Strickland on the Council of Regency which was formed in 1588 when Christiern IV of Denmark (then 11 years old) became King.

† Lefranc very plausibly interpreted the " thrice three Muses " of V, 1, 52, as an allusion, not to Spenser's *Teares of the Muses* (1591), but to the " nine muses " who were to have brought in Throgmorton's masque. Throgmorton, who admitted that his show was " sorrowful and solemn," intended to sue for the Queen's pardon [prior to *M.N.D.* performance] by lying " prostrate " before her during a song, as if dead, until his " resurrection " by her Majesty.

festival which was earlier in the year (Whitsun) and was also largely peculiar to Chester. At the ' Midsummer ' the Guilds organised pieces for performance with great zest, and the list of trades who participated in these crude representations included tanners, tailors, barbers, tinkers, masons, carpenters, butchers, saddlers and so forth. The night was given up to frivolity and license, in which amorous couples wandered into the woods then adjoining Chester (like the couples in *M.N.D.*) and Lefranc has traced records of paternity cases which came before the Bench as a sequel. These artisan performances were frequently patronised by the 4th Earl of Derby ; there is a record of his son Ferdinando accompanying him on one occasion, and no doubt his other son William frequently witnessed these primitive exhibitions. The curious resemblance between the amateur efforts of the Chester artisans and the performance of Bottom and his comrades certainly justifies Lefranc's contention that Chester is the original of Athens in *M.N.D.*, the more so because the Chester Play *Balaam and his Ass* which was rendered by "the Chappers and Lynnan Drapers," is the only Play known where a man is transformed like Bottom into an ass. In any case Bottom, Quince etc. were not professional types such as would be familiar to an actor like Shakspere, but clumsy amateurs ; and though he no doubt knew Coventry, its pageants can hardly be admitted (1) because in its great festival, Corpus Christi (never mentioned by Shakespeare) it lacks the peculiar features of the Chester Plays and (2) because Corpus Christi lies in May or June but does not happen as late as Midsummer Day once in 50 years.

That *M.N.D.* was composed by an author having affinities with the " Celtic fringe " near Chester is further suggested by the name ' Puck,' the Welsh sprite being *pwcca*, a word etymologically related ' pixie ' of Cornwall, and ' pooca ' of Ireland ; at Chester, too, the Roo-Dee, a low lying flat which in the execrable Summer of 1594 would be flooded (" filled up with mud "), was always the scene of pageantry, and South of it the river, taking its meandering course through meadows, would in that drenching wet Summer overflow its clayey banks (" continents ") as described by Titania. It is significant too that while Theseus symbolises the Earl of Derby, his bride Hippolyta no less characterises the Earl's bride in her petulant impatience of his complacent sympathy with players, as shown by the apologies for her husband's tender solicitude on behalf of players (p. 69).

Convincing as all these circumstances are, it is however only when *M.N.D.* is linked up with the Sonnets and with Davies's epigram (p. 43) that the whole story unfolds itself—hypothetically it is true, but self-consistently ; more particularly the cryptic allusion to the Queen in Oberon's words to Puck (II, 2) which becomes intelligible on the theory (p. 45) put forward in 1939 (*S.S.*) that she was secretly affianced to the Earl of Derby about June 1594. Such a betrothal, though unsupported by any documentary records, is at least consistent with the *Phœnix and Turtle* (p. 165) and with Davies's own words, also with the sequence of Sonnets Nos. **49, 57-59, 114, 61,** and **87,** all of which seem to have been addressed to the Queen. The whole plan would be very distasteful to both parties, but the idea appears less fanciful when the facts of the situation in June 1594 are taken into account ; for as previously shown the new Earl had then become the centre of Parsons' conspiracy to make him King, and from Bacon's correspondence as well as from many State papers it is known that the Government were deeply concerned about the dangerous conspiracy* of 1593-4. A second threat of Spanish invasion, the plot of 1593 to poison the Queen, for which her physician Lopez (executed June 1594) was suborned by Philip of Spain, as well as several other side lights show that her life was in real danger in 1594. Bacon who helped to ' ferret out ' much information was most concerned for her safety, and astute ambitious Lord Burghley, with whom the Queen was staying (at Theobalds)

* Edmund Yorke, in the pay of the Jesuits, confessed under examination to the detailed arrangements made by Duffield, Bushell and Moody for the Queen's assassination, when the 5th Earl of Derby was offered the Crown ; whose poisoning he alleged was contrived by Lord Burghley in order to make William Earl and so eligible for his grand-daughter Elizabeth (*Calendar of State Papers—domestic series*, 1594). Probably ' an abandoned lie.'

in June 1594, might well have envisaged the opportunity of making his granddaughter Elizabeth eventually Queen, since the Earl, who was in love with her, could marry her on the Queen's natural demise, soon expected. She was only a young girl of 19 at the time and William, it is here supposed, was prepared to take the risk of losing her in his Country's interest, though he might hope the sacrifice would be but temporary. If the plan had gone through to make him Prince-consort and eventually William III, there is no doubt that it would have been a fine piece of state-craft for it would have not only stabilised the throne, placating the Roman Catholics and safeguarding the Queen's life, but it would have forestalled the threatened complications of the succession on her death, with so many other Pretenders in the field.

As further supporting this theory, it may be again observed that after William Stanley became Earl in April 1594 there was a significant delay till about October before he was betrothed to Elizabeth de Vere, a delay which as noted on p. 24 cannot be explained by any doubts of his security in the Earldom. There must then have been some other reason for the delay. Also there is the curious anomaly that the Earl did not succeed his recently deceased brother, the 5th Earl, in the patronage of his company of players, (being *ex hypothesi* proscribed by the Queen to whom he was then engaged) yet in September 1594 immediately formed his own acting company. It may also be that the Queen's displeasure with the Earl of Essex in May 1594 was not altogether due to his importunacy on behalf of Bacon (p. 148) but to his opposition to the advancement of the Earl of Derby. In any case it is supposed that very few people knew anything about it—otherwise there would be evidence of it in some correspondence ; but John Davies, an intimate *protégé* of the Countess Alice could have discovered the secret, and his words suggest that the Queen's principal aversion was to the Earl's mockery of Royalty in having played " Kingly parts " as an amateur, an aversion which it is possible to read into Sonnet **61**.

In addition to the supposed Queen Sonnets cited, there are four others which fit into place, for in spite of their cryptic contents they then become intelligible viz **39** and **36**, as messages of farewell addressed by the Earl to Elizabeth de Vere when he had to give her up (June 1594), and the pair **107** and **109** in September 1594 after the Queen had ' turned him down ' ; **109** in reply to some coy reproaches which his defection had justified. It is however the endlessly-discussed **107** which is crucial by its allusion to the " mortal moon " [Queen], as to which a critical study of its words shows that this Sonnet had nothing to do with the Queen's decease in 1603 and the release from imprisonment of the Earl of Southampton, as sometimes supposed. In the first place the " mortal moon " [the Queen not being immortal like the goddess Diana] had ' endur'd ' not suffered her eclipse ; she had come through it, and it is the poet's love of the addressee or the ' lease ' [duration] of this love, which was " Suppos'd as forfeit to a confined doom," not a person. It would also be unreasonable to imagine that the poet's *love* for Southampton could be affected by any fears arising from the event of 1603, which in any case being well known needed no announcement ; yet this ' love ' was so much affected by the poet's " own fears " and by people speculating on the future, that when the crisis was over he manifestly ' heaved a great sigh of relief.' Now that the wise-acres were mocked in their own ' preságe,' that ' Incertainties ' were removed and that his love could be renewed (line 10) he permitted himself the boast of immortality in " this poor rhyme," exulting in the prospects " of this most balmy time." All this enthusiastic love is surely for a woman ; the mystery of the Sonnet is at once cleared up by supposing that the Earl's Elizabeth had eclipsed (to him) the other Elizabeth, just as Em ' eclipst ' Blanche in *Faire Em* (I, 4, 38), and that the ' olives ' of peace referred to certain of the Queen's advisers, like Essex and Bacon, who having been hostile to the whole scheme were now pacified. Although " the wide

world " would know nothing of the betrothal, it was much stirred by the crisis of 1593-4 and still more concerned about the succession, the public no doubt canvassing Derby's prospects, so eagerly favoured in the North, as against James VI or Lord Beauchamp.

The bearing of all this on *M.N.D.* will be seen presently, but it is necessary first to go back three years to the pageantry at Elvetham, which inspired the fairy scenes of the Play. It was a four-day affair which commenced on Monday 20th September 1591, and it was described in a pamphlet, with detailed diagram of the lake, by John Wolfe the same year, a second edition appearing shortly afterwards " Newlie corrected and amended." The two accounts differ in details but are substantially the same, and the first which describes the sugar viands of the banquet on the 22nd (omitted from the second) was reproduced in Warner's *Collections for the History of Hampshire* (1795) but without map of the lake, while the second pamphlet was given, with map, in Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* (1823) Vol. II pp. 5-28. A recent reprint of the first pamphlet (with map) has been issued by the present owner of Elvetham House, to whom the writer expresses acknowledgments for the facilities offered to him to inspect the scene of the Queen's entertainment. By piecing together the two versions it is possible to reconstruct this brilliant affair in considerable detail, but only those incidents bearing on *M.N.D.* need be considered here.

The principal diversions centred on the lake, approximately half a mile long, stretching from East to West and shaped by the Earl of Hertford like a crescent moon (in honour of the Queen, as Diana), thus symbolising the " rude sea " of which since 1588 she was nominally mistress. As to the present topography everything is now changed and very little of the original lake left. According to local tradition the site was not that surrounding the present small lake or pond (which was shaped in the 18th century) but to the West. Examination of the surroundings however shows that this is not so, and that the existing pond is a remnant of the original lake, which was some 8ft. lower in level. This is because the lake had later largely silted up to make what is now mainly meadow land, but the curved outline (concave facing North) of the original crescent on the North side can be still followed as a deep ditch which drains the present pond, whose higher level is maintained by an artificial weir. The land jutting into the crescent-concavity is higher by some 20 feet at least than the original level of the water, forming what can be construed into a ' promontory ' overlooking the Northern crescent ; and it was on this higher ground that many buildings were erected, including an enclosed court for the Queen and a large banqueting gallery, which was served by 200 of Earl Hertford's retainers, the way to it from the House, some distance away, being lighted by 100 torch-bearers.

Among the boats on the lake, one of which was used for music, there was a large pinnace or miniature battleship, which the Queen christened *Bonadventure*, no doubt after the gallant ship in the Armada battle, commanded by her favourite, the Earl of Cumberland, William Stanley's Uncle. The only names mentioned by Wolfe, among the three hundred courtiers and ladies present, are those of four of Hertford's Knights* who supported the " canapie " (cf. Sonnet **125**) above the Queen's throne, which is shown on Wolfe's map near the water's edge at (be it noted) the *Western* extremity of the lake surrounded by courtiers and ladies, so that it is likely that Elizabeth de Vere was there among the Maids of Honour ; also probably the Earl of Cumberland with Stanley (as Chambers supposed). From this outdoor throne (now occupied by a boat house) the Queen, called ' Elisa ' and ' Elisae,' witnessed the various lively aquatic evolutions of sea-gods etc. who moved towards her, either in the water or in boats, from the Eastern end of the lake. The whole surroundings were alive with sea-maids, woodland nymphs, fairies, melodious music and poetry, all lending romantic enchantment to a setting which is

* Other Knights probably " bore the canopy " at times, including Stanley newly knighted (pp. 251, 320).

peculiarly reminiscent of *M.N.D.* Among the entertaining diversions, fantastic and poetic, the fairy Queen "Aureola" presented the Queen with a 'chaplet' or garland shaped as an Imperial Crown, "Given me by Auberon, the Fairy King," in a short Poem some of whose words recall *M.N.D.*, where her name is changed to Ovid's Titania. One of the songs rendered was Nicholas Breton's 'Plowman's Song' of Coridon and Phyllida, the lovers referred to in *M.N.D.* (II, 2 or II, 1 in some editions) and special interest attaches to the day when it was sung Wednesday 22nd September, for the evening of this day can be linked decisively with Oberon's address to Puck in the Play (II, 2). First, a sumptuous banquet was held, all in "glasse and silver," at which several hundred guests sat down, the sweets including a large assortment of objects made of sugar representing among other things reptiles, fish, whales, *dolphins*, *mermaids* etc.; second, while the banquet was taking place the lake was the scene "of all manner of fire-works" set off in great variety from three islands (one of which is still there). So it may be well supposed that these fireworks ("amorous starres" in Aureola's lines) inspired Oberon's words, "And certain stars shot madly from their spheres"; and it is easy to imagine that Stanley slipped out from the banquet on the rise above the lake to watch them, sitting on the aforesaid 'promontory' overlooking the water, listening to "a mermaid, on a dolphin's back etc." The weather was not propitious on the whole (on the last day there was "extreame rain") but this day, the 22nd, was fine and what is more (though Wolfe says nothing about it) the 'wat'ry' *moon was full* (harvest) that night. Seen from the 'promontory' at 9 p.m. it would lie to the East across the horn of the lake fairly low down in the sky, and a suppositious Cupid "Flying between the cold moon and the earth" aiming his arrow at an imaginary Queen Elizabeth "throned by the west" of the lake but missing the "imperial votaress" could strike her Maid of Honour instead, figured (Lefranc) as the "little western flower," i.e. Elizabeth de Vere, "Before milk white now purple [blushing] with love's wound."

On this general interpretation, the romantic occasion, when the couple are believed to have fallen in love, left an abiding impression on William Stanley, to whom all this evidence so clearly points, who three years later conjured it up in his mind to symbolise his own recent rejection by the Queen and his earlier troth with his own Elizabeth. So *M.N.D.* may be fairly visualised as a charming wedding gift by the Earl of Derby to his bride, but at a time when his relations with his sister-in-law had become strained enough to justify the words "a dowager / Long withering out a young man's revenue" (I, 1, 6); for that is exactly what she was trying to do.

The Tempest.

The marked patrician qualities of *The Tempest* resembling those of *Hamlet* betray a princely author who had meditated deeply, as one aloof, on many aspects of life—human tenderness, villainy, mysticism, the power of music, usurpation, Utopia* and much else. Its link with the Earl of Derby however lies mainly in the peculiar magic of Prospero, which is of a singular kind invented by Dr. John Dee, with whom Derby had long been very intimate (p. 40). As Lefranc pointed out, whereas other playwrights when they invoked magic (as for example Marlowe in *Faust*) employed the usual malevolent

* Though Gonzalo's "commonwealth" (II, 1, 154-171) reproduces the description in Montaigne's Essay "Of cannibals," it is so modified as to represent rather an ideal system like that of the Stanley's in the Isle of Man (p. 62). It is as easy to suppose that, in France, Stanley met Montaigne (who was in great favour with Henri of Navarre) as to adopt the current belief that Shakespeare had recourse to Florio's translation (1603), which he certainly did not when he borrowed Montaigne's calf-skin image (*peau d'un veau*) for *King John* (III, 1), for this was about 1595.

form, Dee's system was benevolent. About the date of the *Tempest* (1611) all forms of magic and sorcery were denounced by James I, whose book on *Daemnologie* (1597) was uncompromising, and whose (later) hostility to witchcraft was severe. It is therefore the more remarkable that *The Tempest*, defying all the King's theories and prejudices, was actually produced at Court, probably for the first time, on 1st November 1611 (there is no evidence that it was performed in public, but it was produced again at Court in February 1613 for the marriage of the King's daughter, Elizabeth, to the Elector Palatine). The fact that James I thus condoned a Play which, though aristocratic, must have been repugnant to his way of thinking, is plainly inconsistent with authorship by a commoner whom he could have repressed or punished. Years ago Victor Hugo pointed out that Shakespeare was the only poet who resisted the King's anathema on spirits of *all* kinds ; the law even abolished the fairy : Shakespeare exalted fairies and invoked magic or sorcery as a means of depicting the eternal warfare between the spirits of good and evil. But whether, as Lefranc suggested, he had a design in *The Tempest* to stem the tide of prejudice against wholesome spiritual influences and encourage ideas of pardon, may be doubted. The Earl of Derby at all events was humane (p. 98) and as a great magnate in the North, interested in Dee's magic, he may well have striven to ameliorate the savagery towards victims, many of whom were condemned and burnt for witchcraft in Lancashire in 1612 and 1613.

It is not merely the general resemblance of Prospero's magic to Dee's system that is significant but the name Ariel ; for Lefranc showed that Dee's benevolent angel was called Uriel while an earlier one in his system had been called Anael, a name which is found in the Old Testament five times, but which has nothing to do with a spirit. Dee's Uriel was taken from the apocryphal Book of Esdras, where he is a spirit that reveals the secrets of the " Most High," so that it is reasonable to suppose that Shakespeare had substituted A for U in Dee's Uriel for purposes of camouflage, but the change was a happy one in so far as Ariel suggests an " airy spirit," much in the same way as Caliban suggests cannibal. In the 1623 Folio Ariel is called " an ayrie Spirit " in the *dramatis personae*, but this proves nothing since the Folio often omits lists of playing characters, and the editor, not Shakespeare, was responsible for the definition ; for as a study of the text abundantly proves he never limited Ariel's functions to those of an airy spirit. All spirits are obviously airy, as Prospero implies in V, 1 (" art but air ") but Ariel's activities (Lefranc) were extended to embrace *all* four Aristotelian elements (fire, earth, air and water) ; thus for instance in I, 2 he caused fire to flame about the wreck while announcing his ability to fly (" To swim, to dive into the fire "), and a little later Prospero scolded him for thinking it much " To do me business in the veins o' th' earth," while still later in the same scene Ariel is " a nymph o' th' sea " ; finally in the closing lines of V, 1 Prospero dismissed him " to the elements." All this reflects Dee's magic.

Another feature of the Play, to which Greenstreet drew attention in 1892, is the accurate nautical terminology of I, 2. There were no books then on seamanship but, as Capt. Glascock R.N. once pointed out, the boatswain's language has the true vernacular style of the fo'castle. In *The Tempest* we find such technical words as : *waist*, *yards*, *bowsprit*, *cabin*, *topmast*, *lay a-hold* (close hauled), *flote* (Span. ' flota '), *clapped* (imprisoned), *company* (crew), *glasses* (for timing the ' bells '), *split* (wreck), *yare* (trim), *beak* (figure head), *try* (lie to) ; or sailor expressions like " my hearts," " what cheer " and " go hang." Another naval officer (Lord Musgrave) many years ago also drew attention to a number of nautical technicalities,* not

* More lately Whall (*Shakespeare's Sea Terms Explained*, 1910), a Master Mariner, marvelling at the realism of the sailors' jargon to be found scattered through most of the Plays of the Canon, gave a useful general survey showing that in his professional use of nautical terms Shakespeare never makes mistakes such as are found in other

obvious to the ' land-lubber,' intelligible to anyone who had ever sailed a boat in a gale. All this, foreign to Shakspere's life history, can be at once related to William Stanley's known experiences in the blue waters of the Irish Sea and Mediterranean. (Note also the significant slip in I, 1 of the Folio, where Ferdinand is called *Ferdinando*). Greenstreet further showed how Prospero's remarks about learning applied to the Earl of Derby, as for instance in I, 2 where his library is " dukedom large enough," and where there are volumes that he prized above his dukedom. [Shakspere's library is a figment of the imagination.]

Prospero's whole character, as a benevolent feudal aristocrat " wrapt in secret studies," is singularly appropriate to the Earl of Derby, while the general tenour of *The Tempest*, with its serene mellow conciliatory *motiv*, consorts agreeably with the peace which had then (1610) come into his life by the conclusion of the long painful dispute over his estates, the recovery of his principal rights and the final restoration to him of his beloved Isle of Man. It is all congruous to Prospero's enchanted Island and his final triumph, but the Island is of course not the I.O.M. or one of the Bermudas,* as sometimes supposed from the allusion (I, 2) to " the still vexed Bermoothes " ; it is a purely fictitious one situated in the " Mediterranean flote," as the text of II, 1 makes clear, and the unseen background (Milan, Naples, Algiers and Tunis) decidedly calls to mind Stanley's early travels (p. 91). The plot of *The Tempest* is related to that of the German Play *Die Schone Sidea*, published in 1618, but Grégoire has shown (Morhardt) that the latter and a Spanish tale (1609) in *Noches de Invierno* by de Eslava, having affinities with Shakespeare's Play, originated from a Graeco-bulgarian romance. The names Gonzola and Prospero figure in the campaigns of Caesare Borgia ; Warburton supposed that the Play was derived from a lost Italian novel, but whatever the sources it is clear enough that they and the names would only be accessible to an author who, like the Earl of Derby, had not only travelled extensively, but revelled in a library no doubt stocked with foreign romances of all kinds.

Merry wives of Windsor.

In 1702 John Dennis (who produced an " improved " version for the Stage) said that he " knew " that Queen Elizabeth commanded Shakespeare to write the Play in 14 days ; and Rowe seven years later said that she was so pleased with Falstaff in *Henry IV* that the Play must show him in love, while Gildon in 1710 embellished the story further by adding that the fifth Act was a special compliment to the Queen at Windsor. There is nothing improbable in any of these unsubstantiated stories but, parallel with them, developed the legend that Justice Shallow of *M.W.W.* represented Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, near Stratford-on-Avon, who had " whipped and imprisoned young Shakespeare " for stealing venison. This tale of chastisement, which (in respect of young Shakspere) is perhaps true, originated with Archdeacon

Plays (e.g. *Two Noble Kinsmen*) For it is not mere terminology but the truthful experiences which it conjures up that betrays a mind steeped in multifarious reminiscences of the sea. Here of course we have exactly the same kind of intimacy that the poet evinces with law, music, astrology, horses, hunting and falconry ; and picking out the more unusual of Whall's 122 sea terms found hundreds of times in the Canon (many not comprehended by commentators) we have *false-fire* (signal), *swabber* (deck cleaner), *hull* (verb, heave to), *tackled stair* (rope ladder), *cock* (coxswain's boat on ship), *caulk* (make water-tight), *standing water* (low or high tide), *close fights* (wood barriers), *bolins* (sail ropes), *sea-room* (away from rocks), *amain* (with force), *remainder biskit* (at end of voyage), *shelves* (shoals), *scarfed* (be-flagged), *bloody flag* (red pennon), *castaway* (wreck), *shrouds* (rigging), *shipman's card* (chart), *fetch about* (change tack), *sea mark* (beacon), *crare* (small vessel), *loof'd* (brought into wind), *tackles* (pulleys), *road* (anchorage), *main course* (main sail). These and similar professional terms are often unsuspectedly embedded in many images or similes ; and three or more within a few lines are found in · *Richard III*, I, 4, 12-20 (Clarence's dream) ; *M.W.W.* II, 1, 90-95, II, 2, 144-145 ; *R. and J.* II, 4, 203-205, III, 5, 132-138 ; *J. Caesar* IV, 3, 217-223 ; *A.Y.L.* IV, 1, 218-220 ; *Cymbeline* IV, 2, 204-206 ; while in Margaret's harangue in (3) *Henry VI*, V, 4. 1-31 there are no less than 32 nautical terms and 11 in Sonnet **80**.

* That Shakespeare was partly inspired by the storm off the Bermudas in 1609 need not be doubted, and he had evidently studied Strachey's narrative to the Virginia Council, which was not published till several years later.

Davies about 1680, but in 1709 it was expanded into a circumstantial account by Rowe, showing how Shakespeare in *M.W.W.* had lampooned Sir Thomas Lucy (who died in 1600) in the character of Shallow, giving him " very near the same coat of Arms." This later theory was accepted universally despite the warning fact that personal spleen is alien to Shakespeare's whole Art, and the fact that the alleged punishment of Shakspere was at least ten years prior to the Play. It is easy to see that the myth sprang *a priori* from a chance coincidence, namely Shakespeare's allusion in I, 1 (which only occurs in the Folio version and not in the Quarto) to Shallow's coat of Arms with " the dozen white luces," though in fact Lucy's coat had only three luces argent. Also, because in the Play the Welshman Evans pronounces the word as " louses " and elsewhere uses the word " lousy " it was assumed that Shakespeare wrote the scurrilous doggerel verse containing the words " If lowsie be Lucy " ; thus to establish a link with Stratford on this slender basis we see willingness to accept even this wretched poetry as Shakespeare's (when its very wording shows that it could not have been written till about 1680, by someone who probably borrowed the word " lowsie " from the Play).

Such is the thick haze of futility befogging the attempted identification of Shallow with Lucy, which entirely overlooks the real cause of Shallow's complaint in I, 1, namely a *riot*, a " Star-chamber matter " that will be reported to the King [i.e. Henry IV]. " The Council shall hear it ; it is a riot " says Shallow, and later to Falstaff : " Knight you have beaten my men, killed my deer, and broke open my lodge." It is just here where the supposed links (" luces " and " deer ") with the Stratford legend breaks down, because the matter was not one of simple poaching by a youth ; a number of people were concerned in the " riot," guilty of violence. It was not a petty offence, for summary local jurisdiction but a breach of the peace, demanding trial at the Star-chamber, proper to grave offences or aristocratic offenders.

Dr. Hotson's more recent attempt to identify Shallow with the Bishopsgate Justice Gardiner in London, who in 1596 bound over Shakspere and some accomplices on an assassination charge (p. 104), breaks down also because neither " deer " nor " lodge " were involved in this case ; and if a more reasonable foundation, in real life, is to be sought for the riot incident it is easily discovered. For, a few years prior to the publication of the pirated Quarto of *M.W.W.* (which was " entered " on 18th Juauary 1602) an action had been pending, which eventually came before the Star-chamber in 1602, a case in which a number of the Earl of Derby's exasperated officers had attacked the property of Stephen Proctor J.P. (p. 30) whose estate adjoined Derby's at Kirkby Malazert in Yorkshire. In the accounts of this action (*Hatfield papers*, Vol. 12) Proctor is described as an officious Justice who had " bred more faction and sedition " than unity, who was " puffed up with vain glory " and forgot what he had been (this being the evidence of Sir William Mallory, Derby's principal officer and offender) ; but the Earl's retainers had been guilty of violence, and according to Proctor they entered his free-hold, pulled down houses, assaulted his men, killed his deer and took his goods. It was Lefranc who first pointed out the parallel, and Lucas confirmed it by drawing attention to a remarkable passage in the 1602 Quarto (scene 18), one of six lines spoken by Sir Hugh Evans and containing the line :—

" Goe laie the Proctors in the street "

with apparent double meaning in the word ' Proctors.' In the Folio version the offending tell-tale passage was omitted, as if to make amends to Proctor

(perhaps after the case had been settled) but the capital P might be an accidental coincidence.

The date of *M.W.W.*, always a matter of dispute, is obviously germane to the issue. Commentators trying to explain the great difference between the text of the wretched Q and by no means perfect F version have been divided in two camps, one holding that Q is the corrupt and incomplete text of an earlier draft, written about 1596 or 1597 or even 1592,* the other that it is simply the garbled version of the F Play, obtained by a shorthand reporter attending a performance. P. A. Daniel gave good reasons for the latter view, but this theory founders on the plain fact that Q despite its imperfections contains some genuinely Shakespearian lines and passages (especially in scene 18) which, though perfectly natural in their dramatic setting, either do not appear in F or are greatly changed in wording and dramatic handling. It is absolutely certain that no reporter, corrupting the F version, could have invented what is indisputably Shakespeare's language in several places (where this has been attempted as in scene 12 the failure is obvious) and there can be no doubt that it was Shakespeare himself who discarded such earlier genuine bits, replacing them by what is found in F, which is therefore a later revision. The earlier Play, imperfectly represented by Q, may well have been written in 1597 or 1598, about the time that the Earl of Derby was intermittently but so unreasonably jealous of his wife (like Ford in the Play), that is, about the time of the original drafts of (1) and (2) *Henry IV*, which, if the Queen had seen them privately performed might have prompted a " command " to depict Falstaff in love, as tradition lays down.

A date for the original Play about 1597-8 in no way conflicts with the fact that Pistol and Nym of *Henry V* were popular characters, with " swaggering vaine " as the title page of Q (*M.W.W.*) says in 1602, for by that time *Henry V* was well known to the public (see p. 197) and the names would serve as an advertisement for Q. The title page also announces that *M.W.W.* had been acted " before her Maiestie," but this Q Play does not include an allusion, which is such a strong feature of F and which would have greatly pleased her, namely the graceful (but irrelevant) mention of " the Garter's compass, in a ring " (V, 5, 72). From this it may be fairly concluded that the revised Play was also acted before the Queen, in Windsor Castle, say in the Summer of 1601 ; at any rate the passage evidently commemorates a special occasion, the investiture of some one with the Knighthood of the Garter, and the Earl of Derby was created K.G. on 26th May 1601. The insertion of this passage just after the cancelled lines containing the word ' Proctors ' (which however may have been cancelled later) would be a grateful acknowledgment to the Queen,† possibly in the hope of placating her hostility after the Richard II incident (p. 50) ; that this passage was not written by an ill-educated actor is proved by the use of the dissyllabic " *pense* " (V, 5, 75) showing familiarity with pronunciation in French poetry, which requires accentation of final *e*, mute in prose (just as in " Vive le roi " in *King John*, V, 2, 104) as was pointed out by Lucas. [On the available evidence Shakspere knew no French.]

The History Plays. Stanley's paternal and maternal ancestors had played such a notable part in history that their inevitable prominence in these Plays of itself can have but small evidential significance ; even the distinct Lancastrian bias might be reasonably attributed to the Tudor history chronicles which were part sources of these Plays. Nevertheless it is remarkable how the latter revolve repeatedly round Stanley's forbears, as for example John of Gaunt and his descendants Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, Henry VII (Earl of Richmond),

* Suggested by the allusion to the " duke de Jarmany " and " garmombles," since the Duke of Wurtemberg (Count Mompelgart) visited Windsor in 1592, but as Lucas pointed out he importuned more than once after 1592 for the honour of K.G. which was not conferred till 1604.

† The only counter-evidence is in the words (only in F) " these Knights will hack " (II, 1, 52), reasonably interpreted as an allusion to James I's extravagant creation of Knights ; but the word " Hack " even in its context might conceivably mean ' to do mischief,' as it certainly does in IV. 1, 69 (spelt " hac " in the Folio).

the Beauforts, the Earl and Dukes of Somerset, or the Duke of Buckingham, who fill up much of the stage. Henry VII and Sir William Brandon (killed at Bosworth) were Stanley's maternal great-great grandfathers ; the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earls of Oxford, Salisbury and Warwick, the Cliffords, the Mowbrays and numerous others who, like some of the minor Stanleys, figure more prominently than their importance warrants, were his direct or co-lateral ancestors. The curious emphasis in *Richard II* (I, 3) on the title of Bolingbroke as Earl of Derby (not mentioned in Holinshed's Chronicle) seems laboured ; Sir John Stanley in (2) *Henry VI* (II, 4) seems employed to bring in the Isle of Man, and Lord Stanley is greatly in the lime-light in *Richard III* as the principal founder of the Tudor dynasty.

However normal these things may be to historical treatment, there are other personal details about the Stanleys, which are not found in the Play sources (Holinshed and Hall) and which therefore must have been invented for dramatic ends or privately acquired, as for example Gloster's promise of reward to Sir William Stanley in (3) *Henry VI*, IV, 5, or the dialogue between Lord Stanley and Edward IV's Queen in *Richard III*, I, 3, or that between Lord Stanley and Edward IV in the same Play (II, 1), or Richard's warning to Lord Stanley (IV, 4), or Richmond's solicitude for his son Sir George Stanley (V, 4) ; and there is no doubt that two of William Stanley's immediate ancestors (Richmond and Lord Stanley) dominate the climax of the Drama (V, 4) to the exclusion of everyone else i.e. as speaking characters. Elsewhere many suggestive incidents or situations become more intelligible in terms of Stanley authorship, as for instance the strong Welsh element in certain scenes of *Richard II*, *Henry IV* and *Henry V*, or the proposed tri-partite division of Britain as between Owen Glendower, Mortimer and Hotspur in (1) *Henry IV* (III, 1), where Hotspur complains of his " moiety " which comprised England North of the Trent. The Stanleys were not only extensive land-owners in Wales but William Stanley was descended from Welsh Princes, and Henry VII had created the 1st Earl of Derby " High Forester North of the Trent." Another incident, without the authority of the history Chronicles, is Joan of Arc's spirited appeal to the Duke of Burgundy to desert from the English side in (1) *Henry VI* (III, 3). It has long been known that the only source for this account of the defection (in 1434) of Burgundy is a letter of earlier date (17th July 1429) dictated by Joan herself and addressed to the Duke. This letter, preserved in the Lille archives, was however first published in 1780 (Barante) so that the author of (1) *Henry VI* must have read the letter in French himself at Lille, as William Stanley of course could have done during his travels in France (p. 90).

Other Plays. As no writer has more thoroughly obscured his individuality than Shakespeare it is not surprising that some Plays should furnish no tangible clues, though they reflect many known experiences of Stanley before and after he became Earl of Derby (see Chap. V). Thus as Lefranc first brought to light, there are various unmistakeable allusions in the Plays to the popular spectacles which were witnessed by Stanley's father and brother, and no doubt by William himself, at Chester where performances were given, at Whitsuntide (Pentecost) or Midsummer, i.e. crude Plays like *Herod, Old Vice, Samson and Goliath, King Ebranke, Aeneas and Queen Dido, The Sheappeardes playe* etc. rendered by artisans and tradespeople. During these festivals particularly at Pentecost, various side-show revels, some peculiar to Chester, were enjoyed (Whitsun pastorals, etc.) and Lefranc found echoes in various Plays of all this specifically local pageantry.

Thus, in *T.G.V.* (IV, 4, 165) Julia in the vivid description of her acting the part of Ariadne says " at Pentecost / When all our pageants of delight were played " ; and Perdita in *W.T.* (IV, 3) after her beautiful rhapsody on flowers says " Methinks I play as I have seen them do / In Whitsun pastorals." Lefranc quotes other allusions such as : to *Herod*, in *Hamlet* (III, 2, 16), in *A. and C.* (III, 3, 3) and in *M.W.W.* (II, 1, 20) ; to *Old Vice* in *12th Night* (IV, 2, 138) ; to the Chester mystery giants, *Samson and Goliath*, in (1) *Henry VI* (I, 2, 33) ; to " a Whitsun morris dance " in *Henry V* (II, 4, 25), etc.

Beyond reasonable doubt the Derby Steward, William ffarrington, was the original of Malvolio in *12th Night* (p. 21), and equally striking is the resemblance of Jaques of *A.Y.L.* to the Earl of Derby himself (Lefranc). Jaques is a purely Shakespearian creation, apparently a self-drawn character like Hamlet or Theseus, and in him we detect the first appearance of the melancholia associated with the Tragedy period. Jaques' whole psychology simulates that of the Earl ; he has " been a libertine " (II, 7, 65) in his youth ; his melancholy has resulted from disillusionment and " the sundry contemplation of my travels " (IV, 1, 20) ; he has lost ambition, prefers retreat and solitude to the society of Man, loves Nature and hates cruelty to animals. Note also the significant name Ganymede (p. 10) and the conversation of " Jove's own page " with Jaques (IV, 1), the remark " I fear you have sold your own lands " (like the Earl), and Jaques' " Greek invocation " " duc dame " (II, 5) recalling the Earl's interest in magic. Jaques' love of retirement, clearly sustained to the end of the Play (V, 4), parallels that of the Duke in *M.M.* who says " How I have ever lov'd the life remov'd " (I, 4, 8) ; and as this disposition appears in other Shakespearian characters (Prospero, Timon and the King of Navarre with his young courtiers) we must presume that the poet himself (like Will Derby) dearly valued solitude for purposes of intellectual excogitation.

Shakespeare's Plays teem with travel experiences, and their broadening influence on the minds of young aristocrats is sharply brought out in several Plays such as *T.G.V.*, *Hamlet*, *A.W.*, and *T. of S.*, where visits to cities, princely Courts or Universities are warmly recommended for educative purposes. All this repeated advice is seen to reflect Stanley's own education, extended by foreign travel (p. 90), which gives these concordances a piquant interest. In the early Play *T.G.V.* for instance who, reading the two opening lines (I, 1) or the Panthino-Antonio dialogue (I, 3), a perfect mirror of young Stanley's recent experiences in Italy, could reasonably imagine that such were the sentiments of an untravelled tradesman's son ; or speaking generally who could rationally suppose that *any* author, who was not rich in the multiple impressions furnished by long peregrinations in Europe, could ever have conceived such kaleidoscopic images of foreign peoples, or depicted their countries with such truthful sincerity as we find in Shakespeare's mighty canvases ?

Money difficulties, arising from borrowing or generosity, find their place in *M.V.*, *T. of A.* and elsewhere, reminiscent of the Earl of Derby's similarly occasioned financial embarassments ; and his far flung ' technical ' knowledge (duelling, military strategy, law, sport, horses, sea, stage, music etc.), is found ubiquitously in the Plays. Marital jealousy, a real *leit-motiv* only in Plays *subsequent* to the Earl's marriage troubles, such as *M.W.W.*, *T. and C.* or *Othello*, certainly echoes his passionate outbursts of 1596-8, but this coincidence taken singly would of course be valueless, seeing how universal is the curse of jealousy ; not so when dates are taken into account. General evidential indeterminacy, which the dramatist took such pains to preserve, cannot impair the inductive significance of the many clear concordances adduced in this Chapter, because in the entire Canon there is not a single incident or even line of inconsistency. These correspondences cannot be chance coincidences.

There are too many of them linked in groups, and together they inductively permit only a unique interpretation ; thus making it possible to recognise the Earl in the prodigious wisdom which ennobles the Plays, in the feudal outlook and aristocratic feeling, in the hatred of mob-rule and the pride in Royalty, in the deep love of France, in the sense of justice and retribution for crime, in the heavy responsibilities of a King and in the glowing patriotism, all of which bespeak the sentiments of an exalted but tolerant Patrician. It is true that many concordances are not exclusive and might equally well suit the Earl of Oxford or Francis Bacon, for each of whom their respective supporters are able to cite numerous Play coincidences, some very striking. Bacon's writings for example exhibit many parallelisms by way of aphorisms or imagery (p. 149) ; even in his famous rebuke to Lord Chief Justice Coke when he concluded with the remark " be you but true to yourself." He may of course have borrowed it from the same source as the author of *Hamlet* (p. 70), and other verbal coincidences can be similarly explained (Chapter VIII) ; but it is obvious from all this that the evidence from correspondences, in which chance or imagination comes into play, is treacherous unless treated inductively. There must be no inconsistencies (as there are in considerable number with the Earl of Oxford and Bacon).

CHAPTER V

RELATIONSHIPS AND CHARACTER

IN all identity questions, whether relating to animate or inanimate objects, no evidence ranks higher in importance than *character*, i.e. the integrated sum of intrinsic qualities which, with human beings, constitute personality and vary with different individuals, even (though only slightly) with " identical " twins. Some of these qualities are unconsciously exhibited by writers and however non-committal an author may be, if he writes enough, sooner or later his feelings will betray themselves. Even Shakespeare, whose broad catholicity and suppression of personality serve as a veil to screen the man from view, is not entirely submerged by his Art ; and a survey of his work overall brings out at least those characteristics which frequent repetition shows were part of himself. The Sonnets particularly, almost entirely personal though veiled, prove that he was : tolerant, quixotic, loyal, lovable, courteous and chivalrous even under provocation, sexually jealous but forgiving, and very sensitive to disgrace, real or imagined ; they also reveal : lack of egotism to the point of self-depreciation (oft-repeated), modesty in literary achievement, passion and bitterness towards the woman who betrayed him, pride, and moodiness that oscillated between buoyant exaltation and deep despair. The Plays and Poems, less illuminating, nevertheless reveal among other things his tenderness towards women, contempt for certain human faults particularly usury and puritanical hypocrisy, love of solitude, passion for music (and of course poesie), love of flowers, birds, horses and dogs, love of sport yet hatred of cruelty, clemency and sense of justice, tolerance in religion and politics ; while certain other noble qualities may be inferred.

Shakespeare, the man, was indeed Nature's gentleman, altogether apart from a dazzling genius, which was *sui generis*. However little that was recognised at the time, " Good Will " the urbane but shadowy playwright nevertheless held his audience spellbound, though in general they did not ask who the man himself was. So also even to-day most thoughtful students find it necessary to keep Shakespeare, the poet, in a compartment of their minds separate from that accommodating the man. He is altogether too elusive and we cannot think of both simultaneously, for irrespective of identity we really cannot equate any man to the glowing imagination of the poet ; no man seems to lie within the bounds of actuality, so we conveniently leave him out of our mental picture, content with an apotheosis of the poet. Is this dichotomy imposed by orthodoxy any longer justifiable ? The immediate question before us is : how far are the indisputable characteristics of Shakespeare, as outlined above, discoverable in the personality of William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby ? At the outset it must be frankly admitted that there is no *proof* that he had the prodigal genius of Shakespeare. There is no proof that any known person possessed it, not even Bacon, but as for the rest it will be shown that Will Derby's character, so far as it can be elucidated from established facts, amply fulfils the requirements ; this being a critical decision on the evidence, not an *ex parte* statement prompted by enthusiasm for a theory. Let us see then, without prejudice,

what was his actual character, good and bad, so far as it can be reconstructed from the documented evidence available—his own written words, what others said about him, his relationships and his reactions to external circumstances.

As a Royal Prince in the fore-front of England's aristocracy he shared the feudal sentiments of the Tudor nobility, though tempered by contact with foreign and probably plebeian elements. Great-grandson of Henry VIII's gracious sister Mary and her husband Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, also great-grandson of the 2nd Duke of Norfolk, through his grandfather, 3rd Earl of Derby, by this ancestry he was related to Queen Elizabeth, Lady Jane Grey, Mary Queen of Scots and James I on the one side and the House of Howard, including Henry, Earl of Surrey the poet, on the other. He was also related by blood or marriage to most of the leading aristocracy, notably the Earls of: Ancram, Arundel, Bedford, Berkshire, Cumberland, Dorset, Hertford, Huntingdon, Montgomery, Nottingham, Oxford, Rutland, Salisbury, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Suffolk and Sussex. These manifold connections may help us to visualise his setting in the historical background, but unfortunately very few of the letters he must have written to them have been preserved and these mainly to Sir Robert Cecil. The latter (*b.* 1563) who was the younger son of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, was the Queen's, and later James I's, astute Secretary of State from 1596 till his death in 1612; his sister Anne, was the wife of the 17th Earl of Oxford, whose daughter, Elizabeth de Vere (*b.* 1575), married the 6th Earl of Derby (p. 27) so that Sir Robert was Derby's Uncle (by marriage) though younger than himself; and his other Uncle (by marriage), George 3rd Earl of Cumberland was only a year or two older (p. 246). Sir Robert Cecil married Elizabeth, sister of the unfortunate Henry Brooke, 11th Lord Cobham, and Sir Robert's daughter Frances married Henry, 5th Earl of Cumberland. Sir Robert, who became Lord Essendon in 1603 and Viscount Cranbourne in 1604, was created Earl of Salisbury in 1605.

The Earl of Derby's letters and Shakespeare's dedications.

The Earl's surviving letters are mostly preserved at the British Museum and Hatfield House,* over twenty of which have been studied by the present writer [see Plates V, VI, VII, VIII for samples]. Except that of 10th July 1596 to Lord Burghley (VI) they consist of short communications which deal with private matters on behalf of other people rather than with Government business or Cecil's policy. [In this and in terseness they differ strikingly from Bacon's correspondence which is prolix and largely concerned either with matters of policy or his own advancement.] There are references to the Admiralty, finance and the Law; with such words as " next terme," " deliver evidence," " humble peticoner," " escheator," " feodary " (cf. *Measure for Measure* II, 4, 122 and *Cymbeline* III, 2, 21) etc. Reading between the lines of these few epistles a vast amount of information can be gleaned as to the character of their writer, who shows among other things constant kindliness with never a trace of acerbity.

A specimen, hastily written, dated 4th January 1596 is below :—

Thanks good Uncle for your kynd remmembrance and accordinge to your postscript I will cum to be A suter to her Majē myselfe who am not a little Joyfull to understand of her gratyousnes so hyghely to ~~hyghly~~ favor my wyff and me and thus though satisfyed yet not without salutinge youe wth these few unworthy hasty lynes doe cease restinge **alwayes**

Your lovinge Nephew
and trew frend
Will Derby

This and some of his other epistles written in haste show a decided tendency to word repetition (p. 86), also pen-slips or carelessness in punctuation and even syntax, not unlike that found in the so called "Addition" of the *Sir Thomas More* manuscript (p. 226) or in the text of some of the Plays of the 1623 Folio, where obscurities have thrown commentators into confusion in

* The writer wishes to express his obligation to the Marquess of Salisbury and Mr. Lyle, Librarian of Hatfield House, for their kindness in permitting him to examine the manuscripts there. The letters are called ' epistles ' hereafter to avoid confusion with letters of the alphabet.

trying to make out what the author really meant. The Earl of Derby however rarely failed to dot his *i*,s, also like the writer of the "Addition," whose neat handwriting is identified with his, as will appear. His vocabulary, though limited by the few epistles available, includes quite a number of striking words that are frequent in the Folio, sometimes spelt the same, such as : *accompte, betak, commendacons, jarre, sufficiencie, warrant*, etc., which of course are too common to have significance, and others more unusual like *inseamed*, i.e. enseamed or soiled (cf. *Hamlet*, III, 4, 93), *skellet* (cf. *Othello* I, 3, 273), *eftsones* (cf. *Pericles* V, 1, 256), *gladdinge* (cf. *Henry VIII*, V, 1, 71), or *beholdinge* and *behouldinge* for ' beholden.' Shakespeare similarly always used ' beholding ' (so spelt in the 1623 Folio and ' behoulding ' in the 1609 Quarto of *Pericles*) but this corruption of the old past participle ' beholdyne ' was not uncommon, being also used by Greene, Marlowe, Peele, Sir Robert Cecil and others, though not spelt ' behoulding.'

Derby's spelling was variable, but in general he strongly favoured Chaucerian archaisms or peculiar spellings (*Auneswrs, ben, byn, in steede* [instead], *lyff, wyff* etc.) with a strong habit for abbreviation and the use of *y* for [modern] *i*. His other general tendencies (compared to modern practice) were :—

(1) to drop final *e*, as in *befor, cum, offenc, tak, therfor, wrot* etc.
(2) to add final *e* with great frequency, as in *againe, certaine, doe* (do), *goe, theire, wee* etc.
(3) to use *r* or *re* instead of *er*, as in *Desembr, Octobr, offred, undr*, etc.
(4) to use *c* instead of *t* in *tion*, as in *mocon, relacon, peticon* etc.
(5) to double consonants, as in *att, fytt, jarre, outt, preferr, tennts* [tenants], *vyntyll, travell, uppon, ytt* etc.
(6) to use *oa, oo* or *ou* for *o*, as in *loath, mooue* and *behouldinge*.
(7) to use *au* for *a*, as in *Auneswrs* and *Comaundmt*.
(8) to use *ow* for *ou* in *howse* and *yow*.
(9) to use *de* instead of *ed* in *stayde* etc.
(10) to use *e* instead of *i* in *geve, geven* etc. and instead of *ea* in *berer, nere, redy* &c, also *i* for *e* in *inforced, intreat*, etc.
(11) to use *u* for *ui* in *suter*.
(12) to use *o* for *u* in *retorne* and *somer* or *u* for *o* in *cum*.
(13) to run two words into one in *aswell, shalbe, wilbe, thaccomplishmt* etc.

How far these habits are reflected in Shakespearian Quartos and the Folio may be judged from the summary on pp. 174-5. If a count is made of his differences from modern spelling (including interchangeable *u* and *v* but not *i* and *j*, and excluding abbreviations from the count) his deviation, which has an important bearing on Shakespeare's identity, is found to average 27·5% of the spellings overall, but it is over 30% for some of his epistles, and as it is higher in 1596-7 than in 1605-7 presumably it was still higher for the unknown period of the '80,s. Most writers then had considerably lower figures, Bacon for instance (on samples of correspondence and his notes in the *Promus*, in the '90,s) having a deviation of only 20% though he was the same age as Derby ; but Sir Walter Raleigh who was about 7 years older had Derby's figure (about 27% in 1597) and the Earl of Oxford who was 10 years older than Derby had the high mean 37·6%. *Spelling deviation as defined is repeatedly used as evidence in later Chapters.*

More interesting is the phrasing of his epistles ; practical and mundane though they be, words of affection are very frequent such as ' love ' (friendship) ' lovinge ' and ' lovingly,' and the word ' God,' mentioned reverently, is also frequent. This is not significant, but when his style is compared with that of contemporary writers, a palpable difference shows itself in the very human and sincere feelings often displayed, couched in vivid and picturesque expressions which are decidedly reminiscent of Shakespeare's ' touch.' The latter will be recognised in some of the following phrases :—

" Good Uncle " (cf. (2) *Henry VI*, II, 1, 25 ; *Henry V*, I, 2, 3 ; etc.)
" to both oure contentments "
" stayde by my warrant "
" the tyme is fytt to be respected "

" likewise to preferr a peticon to ye lps of ye Councell "
" make bold to commend him "
" ye spediest course herein "
" when fytt opportunytie serveth "
" wished by my wyff to move you for a letter "
" desyring you to bear wth theis hasty lynes "
" ever accounte myselfe moste graciously favored of her Matie "
" And so do humblie take my leave "
" discourses of or passinge tyme "
" to her Matie well affected "
" vppon his lps : further approbacón "
" betak you to Gods suffie "
" I humbly commend me to yor lp."
" hath given good testimony of his love "
" To his Soveigne freonde the Maior "
" God the worker of all goodness "
" next terme to be consummated "
" called to his answer "
" coulde prtende no tytle at all "
" the hard measure offred me "
" men of good sufficencie and accoumpte "
" in so laudable an enterpryse."

Most striking of all is the resemblance in brevity, composition and tone, to the only two letters of the poet Shakespeare known, i.e. the dedications of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* to the Earl of Southampton. In the body of these two dedications there are 220 words, an average of 110 words each, practically the same as the average of the Earl of Derby's short epistles, which are characterised by similar dignified phraseology, the resemblance extending even to the same kind of obscurity due to verbal compression as is found in the *Lucrece* dedication. A detailed analysis of the words used in the two dedications shows that two-thirds of these words are found in Derby's available vocabulary, some like [modern spelling] : *all*, *answer*, *assured*, *being*, *lines*, *Lordship*, *make*, *own* and *wish* being his favourites, as shown by repetition. The words in common have mostly the same connotation in both cases (e.g. ' lines,' found twice in the dedications and several times with Derby, meaning written lines) ; the words " your Lordship " (found three times in the dedications) were repeatedly used by Derby, and Shakespeare's " heart's content " simulates Derby's ' contentment.' Finally, as if to confirm this remarkable epistolary similarity, the mean percentage of repetitions i.e. words used more than once (*an important figure called the repeat index or ρ*—see p. 171) as found in the dedications is identical with Derby's average (24·1%).

Relations with contemporaries.

Will Derby's relations with the Queen have already been considered (see Chap. VIII for Bacon). With his numerous relatives as well as the leading men and women of the time he was always on good terms ; but, though Nichol's account in his *Progresses* of the Queen and of James I throws a flood of light on the people who participated in the diverse social functions of the Court, there is no allusion to William Stanley till he became Earl, and the subsequent references to him are rare while his relatives are constantly in the lime-light, especially the 3rd Earl of Cumberland. From this it is evident that he did not usually play a prominent part on these brilliant occasions, even when young, a lack of notoriety, in one of such exalted status, that was in keeping with his decidedly unusual and retiring disposition. But it may be assumed that if young Stanley did not push himself forward he unostentatiously figured in many public events, and that for instance he was at the State funeral of Sir

Philip Sidney (11th Feb. 1587), at the " devises " by Fellows of Gray's Inn before the Queen at Greenwich Palace (February 1588), at the great muster (among the " worthy Esquires who left their beds ") at Tilbury Camp (summer 1588) and at various other functions. About this time too (1588) he would no doubt be included among the " young gallants " forming the " innumerable swarm of Momus," who as Aske relates were inditing " misliked " " amiable sonnets " and " amorous discourses " that went " to make wast-paper."

Later, on 24th November 1596, his young Uncle, the adventurous Earl of Cumberland, wrote to Lord Burghley referring to the Earl of Derby's " cources," thanking Burghley " for your care of him who cares not for himselfe." It would be interesting to know what these " cources " were, also the later allusion (p. 69) by his wife to " prodigal courses," but it would seem that not only Lord Burghley (who adored the Earl's short lived baby daughter Elizabeth) but his two young Uncles, his father-in-law, the Earl of Oxford, and even his wife, all regarded Derby as something strange, as if he were neglecting health and duty for some ruling passion, no doubt play-writing and even acting. The Earl of Oxford went further in his criticisms, as noted later, and must have been difficult as father-in-law, but there was no ill-will on the part of the Earl of Derby. Nor are there any records suggesting other than cordial relations with the Earls of Southampton, Lincoln, Nottingham, Rutland etc. or with Lords Compton, Mordaunt, Mountjoy, Rich, etc., or with his later trustees William Earl of Pembroke and his brother Sir Philip Herbert ; but there is much to suggest that he was jealous of both the Earl of Essex's and Sir Walter Raleigh's attentions to his wife. Information in general is meagre, and it is not known for instance whether as William Stanley he had been fascinated in the late '80,s by the boy Earl of Southampton. He seems to have been on specially friendly terms with the Hoby brothers (p. 88) and with Sir John Puckering (the Lord Keeper) of Russell House, where he sometimes stayed. Sir John was a great favourite of the Queen, who visited him at Kew in 1595, at the time that, with the Earl of Essex and Bacon, they were all engaged in quarrels from which the Earl of Derby kept aloof (p. 148).

At home in Lancashire among his own people, who adored him, his particular friends included Sir Edward Fitton (p. 28), young Sir Edmund Trafford (p. 211) and Lord Dudley but there were many local people and relatives entertained with whom he was intimate (p. 17). That he was originally on affectionate terms with his sister-in-law Alice, Lady Strange, may be gathered from the fact that he was frequently with her and Lord Strange, but it is certain that the relations between them became very strained later as a result of the inheritance litigation, though he avowed " affectyon " (p. 32).

One would like to know more about his relations with the Earl of Essex, which can only be surmised. First there is the second-hand report (p. 19) in Nicholas Williamson's letter (21st June 1595) to the Attorney General (Coke) referring to the dowager Countess Alice's belief that William, who was merely " foolish," had not poisoned his brother, and her remark about the two brothers fighting for the crown, to which she added his " haughty stomach, his making of himself so popular and bearing himself so against my Lord of Essex I thought would be his overthrow." If, as is likely (but doubtful), this refers to William and not Ferdinando it probably relates to the crisis in his life in June 1594, when *ex hypothesi* he became secretly engaged to the Queen for State reasons, just after the temporary eclipse of the Earl of Essex (p. 148). Then there was a second crisis in the Summer of 1597 when Audeley's slanderous letter alleged that " my lady of Darbe " lay with the Earl of Essex (p. 28).

It may be presumed that though nothing was proved, the relations between the two Earls were anything but pleasant, and this may be the reason why he did not serve in Essex's Irish expedition of 1599 (p. 29). His attitude towards Essex's later intrigues and rebellion is not known, but it may be taken as certain that he regarded them with extreme disfavour, and Derby's Uncle, the Earl of Cumberland who was one of the first after the defeat of the rising to proclaim Essex a traitor, actually attended the execution at the Tower on 25th February 1601 ; but William's name is not among the list of those present.

It has always been assumed that Shakespeare referred to the Earl of Essex in alluding to " the General of our gracious Empress " in the fifth Chorus of *Henry V*, that is at the Globe Theatre in July 1599 ; but this is none too sure, for Essex was then making a bad mess of the Irish campaign. If true it would mean *ex hypothesi* that the Earl of Derby had become reconciled to him and had repudiated the report linking Essex with his wife. Perhaps however (see p. 197) Shakespeare's allusion is to Lord Mountjoy who did not ' bungle ' the campaign, but in 1601 and 1602 successfully engaged the Earl of Tyrone with his Spanish forces in Ireland, and *did* come back (in 1603) " bringing rebellion broached on his sword." The Earl of Tyrone before he rebelled had fought with the English against the Earl of Desmond, and in August 1590 he had paid a two-day visit to the 4th Earl of Derby at Knowsley. His adversary in 1601, Lord Mountjoy (George Blount *b.* 1563, afterwards Earl of Devonshire) was a friend of the 6th Earl of Derby. In 1599 Mountjoy had certainly toyed with the intrigues of the Earl of Essex and James VI but the Queen gave him sustained encouragement during the campaign, this contrasting strongly with her continuous criticism of Essex's strategy.

Was the Earl of Derby nicknamed by his intimate friends " King Richard," also " Sir John Falstaff " ? Lucas drew attention to the Countess of Southampton's letter of 8th July 1599 (p. 57) to her husband (then serving in Ireland) in which she said she had heard that " Sir John Falstaff is, by his mistress Dame Pintpot made father of a goodly miller's thumb, a boy that's all head and very little body," adding " but this is a secrit." The tale, probably pure gossip, shows at least that the Earl of Southampton would be interested and know whom the Countess meant—very likely in the circumstances his intimate friend the Earl of Derby. The same nickname " Sir John Falstaff " (this time for Shakespeare) is also found in a letter in Sir Tobie Mathew's collection (Sir Tobie being Bacon's friend and confidant) and probably Will Derby earned the nick-name by acting the part on the stage. This would not of course mean the public stage, but as an amateur (like the Earl of Oxford earlier) at private or Court performances, where in any case he would be well disguised. John Davies's words (p. 45) strongly confirm this impression, and while documentary evidence of stage-acting is hardly to be expected except by chance the repeated Play acting at Lathom or Knowsley, his Countess's letter already noted complaining of her husband's " prodigal courses " in connection with his interest in players and his Uncle's similar use of the word " cources " all leave no doubt about his passion for acting as well as writing Stage Plays, at least during the '90,s.

But there is another letter, which has been preserved, suggesting that he had acted the part of Richard II or Richard III ; it was written by Sir Edward Hoby, alluding to someone as " K. Richard " and there can be no reasonable doubt who this someone was. Sir Edward Hoby (*b.* 1560), a learned scholar and grandson of Sir Antony Cooke, at Oxford had been a fellow-student with Thomas Lodge, Derby's *protégé* and intense admirer. Hoby also was a close friend of his cousin Bacon and was favoured by the Queen, whom he had entertained in 1592 ; his residence was close to the Earl of Derby's in Channon Row, whom he must have known very intimately, for as noted on p. 34 his brother Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby was one of the Earl's trustees. Sir

Edward's letter was an informal supper-invitation to Derby's Uncle, Sir Robert Cecil, shortly before he became the Queen's Secretary, and it is endorsed " 7 December, 1595," " readilie." It asked him if he would come on " Teusdaie " (9th Dec.) " to visit poore Channon rowe where as late as it shall please you a gate for your supper shal be open : & K. Richard present him selfe to your vewe." The humorous allusion to King Richard here is clearly to a person (" him selfe ") and not a private Play performance, because the contents of Sir Edward's letter show that he had altered the day from Monday to Tuesday to suit Sir Robert's convenience, also that it did not matter how late he came. The Earl of Derby, near to, would be available either day, and that he was in London as usual about this time, and not in the North, is confirmed by a letter which he wrote four weeks later (4 Jan. 1596 p. 84) announcing his intention of becoming a " suter " to the Queen, with whom he was then in favour. The three men were all related by marriage* ; they were about the same age (32-35) so that being intimate, nothing would be more natural than that Sir Edward should arrange a friendly supper and facetiously refer to Lord Derby as " K. Richard." Nicknames were as common then as now, Sir Robert Cecil for example being called " Beagill " by James I, and " St. Gobbo " by Francis Davison in 1596 (a little time after the *Merchant of Venice* was composed). More interesting is the evidence (Prof. W. Raleigh) of Shakespeare's familiarity with *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio* (1561) published by Sir Edward's distinguished father, Sir Thomas Hoby.

Early life of William Stanley.

Seacome in his History of the House of Stanley (p. 9) speaks of " many large accounts as well in story, as Song " which portray the " Travels martial Exploits and Bravery abroad " of young William Stanley ; but he does not say anything about these " large accounts." Thomas Heywood (*Stanley Papers* Part I, 1853) records that he was " a favourite theme to the writers of ballads " but he only describes briefly the one known as *Sir William Stanley's Garland*, which was reprinted at Leeds in 1814. This Ballad of unknown date probably borrows some of its incidents from the adventures of Sir John Stanley (p. 10), and by including Barbary and Greenland among his travels, lasting a legendary 21 years, betrays its inaccuracy ; indeed all the Stanley Ballads appear to be tainted with anachronisms or poetic exaggeration, so are of small value. The later historians, Draper and Pollard, are obviously indebted to Seacome (though they furnish a little new matter for which they presumably had authority) and Seacome's history despite a few anachronisms may be accepted as substantially correct ; for it is certain that he had access to many records and documents, no longer existent, several of which he quotes verbatim. He frequently refers to others, not quoted, as sources of his information and says that he was House Steward for several years to William, 9th Earl of Derby, who died in 1702, from whom he evidently collected many data. He also refers to information furnished by his aunt and by a great-aunt, who had talked with the sixth Earl's son, James. The date of his *History* must be later than 1741, down to which he takes the story, but as then he must have been an old man the date could not have been much later.† Seacome's History in fact is a perfect mine of

* Sir Robert's father (Lord Burghley) was by marriage Uncle to Sir Edward Hoby, whose wife (Margaret) was sister of George Carey (2nd Lord Hunsdon) husband of Elizabeth Spencer, sister of Countess Alice widow of Derby's brother Ferdinando. A portrait of Sir Edward Hoby at Bisham Abbey, Berks., painted about this time, shows a good-natured oval face, with fair skin, dark brown eyes and hair.

† Appended to the present writer's copy of Seacome's *History* is a History of the Isle of Man, which he seems to have written, but as it includes a proclamation by George III and alludes to the date 1765 it would seem that some later editor had brought it up to date.

information, but unfortunately he is silent on the most interesting part of all, Stanley's early life, and even the story of his later life is largely devoted to the great litigation.

This *lacuna* however is partly filled in by a 47-page account, prefixed to a later edition of Seacome's *History*, a book printed anonymously at Preston in 1793. This book is otherwise (apart from misprints) word for word identical with Seacome's 1741 text, but his armorial sketches are not reproduced, and some brief additional matter brings the Derby history down to 1776. The important prefatory 47 pages are really a reprint of an earlier pamphlet of unknown date, printed by J. Nuttall of Liverpool, entitled *A brief account of the travels of the celebrated Sir William Stanley son of the fourth Earl of Derby of Latham-Hall Lancashire.* It gives a charming account of Stanley's youth, but whether it was written by Seacome seems doubtful, seeing that there is an allusion to Russia's acquisition of the Crimea (1769 - 1784) after he must have been dead. As to credibility, it is obvious that the writer is speaking from hear-say information, though he does refer to " records to which we have had access," and he puts in a lot of descriptive padding, with some legendary stuff borrowed from the Ballads, including the story of 21 years' travel, which however does not include Barbary and Greenland. Critical valuation justifies the belief that the story told is as true as any second-hand tale is likely to be, and if a few obviously legendary bits are rejected the rest rings true. The anonymous biographer opens with the remark that William Stanley was born about 1560 at Lathom, but admits that there are no records of his early childhood. He then goes on to say that his " future genius " was foreshadowed by the " enterprizing spirit " which he showed at an early age ; that he received " an education suitable to his exalted station," after which his " laudable curiosity and martial spirit " impelled him to seek his father's consent to travel for three years, designing to extend the time to " a much longer period." This request was granted by the 4th Earl, notwithstanding the " great delight in the company of his son " which his father had, the Earl having " treated him with the greatest indulgence " and " marked in him the most flattering symptoms." After this the author goes on to describe his travels, the following being a brief summary :—

Stanley started off from Dover to Calais with a " precentor " (i.e. Richard Lloyd, p. 21) and two servants, with letters of recommendation " to many of the Courts, and most of the celebrated characters in Europe." He was welcomed by the " Grand Monarque and his consort " at the French Court in Paris, then " the most splendid of any in Europe." His warm welcome was due no less to the fame of his father, who was well known in France, than to Stanley's own charm (" The elegance of his person, the affability of his manners "). At the tournaments " Sir William " soon displayed " his superior knowledge of military tactics. His skill and prowess became proverbial, and he frequently carried the prize." But because of this, as well as " for his gallantry and amiable accomplishments " he excited the envy of " the nobles of France," who thereupon " frequently engaged him in single combat," in which he " invariably maintained the high character " of his military reputation " with undiminished lustre." " Conspicuous as a courtier," however, he did not neglect his studies ; indeed he had a perfect knowledge of French " and made considerable proficiency in the sciences." Altogether he spent three years in France (so the writer says) and being of " high birth and engaging manners " he had access to " all companies." He thus visited the historic remains of Roman civilisation at Paris, Chalons, Nismes, Vienne, Rheims and Lyons, also most of the twenty-eight Universities and several Colleges, so acquiring an " enlarged mind," and " the accomplishments of the scholar."

On travelling to Spain (already hostile to England) his reception at Madrid was " much less flattering than in Paris," but he wisely avoided temptations to commit himself by expressing unfavourable opinions on Spain. This caution did not prevent an insult, in the form of an invitation to quit the Country, by a Nobleman, from whom Stanley then demanded satisfaction. The resulting bloody duel was protracted, and after Stanley had defeated the

Don (and in vain subsequently attempted a reconciliation with the wounded man) he saw that " the vengeance of the whole Court would fall upon him." " Purchasing a Friar's habit, he privately left Madrid," and so in disguise escaped treachery, by making his way [through Aragon] with " considerable hardships," eventually across the Pyrenees and so safely into France from whence he departed into Italy. At Rome he visited the various ruins of its past civilisation, which (as the writer says) " reflects credit on his taste." After [a fabulous] three years in Italy where his " enquiring capacious soul " found food for thought he travelled to Cairo, visited the Pyramids of Egypt together with other relics of the ancient Egyptian civilisation and in exploring the Nile had a savage encounter with a tiger [perhaps lynx —see emended Sonnet 23, p. 307.]

His next journey was to Palestine, where his " stay must have been considerable," and where he examined the many relics of early Christianity. From thence he proceeded to Syria and eventually to Constantinople where, according to a long and circumstantial account that might be fiction and reads like a romance, he had a remarkable adventure. A certain " Bashaw " tried to entangle him in a religious controversy, which he avoided till the Bashaw attacked Christianity as a fable, " your prophet an impostor, your profession hypocrisy." The sequel to Stanley's spirited defence of his religion was his arrest by a " band of Janissaries," who cast him into a filthy prison, ill-lighted and only three yards square, where he was kept without trial on a diet of bread and water. It was only after five weeks' incarceration that the insolent jailer, whom he had threatened to chastise, blurted out the truth that he was marked down for destruction on account of blasphemy. Till then he did not know what was the charge against him but his enemy was meantime using his " utmost influence to bring him to the gibbet." Fortunately Stanley had previously endeared himself to the family of an influential Turk who eventually heard of his plight. He, his wife and daughter were greatly concerned, and discussed ways and means of effecting his release. As a result, the daughter offered to try to get an interview with the Sultan himself, which after encountering many difficulties she secured. The Sultan not only granted her request but permitted her to take the order for release to the prison itself, which she did with " the most rapturous emotions," and " Stanley beheld his female deliverer." He was in an emaciated condition with sunk eyes and pallid cheeks, and was to have been executed in three days' time. The author regrets that he has no " further materials " to show what was the sequel to this " romantic gallantry," beyond the heartfelt gratitude which Stanley expressed to the " worthy family " for his deliverance.

From Constantinople he proceeded to Moscow where he received " more liberal " treatment and earned the " esteem of some eminent foreigners " from different parts of Europe. One day he heard that an " English physician," who turned out to be Dr. Dee, had effected a " notable cure " of the Emperor's foot and desired his acquaintance. Dr. Dee (so the story goes) was amazed to discover William Stanley, whose father and brother, he informed him, he had attended in their last illness about eight years ago. [This anachronism would make the year of the meeting about 1601] The story is embellished with an imaginary conversation, in which Stanley swoons at the shock. He at once made his journey to England, where he found that part of his estates had fallen into other hands, and only recovered them after a long and " expensive legal process."

No dates are given, but Dee who went abroad with Edward Kelly (alias Talbot) in 1583 and did not return till 1589, spent much of his time in Bohemia and Poland, and his diary shows that he was in communication with the " Emperor of Moschovia " in 1586, that is about the time Stanley met him. Apart from its termination, the whole narrative, outlined above, appears to be substantially true though obviously very incomplete. Stanley's five-year itinerary probably included other Countries not mentioned, such as Asia Minor, Greece and the Aegean Islands, also Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands, where according to Greenstreet (p. 22) he may have served with the Earl of Leicester, as to which nothing is known. He was certainly a bravely adventurous cosmopolitan young aristocrat of scholarly attainments, eagerly athirst for knowledge of every description. No records have survived, which would throw light on his life in London where he spent most of the time after returning to England i.e. between 1587 and 1592, and this tantalising hiatus can be only partly filled up for Lancashire (p. 23). Conjecturally much may be imagined with a dramatist of his intellectual brilliancy, who (later) was found to be writing Comedies for the *common players* (p. 30) i.e. not merely

for amusement but for the purpose of having them staged. Such conjectures are easily translated into reality, however vague, the moment it is granted that he was the future Shakespeare, for then known facts can be supplemented by the autobiography of the Sonnets, by numerous early Poems (Chapter XII), by the *Henry IV* Plays (where he probably projected himself to some extent into the character of the wild young Prince), by *Willobie his Avisa* (in the capacity of the unsuccessful lover W.S.) and even by *A Lover's complaint* (where he probably depicted himself as a " blusterer " in the 9th stanza—see pp. 155-157 for this Poem).

From these various sources then, it may be hypothetically inferred that he entered thoroughly, if unostentatiously, into the life " Of court, of city," mixing freely, perhaps riotously, with rough companions of the theatre and tavern, that he went through passionate love experiences, kept a brunette mistress, who was faithless to him (Sonnets), that he was at least once in a dangerous brawl which nearly cost him his life (Sonnet **74**), that he was ashamed of some of these vulgar episodes and his stage associations (Sonnets **110** and **111**), but that in the midst of these ' hectic ' diversions he was voluminously writing Plays, Sonnets and other Poems ; in fact burning the candle at both ends and accordingly suffering at times from insomnia (p. 246). This prodigal London life, enlarging his diversified experience of humanity acquired abroad, goes far to explain the realism of Shakespeare's Art. Further, when this throbbing life came to an end in September 1592 with Stanley's transference to the Isle of Man (p. 23), it must be supposed that he still maintained his amazing literary activity, as a welcome relaxation from arduous military and juridical responsibilities in the Island (see Appendix III).

Later life, 6th Earl of Derby.

A general survey of the scattered data relating to the Earl of Derby makes it possible to re-construct his character with great certainty, and this survey confirms the earlier evidence of youthful versatility by disclosing many interests, as will appear. His contacts with the leading figures of the Court and Government, his dangerous relations with the Queen (p. 49) and his legal pre-occupations all serve to indicate how shrewd he was in avoiding entanglement ; but he was jealous of his rights, especially his birth-right, to the point of litigation, this from principle rather than for enjoyment, for sooner or later he ceded what he had gained by legal compromise. He showed the same sort of contradiction in combining feudal practice with moderate democratic ideals, similar to those entertained later by his son James. But for all that, as Earl of Derby, he was the grand seignior who gloried in splendour and ceremonial (on appropriate occasions) and his hospitality, like that of his father, grandfather and son, was princely both in London and in Lancashire ; which magnificence and munificence involved him, crippled by the great law suit, in grave financial difficulties. He emulated his forebears without the means that they had, and apparently without their financial acumen. Like Timon of Athens he lacked this saving grace, being in fact severely criticised by Sir Edward Fitton and others for the management of his estate. Following the custom of his fore-fathers he seems to have refused to raise rents to the economic level which rising prices necessitated, and as his feudal generosity verged on extravagance no doubt these criticisms were justified. The case of Sir Randall Brereton (p. 29) for example seems nothing short of folly, having regard to the financial stringency of his position in 1598. Such quixotism was bound to lead to the troubles of Timon. It did, and developed into a tendency to

withdraw from the world's maelstrom, followed by piece-meal abdication of his power, but in any case the tendency to seclusion was inherent in his character and had been shown as early as 1582 (p. 21) as well as in 1599 (p. 29) ; indeed he appears to have frequently gone into retreat, at Meriden Manor Warwickshire for instance by taking it in on his journeys to and from the North. After the accession of James I, being no Court intriguer, he seems to have preferred the quieter Country life of Lathom, Knowsley or Chester, and one may well suspect some incompatibility with the rest of the world. Suppose for example that his wide experience and prescient philosophic wisdom rendered him acutely conscious of the errors in policy of James I, as reflected in *Measure for Measure* (Lefranc), or more generally of the irrational follies of mankind and that he would not vaunt his superior judgment, there would be no alternative to withdrawal if he were to avoid unpleasant relations with smaller men in executive control. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that he was not like his fellow-men but, as some of them seemed to think, bizarre or as the Earl of Oxford said full of " fancies " and " humours " ; criticism overt or covert which is likely to have driven him into his shell, as sensitive genius often is so driven by ungenerous candour.

In religion he was a Protestant like his father, but much more tolerant to Roman Catholicism, this no doubt influencing Father Parsons in his favour ; and that he was no puritan is shown by his devotion to Drama, racing and old English Sunday sports. His great interest in Chester Cathedral, of which he held the advowson, is indicated in various ways as noted (p. 41) ; and the Bishop of Chester (Richard Vaughan) counted on his support in claiming the parsonage of Bangor ; but though the Earl's letters reveal reverence for God, he was not so openly devout as his son James, the 7th Earl* who, like him in many ways, had the same inflexibly high principles. The 6th Earl was certainly a man of great learning, but unfortunately the lost books and papers at Lathom and the hundreds of " sequestred " books (p. 135) of the great library at Knowsley, are not available for direct information, though we know that his son James, also very studious, constantly immersed himself among his father's books and wrote that " Libraries are like shrines." The fortress of Lathom, of which Bishop Stanley even so early as 1562 wrote " Nothing wants that man could devise or question with his tonge," was a seat of music, drama and culture like Derby House in London, with no doubt an extensive library. Since William's boyhood, these libraries must have been tremendous sources of information because of his insatiable curiosity to learn everything (including what Gray's Inn, Oxford and foreign Universities could teach). Like his son, for whom the information is so much fuller, he must have devoured these books as a recreation ; at all events they could both read Latin with ease, both speak foreign languages, and they were both also skilled in music. The 6th Earl saw to it that his son's education should include foreign travel, but curiously enough James thought that this was waste of time and, cultured as he was, he had not a fraction of his father's immense erudition, which however mostly passed un-noticed because it was not openly displayed ; and so impartial history makes it impossible to prove directly (though not indirectly) that Derby was endowed with the unbounded genius of Shakespeare. Qualified otherwise in all respects, the Plays he wrote are not traceable in his own name

* James's religious ideas were distinctly puritanical and, noble as he was, he lacked his father's tolerant mind. For example, he cut off his son Charles (afterwards 8th Earl) from personal estate in his Will, dated 1st August 1651, as punishment for disobeying the King in marrying Dorothea Rupa (daughter of a Dutch Nobleman) " and for his goeing to joyne with the rebells." There is no evidence that he did and he certainly tried desperately to save his father's life two months later. This " most unkindest cut of all " contrasts strongly with Will Derby's gentle kindness to *his* son.

for purposes of judgment ; and all that need be said at the moment is that three early Poems, signed ' W.S.' (Chap. XII), which are proved to be his, exhibit the peculiar style of Shakespeare.

Despite all this learning Derby, like other Stanleys, was a thorough sportsman and from ffarrington's records (p. 23) as well as other sources (see Radcliffe *Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire* 1894, Vol. 45 p. 141) we know a good deal of his sporting activities. Like his brother and his son James, of whom there are fuller records, he had kennels, stables, keepers, fowlers and huntsmen at Lathom and Knowsley ; his active support of horse-racing indeed prompting Nicholas Assheton (1617) to describe him as " a noted sportsman and turfite."

It was the 6th Earl of Derby apparently who founded the Derby race, the first races being run at Wallasey, then a small village near his Bidston residence (p. 31) ; and about 1600 he built a fine block of stone buildings as racing stables. (The ruinous remains of these stables at Wallasey, once familiar to the present writer, were demolished about 1900, the site now being occupied by the houses of Sandiways Road near Grove Road.) The race course was a straight line from Wallasey to Leasowe Castle, about a mile and a half away to the West near the seashore, and the starting chair was placed at the Wallasey end of Green Lane. Judging by later descriptions, these races were great events both for the gentlemen who ran them (and, as Webbe said in 1622, betted on " the swiftness of their horses ") and for the inhabitants. Thus in 1682 the Duke of Monmouth, courting popularity before his rebellion, created great enthusiasm celebrated by bonfires, when he un-expectedly entered and won a race in September, and it is recorded that he had refreshments in the tent of William (9th) Earl of Derby. The names and dates of various winning horses, with horse-shoes, are (or were prior to the heavy bombing of the neighbourhood) to be found on a fragment of the old stable door, preserved in the Liverpool museum (William Brown Street). During the Civil War these early Derby races were discontinued, but they were resumed afterwards, as well as in the Isle of Man, where the first record of a race is in 1669 (P. W. Caine). They ceased at Wallasey apparently about 1785 when Earl Grosvenor, then owner, sold the stables and adjoining land, but during their hey-day the Wallasey races were the resort of the principal racing blood of England ; and the Black Horse Inn (Wallasey) (built in 1722) accommodated visitors from all parts. The first Derby race run at Epsom was in 1778. The name Leasowe Castle is modern. Built apparently by the 5th Earl of Derby, who kept horses and hawks there, as a sporting residence, it was known as New Hall but was sold by the 6th Earl to Sir John Egerton in 1598 when the Earl was feeling financial stress. After the Civil War it was deserted and locally called " Mockbeggar," a name still applied to the neighbouring beach, and one which mutely testifies to a vanished prosperity.

In addition to these early Derby races the 6th Earl probably patronised others which are recorded at Whalley and Walton-le-Dale, near Seaforth, Lancashire (see p. 294) ; also those on the now famous Roo Dee course at Chester, where it is known that races were run in 1609, 1610, 1623 and 1624. [Shakespeare, as shown by *Venus and Adonis*, was as intimate with a horse as a farrier and there are about 300 allusions to the horse in the Plays ; intimacy with racing being indicated by the race image in *Measure for Measure* (II, 4, 160), by Imogen's words about " riding wagers " in *Cymbeline* (III, 2, 74), Regan's " unconstant starts " in *King Lear* (I, 1, 302), and so on.]

Personal character.

At times subject to anger, the 6th Earl of Derby nevertheless was not quarrelsome, like his father-in-law for instance, or the Earl of Southampton ; apart from the quarrels which were forced on him while abroad and those with his own wife, due to jealousy, the only recorded angry differences with others seem to be those with Duck (p. 97) and possibly Proctor (p. 30) already noted. On the contrary, praised for his " elegance of person," " gallantry and wit," Derby was full of " the milk of human kindness " (as shown by his epistles). As he enjoyed great popularity among his own people of the North, Stanley's urbanity in disposition perhaps accounts for his nickname in London (p. 88) ; and he was affectionately called ' Will ' or ' Willy ' by his friends.

His innate courtesy and sincerity, qualities* which radiate from his epistles, are also shown by his acts and by what others said of him ; for instance his generous chivalry made a great impression on his French daughter-in-law in 1627 (p. 34), and ' R.G.' (p. 98) adored him for his graciousness, loyalty, " and infinite other favours," being " bounden to your Honour for all the estate I have." There are many indications of his devotion, help in distress and service to others, but none of hatred or even dislike by him or towards him. But he was very sensitive to aspersion or anything reflecting on his honour, feeling for instance the " disgrace " of a dispute about salvage from a wreck (Plate VII)† and he was ferocious about gossip relating to his wife's flirtations. Pride in Royal ancestry and seigniorial rights, is shown by numerous incidents of the great lawsuit, and by his resisting the Queen's infringement of his authority as Lord of the Isle of Man (Plate VI). Utterly devoid of hypocrisy and humbug, sincerity shines out of his epistles ; no trace here of *arrière pensée*, any more than in his general relations with others or in the testimonials he gave (some in poetry—Chap. XII).

Passionate in love and intensely jealous of his wife, his outburst (p. 28) in August 1597 is described by Mylar as " my Lord's humour of frenzy " due to his " jealous frame of mind," while Thomas Ireland, his lawyer secretary, spoke of " my Lord's madness " and " her Ladyship's patience whose only defence was patience with tears." There is no doubt that this bitter quarrel of 1597 was the culmination of an Othello-like suspicion, that had been rankling in his mind for at least 12 months, probably because the young Countess had flirted with men at Court. For, twelve months earlier (though the Hatfield papers suggest the date 1597) he wrote a remarkable challenge, dated 20th August (no year) at Greenwich, signed by himself and witnessed by Lord Burghley, Lord Howard and Sir Robert Cecil, in these words :—

" If anyone can say that I know my wyff to be dishonest of her body or that I can justly prove ytt by myself or anyone els I chalenge him the combatt of lyff. Yf anyone suppose any speeches of myn to have p'ceded out of that doubt he doth me wronge."

Such a challenge, no doubt prompted by malicious gossip about his wife's chastity, is as downright in its terms as anything of the kind in Shakespeare, being indeed parallel to that of Benedick in *Much ado about nothing* (IV, 1) at least in so far as he was upholding the chastity of a woman i.e. Hero, " she is wronged, she is slandered." The year cannot be 1597 for on 22nd August the Earl of Derby wrote the joint letter (p. 28) from Alport House near Manchester, so could not have been in Greenwich on the 20th ; also it cannot be 1598 for Lord Burghley died on 4th August 1598. The date must be 1596 (E. B. Goodacre) twelve months before his violent outburst of jealousy at Knowsley, so that suspicion must have obsessed his mind for a long time previously.

He was otherwise tolerant and magnanimous. The self-revelation of his own epistles, free from any trace of smallness, carping criticism or sarcasm (unlike some of the letters of his father-in-law the 17th Earl of Oxford) confirms Richard Barnfield (p. 252) who called him noble-minded and extolled his

* These qualities distinguish the Stanleys right through history , but they are also very marked in Derby's mother Margaret, her mother Eleanor (Countess of Cumberland) and grandmother (Mary Tudor) each of whom were gracious in disposition as well as in beauty. During the years she was confined as a State prisoner in the custody of Thomas Sackford at St. John's Clerkenwell, Margaret suffered refined cruelty at the hands of the Queen who greatly feared her as a Royal rival, and Margaret herself was in constant fear for her life. This no doubt explains her cringing letter to the Queen about the time of her release—the only letter she wrote that was insincere, of several which survive.

† This was written shortly after startling eclipses of the moon (September 1605) and sun (October) and the Gunpowder Plot (November) ; in *King Lear* the allusion to " These late eclipses in the sun and moon," " machinations " etc. (I, 2, 112 *et seq.*) makes it probable (with other evidence) that the Play was composed about then, when as Derby wrote " the tyme is fytt to be respected," also " takeing of it so by force " like Lear's " To take it again perforce " (I, 5, 45).

" many vertues." He certainly forgave his wife after the quarrel and separation (p. 29), for a letter of Thomas Ireland to Sir Robert Cecil, dated 30th July 1598, says " I find his Lordship most lovingly kind to my very good lady, as not taking any discontentment at anything happened at the departure . . ." Similarly his actions all exhibit tolerance in politics and religion, while his restraint under provocation is shown by the above incident (Plate VII) when, Sir Richard Laughton having flouted his authority, he abstained from using force against him.

Impulsive in his solicitude for play-actors and others, actually over half the epistles extant were written to help people in difficulties of one kind or another, and his strong sense of justice appears in three or four of them. One in July 1600 deploring " the law's delay " was on behalf of his cousin Sir Edward Stanley, to expedite the hearing of some charge against him (after he had waited about the law-court for two months without being called). Another in January 1600 intercedes for " a poor free holder of mine " liable to lose his farm by default, owing to the " impeachment of my inheritance in my chiefest manor namely Lathom . . . . by reason none was present to deliver evidence. I entreat you Sir Robert Cecil that my cause and evidence which by sound advice I conceive to be good, may be heard before a jury, whereunto I will refer myself upon notice thereof from the Escheator and Feodary " [spelling modernised]. He was prepared to go to this trouble for a young man owning " a few acres of land within that manor." On another occasion (12th April 1597) he acted on behalf of his brother-in-law John Salusbury (p. 164), quoting information given by " my lo : of Pembroke " and later (4th May 1619) he interceded with the Earl of Pembroke on behalf of his servant Massy who was a defaulter at the musters. Other epistles reveal similar selfless-ness, also gratitude for any help in his pathetic fight for his inheritance ; also (unlike Bacon) a singular lack of egotism but simply unassuming modesty. That he was of unusual disposition cannot be doubted. The Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Cumberland, Sir Edward Fitton and others thought him quixotic, for he was original rather than conventional, studious but often moody ; also given to " prodigal courses " and much concerned about the welfare of his company of players, which his wife (p. 69) called " so vain a matter."

The anonymous historian's testimony that he was consumed with a thirst for knowledge as a young man is borne out (in his later life) by the unique copy of Stow's *Annales* (1605 edition), described by Lucas (*S.V.S.*), showing that the Earl had devoted much attention to it, for the text is copiously underlined at interesting passages and emphasised by numerous hand-pointers as well as many marginal comments, all in ink in his own handwriting, probably between 1605 and 1609.

In this interesting book,* which was evidently one of those confiscated after the fall of Lathom in 1645 (p. 36), later owners have made some marginal entries, but those annotations which the present writer has identified as in Derby's Hand (mostly careless) number 35 in all, and two of these have no reference to the printed context. One (1204) in Italian script is ' Charles,' the name of his youngest son (a baby in 1609) written absently, and the other in faded " secretary " script is a memorandum :—

" precept[s] to the counce[ll] of the Dutc[hy] "

probably referring to the Duchy of Lancaster of which his Uncle, Sir Robert Cecil, had been Chancellor between 1597 and 1599.

* At present in the writer's possession through the courtesy of Lucas's widow Lady Tiphaine Lucas. The book has been thumbed to such an extent that the edges of the pages have been worn away at least 1/20in. causing loss of all letters written to the page edges. In the present brief description such missing letters are shown by square brackets, while numbers in round brackets refer to pages of Stow's *Annales*.

Space does not permit the reproduction of all these annotations but one (231) is of interest : "A man fish [in] all point[s]," because it refers to a ' tall story ' told in the adjacent text about fishermen in Suffolk who had caught a fish having " the shape of a man in all pointes " which they tried in vain to tame, a creature strongly reminiscent of Caliban. All through, whether in comments or textual underlinings and hand pointers Derby simply recorded his momentary impressions, thus affording an insight into his tastes and intellectual predilections. They are mostly in black unfaded ink like that used in the Gothic letters E.D. in Parsons' book (p. 26) and many refer to points of history which interested him, such as Henry I's parliament, Henry V's invasion of France, the execution of Oldcastle, fall of Wolsey, and so forth.

One of Derby's annotations is " Malcolme Kinge of Scotes " (230) ; another " rare prince " (109) relating to King Edgar, is accompanied by a number of underlinings of the text which show his approval of wise rule, " liberall, gentle, mercifull " government, the suppression of " briberie " and " vicious living of the cleargie " ; another annotation " [o]h rare [sou]nd counsell " (556) shows his strong approval of Henry IV's dying words of wisdom to young Prince Henry, the text being copiously underlined in many places, such as " execution of justice," redress of injuries, " indifferently and without delay," " perswasion of flatterers " etc., and finally at the words " without thy people thy Raigne is nothing." Justice is the burden of this long passage, as it is of that, underlined, accompanying the comment " notable example of justice " (340) concerning Justices of the King's Bench who refused to accept bribes ; and of that, also underlined, accompanying the comment " [m]ost reasonable true doctrine " (468), where John Ball in the reign of Richard II taught that tithes should not be demanded unless the tithe-giver " were richer then the Vicar or parson that should receive it " ; and of that, also underlined accompanying the comment " an absurd oath " (499) requiring an oath, in the same reign, that Sir Richard Stury should not hold lollard opinions.

Other annotations illustrate Derby's views on fashion (elongated shoes in the time of Edward IV and women riding astride in the time of Richard II), on poaching, on punishment for crime, on extravagance (at a bishop's banquet in the reign of Henry III), on learning, liberality and moral courage, on the " auncient lawes of England " (137), on the " temp[le] of Ap[ollo] at Delphos " (17), on Henry II's romance at Woodstock, on sea erosion in Kent (forming the Goodwin Sands), as well as other topics, even prices of wheat, poultry, eggs and wine (all noted in his writing on different pages for different times in history) ; and one long interpolation (999) on religious reform indicates his freedom from bigotry, while the short comment " rare bishop " (288) shows that Derby admired the Bishop of Lincoln for his fearless bravery in reproving both Henry III and the Pope for their errors.

In general the hundreds of underlined passages and hand-pointers cover a wide variety of topics of human interest, such as sport, superstition, necromancy, recusancy, religion, neglect of prayers and church abuses in the past, unlawful games and punishment of crime or political offences, extortion and oppression, generosity to the poor, injustices to the needy, control of ale houses (in the reign of King Edgar), various matters of law including contempt of Court (Prince of Wales in Henry IV's reign) and legal delays, exchequer finance, regal duties and responsibilities, war, prisoners of war, origins of civil war, usurpation, insurrection, disobedience of Nobles and numerous other matters of Statesmanship of unexceptionable Shakespearian range. From these much may be gleaned about the broad catholicity of Derby's interests, about his merciful humanity, his sense of justice and exquisite sympathy for those in distress, his wisdom and glowing patriotism ; also they show that he loved to ' dig himself in ' his libraries for study and writing. His versatility indeed was quite remarkable and we have already seen how by way of recreation from legal or official State duties he was devoted to poetry, music, drama, languages, astronomy, astrology, magic, history and classical lore ; also outdoors, boating, the chase, falconry, riding and horse-racing.

But he could be angrily imperious when his pride was affronted ; at least on one occsion according to Duck, keeper of the Queen's game, in 1602 he violently asserted his rights to the game in Richmond Park ; " threatened to run his rapier through him " saying that he " would take partridge again in despite of any Nobleman in England." If Duck's statement is reliable it would

confirm the " haughty stomach " story attributed to the 5th Countess of Derby (p. 87) as applicable to William not Ferdinando.

The Earls of Derby were renowned for their lavish hospitality to great and poor alike, and as already noted William shared this generosity to the point of financial indiscretion. In 1600 having taken steps to purchase a house of her own in Channon Row for his wife, from the Earl of Lincoln, later he invested her with the sovereignty of the Isle of Man, and his subsequent generosity by piece-meal abdication in favour of his wife, his son and his daughter-in-law, bordered on pure quixotism. From his generous feelings towards literary colleagues (Chap. XII) it may be gathered that he wrote many testimonials at different times, and two have survived relating to military services rendered (in training), one on 12th October 1623 written from ' Bidstone ' to the Council praising his Deputy-Lieutenant, and the other on 11th November 1626 to secretary Conway praising Mr. Cotton. Earl Derby was also merciful and compassionate. In an epistle to his Uncle in January 1599 he pleaded to save the life of " a poor young man . . . tomorrow the man dyes unles he be repryved : it semes by his petytytion his offenc was for stealinge a little silver skellet outt of her chamber [his wife's] which being the first falt she was loth to have him dy . . . ." Later in April 1625, after the shipwreck of five transports off the Welsh Coast, from which only 200 souls survived, he took vigorous steps for their relief, promising to find the necessary money, failing help from the Council. He was humane beyond contemporary bounds and by inference kind to animals, so like Jaques he may have had qualms about stag-hunting, and other blood sports.

To penetrate a mind like his from a few epistles and records, controlled imagination must get to work, but stored as that mind was with profound learning fortified with unrivalled experience of peoples and countries, the range of his philosophy can be conceived. His ripe wisdom is indicated more particularly by a Chester clergyman R.G. [? Richard Grosvenor] who ' simply worshipped ' him. R.G. undertook to bring up to date the story of the House of Stanley, which had been written in verse in 1562 by Bishop Stanley (p. 12) and in dedicating the enterprise to the 6th Earl of Derby about 1605 he opens up his heart to him (Brit. Mus. additional M.S.S. 5860). In the " Epistle Dedicatorie," he expresses his deep affection and gratitude, begs him to read the story " Or, if yt please you, sacrifice yt in some winter's evening to the fire for I tooke this paine for you and none but you,

Quos manibus propriis finxit cordata Minerva."

In this Latin line, meaning that he was fashioned by wise Minerva's own hands, R.G. neatly propounded the Earl's affinity with the goddess of wisdom. Since wisdom implies among other things a keen perception of the frailties and follies of mankind (including one's own) it may be supposed that Will Derby was conscious of much avoidable trouble (not only political) in the world around him ; this at least is suggested by the tone of some of his epistles as for example that (Plate VII) of 16th December 1605, showing that he did his best to prevent open rupture between tenants and friends " on both sides," over the salvage incident.

But as noted he was by no means wise in the worldly sense, i.e. not shrewd in finance—with his plans for forced sales at ruinous cost during the great litigation, and schemes for compounding with his nieces. In 1602 Stephen Proctor (p. 78) was alleged to have said " that the Earl was a fool " and was spending his inheritance away. He was also criticised by Sir Edward Fitton, who said in a sarcastic letter to Sir Robert Cecil in 1598, the meaning of which is not quite clear, " truly now shall you see his Lordship will make a marvellous

mass of money by fines which might have been employed to better use." The Earl of Oxford in letters to Sir Robert during September 1596 grumbled about the difficulty of obtaining the jointure of £1000 (which should have been assured to his daughter, the Countess of Derby) and also about Derby's delay in signing some document (p. 263). This might relate to Derby's earlier promises in two letters of the previous March and May (1596), in the first of which he says he had instructed his secretary Ireland to repay Sir Robert money owing to him (" I gave order long since to Ireland to discharge your debt "), but in the second of which he is still promising to repay £100 (" No soner shall my money be receved but you shalbe satisfied "). All these financial difficulties were due to loss of revenue from his estates, then in the melting pot, but it was generally thought that he was mismanaging his affairs badly.

Lord Derby's intermittent escapist urge for solitude no doubt drove him to his library for the heavy work of playwriting (as in the known case of his retreat at Heningham—p. 30), and this self-seclusion explains why, though probably fired by ambition for the throne, he never pressed his claims. He himself lacked the " sterner stuff " of which ambition should be made, sedulously avoiding all political entanglements. According to the editor of the Manx Society's Journal (1860, Vol. III, p. 195) he had an " un-aristocratic disposition " ; a curious remark but true enough, in the sense that (like his son the 7th Earl, later) this great feudal aristocrat deemed it the duty of the aristocracy to cherish the welfare of their tenants. It may be gathered from his commentaries (p. 97) in Stow's *Annales*, among other things, that his undeclared policy implied that it was the function of the King and aristocracy not the people to rule, but to rule for the maximum happiness compatible with the monarchy and feudal system ; certainly, not like James I. Broadly speaking Will Derby's whole character is summed up by saying that, if the hall-mark of a gentleman is instinctive consideration for the interests of others *without selfish motives*, he was Nature's gentleman *par excellence*.

The Shakespeare-Derby equation.

In certain types of scientific investigation it frequently happens, either accidentally or by design, that a well-defined chemical compound turns up, which may be hitherto unknown or may be identical with some known substance ; and if the latter it must be identified. There may be hundreds or even thousands of possibilities, but by experimental and inductive procedure the number of these is quickly reduced to a few, and then to one ; for the final identification is established by *characterisation* i.e. identity in chemical and physical properties accurately determined, a few of these only being necessary as criteria. The method is infallible though the operator conducting the investigation may not be. The identification of human beings, when the matter is in doubt, as sometimes in the law courts, is based on similar principles, and in the last analysis rests on identity in characteristics (physiognomy, gait, habits, dimensions, handwriting etc.). In the case before us the information though not quite complete demonstrates entire agreement between the character of Shakespeare and the Earl of Derby on all known points, just as with no less certainty it establishes disharmony respecting Shakspere, Bacon and the Earl of Oxford (all considered later). It is therefore no matter for surprise to discover in the great hearted Englishman, one whose self-contradictory inequable temperament integrates a complex blend of Hamlet, Theseus, Jaques and Prospero (and probably, when he was young, Berowne, Coriolanus, Mercutio and Henry V). These dramatic *personae* may be accepted as more or less self-revealing ; and since they unquestionably reflect much that is known about the Earl, they furnish a clue to some aspects of his character or conduct as to

which evidence is lacking, such as brilliant wit (Mercutio), wild escapades (Henry V), irresolution and introspection (Hamlet), and disdain of flattery or contempt for mob psychology (Coriolanus).

All this character-analysis however fails to shed more than a dim light on Shakespeare's immense dramatic output, greater even than that in the Canon (Chap. XI), which makes it difficult to limit such limitless imagination to any single individual. The difficulty has driven some unorthodox thinkers like Greenwood, Appleton, Morgan, White, Stotsenburg and Slater to theories of multiple authorship, while one orthodox writer (Robertson) has envisaged Shakespeare as a sort of editor or supervisor of Plays some of which were partly written by other playwrights such as Kyd, Greene, Marlowe and Chapman. Such theories, easy to frame like all *ad hoc* explanations designed to escape special difficulties, will not bear honest criticism. Their exponents have laboured under the disability attendant on the lack of any satisfying personal framework into which the known literary facts can be fitted ; on the one hand an unknown combination to meet prodigious erudition and output, on the other an actor who *a priori* must be endowed with miraculous genius for which there is not the least evidence but which will explain everything, even lack of education and of facilities for acquiring Shakespeare's aristocratic, technical, or foreign knowledge. There is no escape from single authorship, which is newly demonstrable by sound critical tests (Chap. X), despite much textual corruption in the Folio, theatre meddling, interpolations and other foreign " improvements." All these though they tarnish the poet's gold fail (as will be seen) to prove collaboration. But if we are to fathom the mystery of the man, something more is required than mere literary appraisal ; we must probe into that far-flung knowledge and experience which was sub-consciously embedded in his absorptive mind, ever ready to be called forth by an appropriate stimulus in moments of inspiration, faster almost than he could commit them to writing.

Even so his brain was abnormal in its capacity to absorb and reflect the collective mind of the world, past and present, so that to all intents and purposes Shakespeare was unique among mankind. Biologically he falls among that group of phenomena known as mutants or " sports " i.e. animals or plants which depart from the normal standard, and which Nature occasionally throws up in a seemingly capricious manner. Whatever environment may have done, in moulding his mind and character, it was heredity that in the main fashioned him as with all men. He had inherited from ancestors their greatest talents, or to speak more correctly the zygote (egg-cell) from which he grew had inherited dispositions or tendencies which, nurtured in appropriate surroundings, developed into such talents. Though biologists do not admit the " inheritance of acquired characters " Macbride's researches indicate plainly enough that special *habits* due to special environment would be transmitted from parent to child, if such habits had become ancestrally ingrained by persistence over a long enough period. Selective inheritance of abnormal qualities, at all events, must be postulated in the case of Shakespeare.

According to the modern theory of genetics it is the hypothetical ultra-miscroscopic " genes " of the microscopically visible chromosome threads (in the nucleus of the germ cells) which transmit all hereditary dispositions. When the 23 or 24 equally paired chromosomes of the single (male) spermatozoon pair with the normal 24 chromosomes of the (female) ovum to give the zygote i.e. fertilized egg cell, to be respectively boy (47 equally paired chromosomes) or girl (48) the corresponding genes, in each pairing thread themselves pair. This means of course pairing of the genes for any particular quality (such for example as musical talent) but in so pairing one gene (" recessive ") may be suppressed by its fellow (" dominant ") of the other thread." In such a case the resulting offspring will externally display only the dominant character, though invisibly or latently containing the recessive gene, the character for which may come out in the next or in subsequent generations. The child is thus not merely the product of his parents but the sum of both visible and latent qualities derived from his ancestors.

Since Shakespeare must be equated to the Earl of Derby, part at least of the problem is solved by special inheritance. Most of us inherit a more or less drab mixture of good, bad and indifferent of no great intensity, because there were no outstanding genes in our line of ancestry or at least they were rare, and superlative qualities cannot be expected of us. In the case of the Earl of Derby this was not so ; in the long vista of years his ancestors, men and women, had been boldly conspicuous in history, the very cream of humanity which had risen to the top. On his father's side the Stanley line had absorbed by marriage daughters of most of the noble Houses, embracing those of Norfolk (Howards), Warwick and Salisbury (Nevills), Northumberland (Percys), Northampton and Hereford (Bohuns), as well as lesser Houses like those of Audley, Hastings, Harrington, Strange, Latham and Savage ; a blend strengthened by indirect co-relationships with the Earls of : Sussex (Ratcliffes), Shrewsbury (Talbots), Rutland (Manners), Hertford (Seymours), as well as with the Barons Stourton, Dudley, Stafford and Morley. Joan Goushill one of his paternal ancestresses was descended from Edward I through the Earls of Arundel (Fitzalans), and the successive Lords Strange had married daughters of the Houses of Arundel, Cobham, Mohun and Rivers.

Derby's mother Margaret Clifford also derived from a distinguished ancestral tree, which included " black-faced Clifford," Harry Hotspur and the Earls of Northumberland. Great grand-daughter of Henry VII who traced his descent, on his father's side, back to pre-Norman times through the Welsh Princes (Tudors and Llewellyns) and on his mother's side through the Beaufort line and John of Gaunt to Plantagenet and Norman Kings, it was through her that his Royal claims arose ; and in him converged, without close in-breeding, a biological blend of diverse elements incorporating the ' bluest ' blood of England and Wales. When the life-histories of his ancestors or their near co-relatives are dissected out some remarkable qualities are revealed, everything in fact that is great, both decorously good and wickedly bad ; all that we commonly associate with the chivalry of England and Wales down to Tudor times—leadership, magnanimity, bravery, heroism, passion, gentle humanity and exquisite kindliness, revolting cruelty, treacherous meanness, overweening revengeful ambition and yet withal retiring modesty. Not the least among these qualities was intellectual pre-eminence. This of course was by no means confined to the Nobility, but the Tudors,* for all the strain of meanness and ruthlessness in them, were brilliantly clever. Lady Jane Grey (who signed herself Graye) for example, William's cousin once removed, was outstandingly erudite for her years, Henry VII was a studious linguist and both his sons were learned. The Cliffords too were scholars. William's mother Margaret said that her father (2nd Earl of Cumberland) " had a good Library " and was " studious in all manner of learning and much given to alchemy " ; indeed he was of a very retiring disposition, a modest student rather than a soldier. Margaret herself " a vertuous and noble and kind hearted lady full of goodnesse " (Nichols) was also studious, a patron of poetry, deeply interested in astronomy and astrology. The Howards also, to whom William was related on his father's side, were scholarly ; and one of them, his kinsman (Henry Howard) was the distinguished poet Earl of Surrey. In the litter of the past we find the Stanleys renowned rather for their statesmanship and for military

* Queen Elizabeth was an accomplished scholar, familiar with Greek and Latin, able to converse in French, Spanish and Italian, musical, and praised for her " sweet measures of poesie." Mary Tudor, Derby's great grandmother, was also brilliant (see Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Tudor and Stuart Princesses*, 1888). Her vigorous letters ring with a sincerity singularly reminiscent of Derby's style and several of them reveal a similar *noblesse oblige* in helping others.

prowess rising to prodigious bravery, but in Tudor times they were also strong supporters of the drama and (besides William) two of them were notable poets—his own brother Ferdinando and Thomas the first poetic Stanley (see p. 12). William's father had " great learning and exalted Genius " (Seacome), and similar strains of scholarship are discoverable in several ancestral co-relatives, too numerous to mention.

Streaks of evil stained his ancestral tree ; bloody revenge as in the Cliffords for example (evoked by the Wars of the Roses), base ingratitude as in Henry VII, wanton lasciviousness, particularly in Edward IV, his daughter Elizabeth and her son Henry VIII, also in the burly Duke of Suffolk, Margaret's grandfather. Taking William's ancestors all in all we find everything that is great in human nature, the good and noble certainly preponderating over the evil ; any of which character-traits might or might not be inherited as recessives or dominants. Just as two parents with brown eyes may have ancestral recessive genes for blue eyes in their chromosomes and transmit blue eyes to one or more of their children in accordance with Mendel's law of inheritance, so it is with respect to any other recessive character ; but in the last analysis random probability determines the particular genes which will appear as dominant in the offspring. If the genes of eminence are rare or absent, as with most of us, the chance that they will be present in the single spermatozoon, which pairs with the single ovum, is small or zero. As well reproach thistles for not producing figs as expect impossibilities from a defective hereditary make-up, limited by Mendelian laws which no culture or environment however favourable can transcend. On the other hand when through evolutionary biological " selection," spread over centuries and fortified by transmission of habits, the genes for prodigal talents are numerous the probability that the offspring will show some of them is so much the greater.

By reason of their distinguished ancestry the probability of superlative greatness was considerable in the offspring of Henry 4th Earl of Derby and his wife Margaret Clifford. A Shakespeare *might* result if chance would permit congruence of the right genes concealed in some of their chromosomes, but the result in any case would be an individual of very mixed qualities, and though a super-man nevertheless a very human being. Environment would do the rest by permitting the inherited dispositions arising from these genes to develope fully. The couple's first son Ferdinando though a poet and a great man was not a Shakespeare ; it was, as we must now believe, in the conception of their second son William that chance did its mighty work and " Nature's own sweet and cunning hand " arranged that one particular spermatazoon, out of millions, and one particular ovum out of hundreds, should possess the requisite genes for the ultimate synthesis of a man that has ever since been the wonder of the world.

CHAPTER VI

SHAKESPEARE AND SHAKSPERE

IF any orthodox biography of Shakespeare is *critically* read it will be found to be simply a collection of documented contemporary records plus later legends (sometimes accepted as facts) relating to William Shakspere of Stratford-on-Avon, interwoven with an unexceptionable account of the works of Shakespeare, but without any really satisfactory link between the two. As to biographical facts there can be no dispute, for instance the registration of Shakspere's birth in 1564 or his death in 1616 ; but long after this commonplace man was dead many doubtful legendary stories appeared, some of which may contain a kernel of truth though none are acceptable as biography. What may be taken as reasonably certain on the available data is that he left Stratford somewhere about 1587 when he was 23 and became an actor in Lord Strange's company which was performing in London soon afterwards but, although nothing is heard of him between 1587 and 1592, it is natural to suppose that he had been rapidly advancing in the theatre from supernumerary to actor and finally shareholder or ' house-keeper.' Biographers now present him, about 1592, as " touching up " the Plays of Marlowe, Greene or others and then as writing Plays on his own. He has thus blossomed forth into Shakespeare, despite absence of any *liaison* or satisfying evidence for such a miraculous transformation.

Let anyone who distrusts the word ' satisfying ' first try to attain an open mind and, treating the question of identity as *sub judice*, sift out the clearly established facts relating to Shakspere from the conglomeration of hypothetical assumptions by which he is linked with Shakespeare ; this will bring out to any intellectually honest critic that during the life of the actor there is not a single *unambiguous* documentary record or literary allusion to show that he wrote the Plays, though it is certainly possible to interpret one or two allusions as indicating (what is more than likely) that his actor colleagues believed him to be the author. Such negative evidence in itself of course does not disprove authorship, but it shows that Shakspere came to be regarded as author on apparently good but nevertheless posthumous grounds, namely (1) certain statements in the prefatory matter of the 1623 Folio of Shakespeare's works and (2) the inscription on Shakspere's monument at Stratford-on-Avon ; evidence however which conflicts with a great mass of counter-evidence. Indeed the ' brute facts ' of induction (see p. 3) which make it quite impossible that Shakspere was Shakespeare are not merely those relating to his known character and entire lack of qualifications, such as education, travel or ' technical ' knowledge, but various other facts of hopeless incompatibility, some of which are to be newly brought to light. He is inductively excluded by aristocratic pre-requisites, by ineligibility for the throne (p. 43), by knighthood (p. 251), by Spenser's testimony (Chap. XII), by the dates of several early Plays (Chap. XI) when Shakspere was a raw " rustic " recently arrived in London from Stratford and by much else, including certain early Shakespearian poetry (Chap. XII) when he was a boy, apparently helping his father in the slaughter-house.

Shakspere's character. Owing to the devoted efforts of generations of Shakespeare-lovers and their indefatigable if misdirected search for tangible details of his life, there is really a great deal known about Shakspere at least after 1595, not a little of it unsavoury. In the brief sketch which will now be given it is un-necessary to quote the actual records, since they are easily accessible in most standard works on Shakespeare. Little notice need be taken of most later traditions, which are but hear-say evidence ; the stories of Fuller, Aubrey, Fulman, L'Estrange, Ward, Ravenscroft, Davies, Davenant, Rowe etc, all born after Shakspere's death. Whatever grain of truth there may be in some of them, there is obviously much that is inaccurate or fanciful, but Aubrey's statement (before 1680) that Shakspere as a boy was a butcher's assistant seems to be true, for Dowdall who visited Stratford-on-Avon in 1693 and picked up local gossip was also told that Shakspere had once been a butcher. Most of the other stories however lack such confirmation ; as for example that [accepted as Shakespeare] he was a school-master, that he was a lawyer's clerk, that he held horse's heads outside the London theatre, that he got drunk with the Bidford topers, that he poached venison for which he was often whipped, that he engaged in wit combats with Ben Jonson and was god-father to one of Ben's children, that he wrote certain bad epitaphs, including the execrable one on his own grave (p. 121), and so on. It is monstrous to think that these, mostly degrading, traditions should have been (and still often are) ' swallowed ' as applying to the great poet, and it is hardly surprising that the mentality which so accepted them should have been responsible for the crop of orthodox theories which have so woefully misconstrued the Master's mind (of which more later). The principal facts of Shakspere's life after the age of 28 are clear enough, all founded on a considerable body of documentary evidence, from which it is possible to re-construct not only his (later) life but his *character* with great certainty. Where he first lived in London is unknown but in 1596 he was apparently living in St. Helen's parish, Bishopsgate. In that year, as Dr. Hotson's investigations have shown, he was accused with three others, Francis Langley, Dorothy Soer and Anne Lee, and bound over for conspiring to assassinate William Wayte who was attempting to close down the Swan theatre on the Surrey side of the river. Soon afterwards Shakspere seems to have gone to live on that side and he was certainly in the ' liberty of the Clink ' in 1599 i.e. close to the Globe theatre, Bankside. But in leaving Bishopsgate he had evaded two payments of rates (one for 5/- due in 1597 and the other for 13/4 in 1598) levied on his property there, which was assessed at a value of £5 ; defaulters having been reported to the Exchequer, his name appeared as one in 1599 and even in 1600, after which he seems to have been traced and to have paid up.

He was then back again on the North side of the river, lodging with a wig maker (p. 106) but after 1604 he does not seem to have resided regularly in London though he was certainly there on three occasions, May 1612, March 1613 and November 1614. It was in 1596 that he took the first steps to qualify as a " gentleman," by applying on behalf of his father for a Coat of Arms, which the latter had previously failed to secure, and the proceedings dragged on till 1599, apparently because of some fictitious claims in the application to the Herald's College, of which the Earl of Essex was then Earl Marshal. At all events the Clarenceux Garter King was severely criticised for granting this Coat (as well as some other grants) by Ralph Brooke who stated that they had been obtained by fraudulent representation, which was partly true of Shakspere, but the grant nevertheless remained valid with the motto *Non sanz droict*, and falcon-spear crest.

Shakspere was already in 1597 sufficiently wealthy to purchase the largest house (New Place) in Stratford-on-Avon for £60 and his wealth increased

rapidly later, as shown by the numerous purchases he made of land and property, both in Warwickshire and (in 1613) in London. As actor-shareholder and part owner of the Globe (' house-keeper ') he would receive a considerable income, which he sought to increase by various money-lending transactions. Thus in 1598 Abraham Sturley wrote twice (January and November) to Richard Quiney (whose son later married Shakspere's daughter Judith) pointing out that Shakspere was willing to lend money on the security of some land at Shottery, and in October 1598 Quiney himself applied to him for a loan of £30, a considerable sum of money in those days. This letter is interesting as the only one which survives of any letters addressed to Shakspere, and in it Quiney speaks of the transaction as a bargain in which " Yowe shall neither loase creddytt nor monney by me," but the rate of interest is not specified. In 1600 Shakspere sued John Clayton of Bedfordshire in the Court of Queen's Bench for repayment of a debt of £7 and even Lee admits that he had " inherited his father's love of litigation and stood rigorously by his rights." (Yet he never contested the piracy of the Plays, in Quarto.) In 1604 he brought an action against Philip Rogers (Stratford) for recovery of £1. 15. 10 in connection with some transactions in malt, the restrictions on the manufacture of which Shakspere succeeded in evading (like others). In 1609 he obtained judgment against his fellow townsman John Addenbroke for the payment of £6 loaned, with £1. 5. 0. costs, but Addenbroke absconding, Shakspere " avenged himself by proceeding against Thomas Horneby " (Lee) who had gone bail and who was one of Shakspere's " playmates in childhood." He was certainly an exacting money-lender without the " quality of mercy."

Of his relations with his wife very little is known but he seems to have left her behind at Stratford when he went to London, and the circumstances of his marriage in 1582 are obscure because no record of it has been discovered. Though he had seduced Anne Hathaway he tried to evade the marriage ; at least that is the only rational interpretation of the fact that William " Shaxper " obtained a licence from John Whitgift, then Bishop of Worcester, to marry Anna Whateley of Temple Grafton in Warwickshire only the day before a marriage-bond, authorising the marriage of " Willm Shagspere " and "Anne Hathwey," was drawn up (28 Nov. 1582). In this curious bond two illiterate " agricolae," probably labourers of Anne Hathaway's father (named Fulk Sandells and John Richardson) are bound in a sum of £40 to indemnify the Bishop from responsibility for the Hathaway marriage " wth once asking of the bannes," in case any subsequent just cause or impediment should be found. It may be of course, as Lee suggested, that there were two William Shaksperes, but this is an assumption and the coincidence in dates points to a single Shakspere who tried to avoid the Hathaway marriage by hastily marrying Anna Whateley, till prevented by the determined friends of "Anne Hathwey," who bore her first child six months later (May 1583), she being eight years older than her husband (cf. *12th Night* II, 4, 29).

On 2nd February 1602 John Manningham, a cultured London law student of the Middle Temple, who kept a diary, recorded in detail a performance of *Twelfth Night* at the Hall of the Temple, without however saying anything about the author whom, by the interest he showed, he must have recognised as a brilliant dramatist. Yet some weeks later he mentioned, without any implication of identity, a discreditable story of the actor (13th March 1602). The latter had tricked his colleague (Richard Burbage, after playing the part of Richard III) over a woman who had taken a fancy to him (i.e. Burbage). Shakspere (spelt ' Shakespeare ') had overheard the time and place of assignation between them and was " at his game " before Burbage arrived, and on his appearance boasted that " William the Conquerour was before Rich. the 3." The essential part of the story, which was hear-say, lies in Manningham's concluding comment : " Shakespeares name Willm," thus giving point to the wit but implying that the actor was unknown in refined circles, when the

author of *Twelfth Night* was at the height of his fame. More to his credit, but illustrative of his mode of life about this time, is the evidence which he and others gave in 1612 in the Bellott *v.* Mountjoy lawsuit. Shakspere it seems had previously acted as go-between in the courtship of Stephen Bellott, the apprentice, and the daughter Mary of the wig-maker, a Huguenot named Christopher Mountjoy, all living together at his shop at the corner of Muggle (Monkswell) Street and Silver Street (Cripplegate) where Shakspere was a lodger, sometime between 1598 and 1604. Bellott who had married the daughter in 1604 claimed a promised dowry of £50, and the evidence* brings out not only Shakspere's failing memory but the very hum-drum life he was living with the family (at the time that Shakespeare was producing his great masterpieces). He was simply described as " one Mr. Shakespeare " by the witness Nicholas.

At Stratford-on-Avon in the acute controversy between 1614 and 1616 over the selfish attempts of the brothers William and Thomas Combe (nephews of old John Combe, Shakspere's usurer friend) to enclose the Wellcombe commons, several extant documents record Shakspere's non-committal attitude, but it may be inferred from the records that he was in favour of the enclosures (Halliwell-Phillips). He was joint owner with his cousin Thomas Greene, the town-clerk, of certain tithe estates and carefully protected his own interests, by executing a deed indemnifying both himself and his cousin against any injury arising from the enclosures. Though his cousin " was not able to beare the encloseing of Wellcombe " Shakspere himself refused to support him, and when the local Council appealed to him in December 1614 for aid, on behalf of the indignant people of Stratford-on-Avon, in resisting the forcible and riot-provoking attempts by the Combes to enclose (afterwards quashed and declared illegal by the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke) Shakspere remained silent and aloof. Thoroughly shrewd in this as in all things, his motives as shown by other documents, were those of pure self-interest as with many other men [but not Shakespeare]. He certainly showed great enterprise both in connection with the London theatres and in the management of his business at Stratford as a prosperous maltster and farmer wool-dealer ; and there is no doubt that locally he was a prominent man.

In London, up till 1604 at least, there are various other records relating to him besides those already noted. Thus he acted in Ben Jonson's *Every man in his humour* (1598) and *Sejanus* (1603) ; his name was included in the list of actors receiving the new King's licence (1603) to continue playing ; also in March 1604 he was one of the actors who received 4½ yards of scarlet cloth for the Royal procession through London. But all this while, he was transacting business in his native town. In 1597 there was the contract to purchase New Place, though a hitch delayed completion till 1602 ; in 1598 he was procuring stone for the repair of the house ; between 1597 and 1599 he was stocking the barns with grain and laying out the orchard ; in 1600 he sued John Clayton ; in 1602 he purchased 107 acres of arable land, and generally he was busily engaged in various petty transactions such as selling malt and lending money.

It is certain therefore that he was leading a very busy life, which seems to have alternated between London (as Burbage's actor-manager) and Stratford-on-Avon ; but it is remarkable that there is no single case recorded of his having acted in a Shakespeare Play, except what may be presumed from the record of March 1595, below. His *métier* was management rather than acting so that it was as share-holder, and without doubt procurer of Plays (p. 113) as well as shrewd money-lender, that he mainly earned his substantial income. The Court Treasurer's accounts show that in March 1595 he (commonly

* We are indebted to Dr. Wallace (who as a ' Stratfordian ' saw no inconsistency in the situation) for eliciting these facts and discovering Shakspere's imperfect signature (No. 1, Plate I) in 1910. [The site of Silver Street and a vast area around it have been destroyed by enemy action, since writing.]

supposed to be the dramatist, his name being spelt ' Shakespeare ') and his fellow players were paid £20 for their performances at Whitehall Palace on the 26th and 28th December 1594. The entry is important not only because of the spelling of the name (see p. 111) but because it has been erroneously construed into showing that " William Shakespeare " [i.e. the actor Shakspere] was known to the Countess of Southampton, the Earl's mother, for it was she who was (later) responsible for the accounts. The particular entry notes payment to :—

" William Kempe, William Shakespeare and Richarde Burbage servauntes to the Lord Chamberleyne, upon the Councells warrant dated at Whitehall xvto Marcij, 1594 [i.e. 1595] for twoe severall Comedies or Enterludes* shewed by them before her majestie in Christmas tyme laste paste."

As Sir George Greenwood has explained, the Countess of Southampton had married (as a widow) in May 1594 Sir Thomas Heneage, who was Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber, responsible for duly rendering accounts of expenditure but who had got into arrears before he died in October 1595, after which the Queen issued a warrant to his widow, the Countess, demanding the accounts. This she did, including the arrears, viz from 29th Sept. 1592 to 30th Nov. 1595, and in the list the above item was contained, but as her duties would be merely formal and a clerk would actually draw up the details for which she was nominally responsible it is unlikely that she took any particular notice of this item for March 1595. She may not even have seen or read through the list, and it is simply grasping at a straw, by unduly stretching credulity, to suppose on the basis of this record that the Countess had any contact with Shakspere, Burbage or other players, whose status in those days was low (p. 204). While there is nothing whatever to show that " William Shakespeare " was the dramatist, there are some very contemptuous allusions, believed to refer to Shakspere, by certain writers of the period but there is no means of proving that the " cap fits," except one by Robert Greene (p. 112) and two by Ben Jonson (see the Poet-ape epigram and the character Sogliardo, Chap. VII) exposing him as an impostor.

Shakspere's will, long the subject of controversy, requires only brief notice. Legal experts like Mr. Charles Elton and Sir George Greenwood have examined it with meticulous care, particularly the question whether Shakspere's widow had any dower rights or had to be content with the only thing he left her in his will, the " second-best bed." After a formal opening the will commences with " I William Shackspeare . . . . gent, in perfect health and memorie " and goes on to dispose of his various goods and chattels in great detail, without mention of any books or papers. It may be inferred from this that he had none—no library or books of reference, not even Quarto editions of Shakespeare's Plays, or the numerous unpublished Plays which seven years afterwards appeared in the Folio, the MS. of which must have lain somewhere. Absence of mention does not necessarily prove that he had no books and papers, since others like Hooker, having books, made no specific reference to them in their wills. On the other hand it would have been a strange oversight of Shakespeare to take no thought of his library ; even the actor Alleyn and Shakspere's son-in-law Dr. Hall† make special provision for their books in their wills. As to whether the second best bed was an affront to his widow may be open to doubt but Greenwood, quoting Mr. MacKay's opinion, was satisfied that by the will she had no right to any part of his freehold estate either at Stratford (which went to his daughter Susanna, i.e. Mrs. Hall) or in London, his Blackfriars freehold having legally " barred the dower " in the terms of its purchase in 1613.

Shakspere was by no means devoid of good points. He was probably a wit (in the verbal sense) ; at least several independent writers, like Ben Jonson

* One of these interludes was probably the *Comedy of Errors*, an attempt to produce which at Gray's Inn on 28th December, 1594, led to a fiasco (p. 148).

† Dr. Hall however made no mention of any books or papers that Shakspere might conceivably have passed on to him previously. He left his " study of bookes," which would be presumably on medical subjects, to his son-in-law Nash and even mentioned his own manuscripts, which Nash was permitted to burn if he liked.

and later others such as Fuller, Aubrey and Rowe speaking from tradition credit him (i.e. as Shakespeare) with wit. If occasionally he was vindictive, he had kindly feelings towards his friends, such as Burbage, Phillips, Heminge and Condell in London or the Combes, the Quineys and John Sadler in Stratford-on-Avon. Augustine Phillips at all events remembered him in his will, as did old John Combe ; and Shakspere himself remembered (by an afterthought) " Hemynge, Richard Burbage and Henry Cundell " in his own will, as well as several other friends, though not Ben Jonson, with whom at one time he appears to have been on very friendly terms. Also if tradition is to be accepted Shakspere (an older man) befriended young Ben in 1598, then in trouble, in the matter of getting his first Play produced (p. 131). From these things it may be gathered that Shakspere was not without kindly feelings and as he was almost certainly witty he was no doubt jovial ; not a hypocrite though probably a braggart (see Greene's words, p. 113).

The brief foregoing account of the principal recorded features of his career (and there are others of a similar un-elevating nature) shows clearly what his mode of life was ; how it and his character were thoroughly *banal* : he was a shrewd business man but an exacting money lender ; his ambition to be a gentleman with money led him into devious courses but he always kept " on the windy side of the law " ; he was unrefined and voluble (p. 136) ; he once conspired with some gangsters, betrayed a friend and had no mercy for an old school-fellow. These things are hardly disreputable but they reveal a type of man who was decidedly common-place in all his contacts ; and if Ben Jonson's caricature of him (p. 132) is overdrawn it at least furnishes some confirmatory evidence of his unpleasing character.

Education and knowledge. Immense efforts have been made to find some indication of Shakspere's education at the Free School of Stratford-on-Avon. The results of the enquiry expressed in ascertained facts about the boy are nil*, though surmise and tradition have been freely called upon by purblind doctrinaires to supply the deficiency ; but to deduce scholarship from the Poems and Plays on *a priori* grounds is of course merely to beg the question by presupposing his identity with Shakespeare. Everything that is known about Shakspere's after life is consistent with the view that he had received a limited education at school, sufficient at all events to learn his parts as an actor, to write (with difficulty), to talk wittily and do arithmetic (necessary for his money and land transactions) ; beyond which one cannot go without violating evidence. His father and daughter (Judith) are known to have been illiterate, in the sense that they used marks instead of signing their names, but his eldest daughter Susanna who married Dr. Hall of Mason's Croft, Stratford-on-Avon could not only sign her name but must have been generally well educated. Simple attainments which are all the known facts will permit and which were appropriate to Shakspere's rural up-bringing, may be in any case reasonably inferred from the handwriting of his signatures (Plate I). This hesitating script, indicating imperfect education, is in keeping with the tradition (Rowe, 1709) that Shakspere's father owing to the " narrowness of his circumstances " [i.e. about 1577 when the boy was 13] took him away from school to help him in his trade ; it is also in keeping with Aubrey's earlier story (confirmed as noted by Dowdall) that he (Aubrey) had been told by " some of the neighbours that when he [Shakspere] was a boy he exercised his father's

* The school which he presumably attended, at least till he was 13, changed its schoolmaster between 1571 and 1579 no less than five times (Roche, Hunt, Jenkins, Cottam and one un-named). The standard of the curriculum has been hotly disputed and is uncertain.

trade " and would make a speech while killing a calf [this probably legendary embroidery].

Just as Wilmot (see p. 1) failed to find any vestiges of Shakespeare in the vicinity of Stratford-on-Avon, so later efforts have failed to trace a connecting link, between the actor and Shakespeare's Plays, even in places where they were, or might have been, performed; Halliwell-Phillips indeed searched in vain through the records of forty-six towns. Indefatigible scrutiny into the life of Shakspere has merely revealed the common-place, not even a false semblance to the intellectual: no records, minutes or letters indicating that he ever travelled abroad, or was acquainted with foreign peoples or even with Wales, peoples that play such a prominent part in Shakespearian drama; no records to prove that he had familiar contacts with the Court,* or with the Earl of Southampton (p. 120) or with Southampton's mother (p. 107), or with Statesmen, or with any of the Nobility, except (1) Lord Strange and his successors who patronised Burbage's men, and (2) Francis Manners 6th Earl of Rutland as to whom there is a record that " Mr. Shakspeare " and Richard Burbage were paid 44 shillings in March 1613 for an " Impreso " or device which Burbage had painted. Nor are there any records, disclosed by this protracted search, showing that he ever wrote any letter, or had anything to do with books and writing, or that he had any knowledge of classics, languages, or philosophy, or any technical knowledge of military strategy, the sea, astrology, witch-craft, medicine, psychology, law, music or indeed anything more than a business ability to talk, read, sign his name and do arithmetic. It is simply incredible that prolonged research should have drawn a literary blank if he had possessed the supreme distinction of Shakespeare, and this threadbare story of negative evidence is no less witheringly eloquent than the disillusioning positive facts brought to light.

So much then for the mode of life, qualifications, character and environment of the man who is commonly identified with Shakespeare himself—the aristocratic poet, *par excellence*. Literary criticism in general leaves us in no doubt about one thing, that if such an imperfectly educated man *had* been a genius, like say Burns or Bunyan, his poetry like theirs would have been necessarily limited by his environment, technical knowledge and range of learning, which no endowment of genius could ever transcend. To suppose it could or reproduce the illimitable wealth of Shakespeare's erudition is to fly in the face of all literary experience, to stultify good sense and sterilise thought. In any case there is not a shred of evidence that Shakspere had any genius (except for self-aggrandisement) though this genius must be postulated to explain the Plays he is supposed to have written. Poetic genius does not for a moment imply an exemplary life, but poets' lives prove conclusively the truism that their poetry is invariably circumscribed by their scholarship and experience, great or small; and with no poet, whatever his life-history, is there such monumental disharmony between what he did and what the poet wrote, as subsists between the life of Shakspere and the matchless glory of Shakespeare's Art. As Emerson said, it is impossible to " marry " the man to the work. The words of wisdom put into the mouth of Polonius in *Hamlet* (I, 3) including the phrase " Neither a borrower, nor a lender be," and the execration in which Shakespeare held usury in various Plays, to say nothing of a multitude of other thoughts and apothegms which bespeak the exquisite soul of the author, in themselves are sufficient to expose the immeasurable gulf

* As a member of the King's company after the death of Elizabeth, he would have been one of the Grooms of the Chamber, a nominal appointment without duties beyond acting.

which separates Shakespeare from Shakspere. Their two characters are fundamentally irreconcilable and their life experiences lie at diametrically opposite poles.

The six signatures and name-spelling.

No handwriting of Shakspere is known beyond his six signatures (Plate I) written in old English (" secretary ") script ; several of them are tremulous as if written slowly by a man unaccustomed to a pen, and the spelling is :—

1	2	3	4	5	6
Shaks	Shakspẽr	Shakspẽ	[Shakspere]	Shakspere	Shakspe[ ]

Nos. 4, 5 and 6, appended to his will, are especially bad, a fact which has been excused *a priori* by assumed illness preceding his death (though his will says that he is " in perfect health ") but this explanation cannot apply to the blotted, execrable and incomplete signature of 1612 (No. 1) testifying to the Bellot evidence (p. 106). As for the two of 1613 (Nos. 2 and 3) appended to the purchase and mortgage of property in Blackfriars, when compared with the others, they bear the impression of having been completed by someone else writing ' illiam ' and ' haksper,' as if there was difficulty with all but the ' W ' and ' S ' of his name ; also, as has been pointed out by Mrs. Stopes and by Greenwood, the words " By me William " of No. 6 are clearly in a different Hand, apparently a law-clerk's (p. 269), and the contrast exposes the inconsistency of the *ad hoc* theory of illness, for the second syllable in the surname of No. 6 is a practically illegible scrawl. Also it will be noticed that there is no *e* in the first syllable of this or any of the signatures. No. 4 has now faded so badly as to be illegible, but in 1776 while it was still legible Steevens made a facsimile of it, with the spelling ' Shakspere.' There is no doubt therefore that the actor spelt his name (where legible) ' Shakspere,' never ' Shakespeare ' as the poet did (*V. and A.* and *Lucrece*). The signatures of themselves do not furnish decisive evidence of limited education but when taken in conjunction with other evidence of educational limitations, no other construction can be reasonably put upon them. The spelling difference (Shakspere and Shakespeare) may of course be explained by the general contemporary looseness in orthography, but the damning fact remains that the actor was consistent in *never* making the first syllable "Shake" like the poet. Shakspere's acquaintances certainly spelt his name in a variety of ways, and his father's name which is found written over 60 times in the Council books of Stratford-on-Avon, is spelt in about sixteen different ways, the usual being Shaxper or Shaxpeare.

Owing to the deplorable falsification of documentary evidence between 1780 and 1850 when Steevens, Jordan, Ireland, Collier and others committed more or less gross forgery, caution is necessary in dealing with the spelling of Shakspere's surname but the list below is authentic and gives the more important kinds of spelling, applying to himself or relatives in Warwickshire, as written by clerks etc.

Date	*Spelling*	*Person referred to*	*Record*
1564	Shakspere	Father	Registration of birth of William.
1566	Shakspere	Father	Registration of birth of William's brother Gilbert.
1574	Shakspeer	Father	Registration of birth of William's brother Richard.
1580	Shakspere	Father	Registration of birth of William's brother Edmund.
1582	Shagspere	Himself	Marriage bond (Bishop of Worcester p. 105).
1583	Shakspere	Himself	Birth registration of daughter (Susanna).
1585	Shakspere	Himself	Birth registration of twins (Hamnet and Judith).
1596	Shakspere	Himself	Death registration of Hamnet.
1597	Shakespere	Father	Deed of conveyance.
1597	Shaksper	Himself	Sturley's letter to Richard Quiney.
1598	Shackespere	Himself	Record of him as a holder of malt and corn.

Date	*Spelling*	*Person referred to*	*Record*
1598	Shackespere	Himself	Letter from Richard Quiney.
1600	Shaxpere	Wife	Whittington's will (recording loan to Shakspere's wife).
1600	Shackspere	Himself	Action against Clayton for recovery of £7.
1601	Shakspeare	Father	Death registration.
1602	Shakespere	Himself	Conveyance of 107 acres of land at Stratford.
1604	Shexpere	Himself	Action against Rogers for recovery of £1. 15. 10.
1607	Shaxpere	Daughter	Marriage registration of Susanna.
1608	Shaxpere	Mother	Death registration.
1611	Shackspere	Himself	List of contributors to Highway fund.
1611	Shackspeare	Daughter	Legal conveyance, with mark of Judith.
1615	Shakspeare	Himself	Thomas Greene's diary *re* Stratford enclosures.
1616	Shakspere	Daughter	Marriage registration of Judith.
1616	Shackspere	Himself	His will.
1616	Shackspeare	Himself	His will.
1616	Shakspere	Himself	Registration of death.
1623	Shakspeare	Widow	Registration of death.

The spelling ' Shakespeare ' for the actor seems first to have occurred in Warwickshire about 1614 in the records of the enclosures dispute (p. 106), along with ' Shackspeare ' ; but in London it is found for the first time i.e. for the actor as early as March 1595 (p. 107). After this, in London records it is variously spelt, mostly ' Shakespeare,' but it is ' Shakspere ' in the assassination case (p. 104) in 1596, and even " Shaxberd " in the book of Court Revels (1604-5), while in 1635 (p. 131) it is both ' Shakspere ' and Shakespeare.' On the other hand the spelling ' Shakspere ' *never* appeared on the title pages of canonical Play Quartos.

In pronunciation the difference between the two spellings was probably not so great then as it is now. Vowel pronunciation in Elizabethan times was rapidly tending towards modern phonetic values, so that young people spoke with a more modern accent than old, and there were great local or dialectical variations. H. C. Wyld (*A History of modern colloquial English*, 1919) has stated, that long *ā* (originally pronounced ' ah ') had mostly come to be pronounced as it is now (e.g. in ' shake ') by a process of vowel ' fronting ' which had been operating since Chaucer's time ; and the present writer is satisfied from a study of rhymes of the period that long *ā* had largely become modernised, but not for some words ending in *abe*, *ame*, *aste* and *ave*, as for example *babe*, *name*, *chaste* and *wave* which, as rhymes show, were pronounced something like *bab*, *nam*, *chest* and *wav* (the last type persisting in our modern ' have '). Since however in *Lucrece* Shakespeare rhymed ' chaste ' with ' waist ' and *ai* or *ay* were then no doubt pronounced as in modern ' maid ' or ' may,' it seems that there was no strict uniformity. As for the pronunciation of *ake*, there was also no uniformity, but only once in the whole of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (Book VI Canto 7) is there clear evidence of short *ă* ; in that ' strake,' ' brake ' and ' lake ' at least were pronounced as if the *e* were missing for they rhyme with ' backe,' i.e. like the first syllable of Shakspere's name which originally was undoubtedly pronounced as it is now. There was however a tendency later (owing to fronting) towards modern *Shek* which was apparently also the pronunciation of *Shake* at the beginning of the 17th century. There was a bigger difference between the second syllables of the two spellings for we know that the actor's name was sometimes spelt ' Shaksper ' and ' Shaxper,' also that ' *per* ' was then pronounced ' *par*,' while *ea* was then generally pronounced as in modern " great ' not as in ' beat,' so that ' speare ' was pronounced like modern ' spare ' (Spenser rhymes it with ' dare,' and Shakespeare with ' there ' and ' there ' with ' wear '). From all this it may be fairly supposed that in London about 1594 ' Shakespeare ' was pronounced like ' Shakespare ' now,

and the actor's name ' Sheckspar,' *after* having been fronted but prior to this ' Shaxpar ' as it always was in Warwickshire.

It is most significant that the actor's name should have been first spelt ' Shakespeare ' in 1595, for it was shortly after the publication of *V. and A.* and *Lucrece* in London signed (in print) ' William Shakespeare,' which suggests that already this man of inferior calibre had been accepted as the poet-dramatist, at least by Kempe and Burbage. If so, it was then that the first seal was set on a palpable confusion of identity which has persisted ever since ; a confusion made ' worse confounded ' later by the (perfectly logical) adoption of the spelling ' Shakspere ' for the poet i.e. by many orthodox purists (Knight, Simpson, Dowden etc.) who preferred the signatures of the actor to the poet's own spelling. The question is : how did this confusion originate ? And in the present writer's submission the key to the mystery lies in what Robert Greene said about the actor under the pseudonym ' Shake-scene.'

Robert Greene's denunciation.

Orthodox theory has typically floundered in its attempts during the last 150 years to explain Greene's outburst in *A groatsworth of Wit bought with a Million of Repentance.* Written on his death-bed and published by Chettle in September 1592, it has always been assumed that the attack was on Shakespeare, and Malone (who later modified his opinion) believed that the trouble was due to jealousy because Shakespeare had trimmed up his (Greene's) Plays, particularly the *Contention* pair which so became (2) and (3) *Henry VI.* This false theory of plagiarism (reasonable enough on Shaksperian premises) led to such a maze of difficulties that it had to be discarded ; and the present writer now has proved (p. 179) what has already been suspected that the two *Contention* Plays were not Greene's at all but Shakespeare's own. Meantime so misleading has been the doctrine that Shakespeare " touched up " other men's Plays, that the theorists have been blind to what is sufficiently obvious after all, namely that the attack was not upon a playwright but upon an actor masquerading as one ; and dire confusion has been the consequence.

Yet nothing could be clearer to anyone who will take the trouble to read *with an open mind* Greene's little book, and not merely the particular words referring to ' Shake-scene.' It is true that Greene (who dedicated some of his works to the Earl of Derby's brother and Uncle) had been plagiarised ; at least we have the statement of ' R.B.' in 1594 that " the men that so Eclipsed his fame Purloined his Plumes—can they deny the same," but we cannot say who the " men " referred to are. Greene's diatribe is not about this ; it is a death-bed warning to three fellow-playwrights against *actors* in general, a bad lot, but especially against one of them, ' Shake-scene.' It comes at the end of his book (*A groatsworth* etc.) and is addressed :—

" To those Gentlemen, his Quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making plays."

After denouncing the atheism of one of his three playwright friends (probably Marlowe), reproving the biting satire of another, " young Juvenal " (probably Nashe), and criticising the third (perhaps Peele) for his dependence on actors, Greene goes on to say (modern spelling) :—

> Base minded men, all three of you, if by my misery ye be not warned : for unto none of you (like me) sought those burrs to cleave ; those Puppets (I mean) that spake from our mouths, those Antics garnished in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to whom they all have been beholden : is it not like that you, to whom they all have been beholden, shall (were ye in that case as I am now) be both at once of them forsaken ?

> Yes trust them not : for there is an upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tiger's heart, wrapt in a Player's hide*, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you : and being an absolute *Johannes factotum*, is in his own conceit the only *Shake-scene* in a country.

The meaning is that the hated tribe of puppets or antics [actors] batten on playwrights, cleave like " burrs " but leave them high and dry when they have exploited them, and one of them, ' Shake-scene ' is singled out for Greene's special venom. As the italicised phrase above parodies a line spoken by the Duke of York in (2) *Contention* I, 4 (" O, tiger's heart wrapp'd in a woman's hide ") the passage, in its context, implies that ' Shake-scene ' was an actor i.e. Shakspere, who had perhaps *claimed* to be the author or played the part of York, for it certainly cannot apply to Shakespeare who had no "tiger's heart" and whose self-effacing modesty (as proved by the Sonnets) indeed bordered on quixotism. Greene's ' Shake-scene,' as distinct from the three playwrights, was denounced an " upstart " actor who " supposes " that he can write blank verse ; and clearly the word " feathers," which is elsewhere used by Greene (see p. 212) to signify that actors are only in borrowed plumes when they speak the lines of playwrights, has here the same connotation.

To fathom the real inwardness of Greene's savage words it is necessary not only to study the immediate context of this warning to playwrights but the contents of the whole book, which though presented as fiction is really Greene's autobiography, as he himself in one place says. It makes pathetic reading when compared with his former works, for it betrays the intellectual deterioration of a " mind diseased," set in the body of a man sick unto death. It is a story of un-relieved debauchery without artistic merit, but it sheds much light on his bitter feeling against actors. For in the pitiful story of his downfall Roberto [Greene] describes how he came across a player, with a coarse voice, apparently well off, one who *boasted* that he could find money to " build a windmill " and that his " share in playing apparel " was worth more than £200. This player also *boasted* of his successes on the Stage, *boasted* that he had been for seven years " interpreter of the Puppets " and that he was *an author*. Roberto, taken in by this tall story and by the player's promise to " procure " his " profit " if he, Roberto, would write Plays for him, agreed to do so and then lodged with him for a time over a shop. Though Greene made money in this way he lost it again in the debauched life he was leading, until finally he had only a groat left and found his health irretrievably ruined. The book closes with his tardy repentance, his general warning against irreligion, drink and women, and with the now famous final warning to his three colleagues, part of which was quoted above.

From all this it would seem that the boastful player and self-professed author who was a procurer of Plays to whom in some way Greene owed his ruin, was identical with ' Shake-scene,' the " Johannes factotum " that *supposed* he was able to write blank verse, the man of whom Greene's three friends were to beware. There is other evidence in Greene's writings, between 1587 and 1592, of contempt for this actor (p. 212) and of disbelief in his ability to write Plays, while there is nothing in the words quoted implying that the actor wrote the *Contention*—such a supposition would stultify the whole gist of Greene's charge and read into his vituperation a meaning which is clearly not there. Greene denounced him as an actor, not author, and the charge has nothing to do with plagiarism or with Shakespeare, whose character utterly fails to fit ; but Greene had evidently suffered more at Shakspere's hands than at the hands of other actors, though precisely how is not known. The key to the

mystery perhaps lies in the words below which follow his warning against ' Shake-scene ' (modern spelling) :—

> Oh ! that I might entreat your rare wits to be employed in more profitable courses : and let these Apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions. I know the best husband of you all will never prove an Usurer, and the kindest of them all will never prove a kind nurse : yet, whilst you may, seek you better Masters ; for it is pity men of such rare wits, should be subject to the pleasure of such rude grooms.

He goes on further to warn his three friends against the wickedness of these actors, " buckram Gentlemen," these " peasants "—let " new-commers " [playwrights] be at the " mercie of these painted monsters," not *his* friends. Allowance must be made for his depressed state of health when he wrote this invective, but the meaning is clear enough—avoid at all cost these "Apes " [actors] ; moreover the allusion to " Usurer " suggests that actors could be money-lenders. One of the principal themes of Greene's little book is usury, and Shakspere was not only a money-lender but an exacting one at that. It may be therefore reasonably supposed that impecunious Greene had been fleeced by actors, probably led on to drink in taverns, lose money by gambling and sign promissory notes to them, or at least to ' Shake-scene ' " with his *Tygers* hart," who later putting on the screw had incurred Greene's impotent wrath. Greene's henchman Nashe in *Christs Teares over Jerusalem* (1594) gives some idea of the hard bargains made, with losers at dice in " ordinaries " [taverns] by usurers (" young foxes ") present and awaiting their opportunity.

Orthodox misunderstanding of Greene's 1592 words may have been logically inevitable however gross, but it has necessarily also involved misinterpretation of Chettle's apology in *Kind-Harts Dreame* (issued a few months later), thus darkening counsel and setting up a mischievous train of theories as to plagiarism, which have sullied the fair name of Shakespeare ever since. Any unprejudiced critic reading Chettle's apology carefully, side by side with Greene's attack, cannot fail to note the clear distinction between the three colleagues [playwrights like himself] whom Greene warned in strong words and ' Shake-scene,' the unpleasant " Crow " whom they were warned against. When Chettle said that Greene's " letters written to divers play-makers, is offensively by one or two of them taken " he meant obviously one or two of the three playwrights admonished in the book, for Greene certainly did not address his words to the man he warned them against, ' Shake-scene.' No one knows who the " one or two " were ; all we know is that Chettle had no sympathy for one [perhaps Marlowe] but for the other [possibly Peele] he wishes he had softened Greene's asperity in the book by using his " owne discretion," the more so " because myselfe have seene his demeanor no lesse civill than he exelent in the qualitie he professes," which then could mean either writing or acting ; adding besides some words about his honesty " and his facetious grace in writting, that approoves his Art." For modern biographers to apply these words to Greene's hated *bête noire* ' Shake-scene,' instead of one of the three, and freely *assume* he was Shakespeare is to distort Chettle's perfectly unambiguous meaning ; such is *a priori* reasoning,* but to bolster up the gross distortion by inserting (as has been repeatedly done) the name " Shakespeare " in round (not square) brackets in the quotation, is so disingenuous as to be unworthy of literary criticism.

* As thus : Shake-scene was the dramatist Shakespeare [orthodox assumption], so *could* be the " one " Chettle meant among the " playmakers " ; and it is an easy step from could to *must*. [Actually Chettle's apology was to one of the playwrights whom Greene had " written " to and so severely criticised—just prior to " Base minded men . . . etc."]

' Shake-scene ' was not Shakespeare but the boastful exploiter Shakspere, whose character as depicted by Greene (though suffused with malice) is confirmed by other evidence as will appear. Such a man could never have forgiven the affront, much less honoured Greene's memory as Shakespeare did later by introducing the plot of one of his novels (p. 134) into *The Winter's Tale.* Shakespeare's frequently expressed contempt for usury alone cries out against connection with actor money-lenders, apart from Greene's characterisation or even his " upstart Crow " sneer, when there was already (1592) a large measure of Plays and poetry to Shakespeare's credit (Chapters X, XI and XII).

The Parnassus Plays.

Just as Shaksperian theory of plagiarism has woefully if logically misinterpreted Greene's outburst and Chettle's apology, so the allusion to Shakespeare in the third *Parnassus* Play about 1601 (*The Returne from Parnassus or The Scourge of Simony*) has been construed into a " proof " that the poet was the actor Shakspere That this passage (in IV, 3) quoted below, is anything but a proof should be obvious to any critical reader of all three *Parnassus* Plays, studying the spirit of the various references to Shakespeare, the denigration of Ben Jonson, Marston etc., and the raillery of the amateur student *personae* ; for nothing can be plainer than the intentions of the Cambridge student-author (self-revealed in Philomusus) who among other things holds professional actors up to delightful ridicule. The scene containing the passage is a manifest skit ; it opens with the conversation between two students acting the part of the London players Burbage and Kempe, while the latter are waiting to instruct Philomusus and Studiosus, the University trainees, who are fallen so low in their fortunes that they are forced to take up the despised profession of acting. The player personating the half-educated comedian Kempe (who has just criticised University amateurs) then says :—

> " Few of the university [men] pen plaies well, they smell too much of that writer *Ovid,* and that writer *Metamorphosis,* and talke too much of *Proserpina and Juppiter.* Why heres our fellow *Shakespeare* puts them all downe. I and *Ben Jonson* too. O that *Ben Jonson* is a pestilent fellow, he brought up *Horace* giving the Poets a pill, but our fellow *Shakespeare* hath given him a purge that made him beray his credit : "

To which the student personating Burbage assents : " Its a shrewd fellow indeed . . . ."

The ironical satire in this much discussed passage should be self-evident because the University author not only makes the buffoon Kempe talk about " that writer *Metamorphosis* " (thus lampooning his classical ignorance) but puts into his mouth other words of foolishness that would be patent to any Cambridge University audience, who like the author knew perfectly well that Shakespeare was saturated with Ovid and University culture. The Kempe of real life in London, like Burbage, would see no difficulty in accepting their actor-colleague's boastful hints that he wrote Plays, for even the acute Ben Jonson was deceived (for a time—see p. 131) ; but to suppose on the basis of this passage, as most orthodox writers have done in spite of Gifford's remonstrance years ago, that such sarcastic words of fiction deliciously satirising the ignorance of two London actors, mean that the poet Shakespeare had no University culture and really *was* "our fellow, " is to sin against sense ; the withering words do not represent the sentiments of the author but what Kempe and Burbage were supposed to think of their precious colleague " Shakespeare " [Shakspere] and of University wit. Indeed, a little later in the same scene, the author himself (in the part of Philomusus) after he has tried his hand

at reciting the two opening lines of *Richard III*, expresses his undisguised contempt for the " basest trade " of actors, who " With mouthing words that better wits have framed / They purchase lands, and now Esquires are namde" (exactly like Shakspere) ; " those leaden spouts / That nought [doe] vent but what they do receive."

As this same author, elsewhere in *Parnassus*, manifestly admired Shakespeare's genius he clearly dissociated himself from any realism in the scathing ridicule he imposed on Kempe. Who this author was, and whether he knew who the real Shakespeare was, is doubtful but it has been suggested that he was a youth, Edmunde Rishton, who came from Cheshire and failed to get his degree at Cambridge. Whoever he was, he certainly said nothing in any of the three Plays to suggest that *he* believed the actor to be the poet ; on the contrary he said not a little to suggest the exact opposite. Ambiguous evidence of this kind proving nothing is valueless.

Other misleading deductions.

A well known orthodox scholar once challenged to adduce contemporary evidence which would identify the living player with Shakespeare, cited the following : (1) the printing of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* by Richard Field, a London printer from Stratford-on-Avon, (2) the *Parnassus* Plays, (3) the Earl of Southampton's [traditional] gift of £1000 to " Shakespeare " and (4) John Davies's epigram. The validity of (2) just discussed is on a par with that of (4) already proved (Chap. III) by its candour about sport and kingship to be inapplicable to the Stratford player ; while the ambiguity of items (1) and (3), mentioned later, which can be equally well explained otherwise, renders them equally worthless as evidence. Such is the slender basis of identification, and so it is with all the numerous contemporary allusions (see Ingleby's *Centurie of Prayse*, 1874) to Shakespeare, either by name, or indirectly by references to features of the Plays and Poems ; none establish any unambiguous link between poet-dramatist and actor, though the *Parnassus* Plays clearly suggest that Shakspere's ridiculed actor friends believed him to be the dramatist, which in view of Greene's testimony that Shake-scene *supposed* he could write (boasting of it) is not in any way surprising.

Of all the contemporary allusions to Shakespeare the most valuable is that of Francis Meres (later Rector of Wing in Rutland), who in 1598 gave a list of 12 Plays in *Palladis Tamia*, comparing Shakespeare to Ovid and the classical writers without giving the least indication that he was talking about any actor in London. Meres was brother-in-law to the Earl of Southampton's tutor John Florio, translator of Montaigne, and though Montaigne's influence on Shakespeare is obvious, no one has been able to establish any connection between Florio (p. 120) and the Stratford actor, except by way of the name " Willm Shakspere " written in a copy of Florio's translation of the *Essays* (pronounced to be a forgery, which it certainly is, by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson).

For nearly three centuries, Shakespeare enthusiasts, at first dilettante collectors of gossip and later assiduous record-searchers, have striven in vain to find some definite link between poet and actor or at least something that would redeem the latter from the disillusioning array of facts which this research has brought to light. Concurrently with these abortive efforts, *a priori* deduction has been ceaselessly busy, building on the slippery foundations of Greene's attack and the *Parnassus* Plays, in the attempt to prove the poet's deficiencies,

grasping at stray remarks such as Beaumont's fiction (about 1615) that Shakespeare worked only " by the dimme light of Nature " or Ben Jonson's qualification (to his noble praise) that he had " small Latine, and lesse Greeke." Such innuendos, no doubt derived at second hand from actors' gossip, are in flat contradiction to the facts ; and Meres knew better. The truth is, as every cultured but unprejudiced student of Shakespeare to-day knows, his erudition was unbounded, the Plays and Poems teeming with classical allusion, though with this difference from most other writers, that *his* stores of knowledge whether classical or universal are never paraded ostentatiously but, with rare artistic skill, subtly embedded in the very texture of his luxuriant imagery. His command of French was idiomatic and a Frenchman (Morhardt) once remarked that he " savait le français à fond." Yet Farmer, in the wake of Beaumont and Jonson, decided that Shakespeare (identified with Shakspere) lacked learning, and so the process of *a priori* deduction followed its unhappy but logical course ; spinning a web of fallacious theory, purporting to explain how an untravelled actor, without knowledge of modern languages or Latin, constructed the Plays and Poems. This he did, it seems, by using translations or since some did not exist at the time, by consulting manuscripts of as yet unpublished translations, or by getting others to translate for him and furnish him with detailed information about foreign countries ; while right through his career, he " worked over " other dramatists' drafts, constantly plagiarising his predecessors, and all this to meet the demands of the so-called " Shakespeare's company " (p. 205). Such is the monstrous outgrowth, which like a desolating fungus has sprung from Shaksperian soil, carrying with it most fortunately the germs of its own decay—witness the violent disagreement among orthodox detractors themselves, vainly striving to reconcile deduction with the painfully plain fact of Shakespeare's saturation with the classics and his stupendous learning in general.

No one of course disputes that he made the free-est use of pre-existing Plays, legends, stories and histories which were integrated into his own " invention," much less the magic of his alchemy that transmuted such baser metal into " refinéd gold." All this is patent, but the procedure was very different from that envisaged by orthodoxy, and in Chapters X and XI proofs are submitted that certain supposedly " refurbished " Plays were really later revisions of his own drafts which because of their early date, prior to 1592, could not be accepted as genuine on Shaksperian premises ; and there is not a little irony, not to say injustice, in the implication of plagiarism when an author has remodelled his own immature work.

The same limited outlook has driven commentators to envisage " sources " as the mainsprings of the Plays, while ignoring the vast range of the author's personal experiences and his far-flung knowledge. So determined indeed has been the attempt to give sources for each Play that even the vaguest parallels are grasped at to indicate whence he borrowed, some of which are more than doubtful. No written source can be discovered for the intriguing Comedies *Two Gentlemen of Verona, Love's labour's lost, Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Merry wives of Windsor*. As for most of the remaining Plays, it is possible to trace sources for portions of them, sometimes for the main plots, while in a few cases identifiable passages have been taken from their source (e.g. Holinshed) and paraphrased into blank verse. But mostly the sources for any one Play are multiple,* while for the Plays in general their immense reach reveals a vast reservoir of erudition from which Shakespeare could draw at will, as and when necessary ; history chronicles (Holinshed, Hall, Plutarch etc.) Arabian Nights, Decameron, Gesta Romanorum, old Plays, novels, romances, classical lore, legends,

* As for example in *Pericles* where Shakespeare, admitting his indebtedness to Gower (*Confessio amantis*) uses the plural in the Chorus of I, 1, saying " I tell you what mine authors say." This no doubt includes *Gesta Romanorum* among other sources.

Ballads and stories of all kinds, whose origins were often so deeply rooted in the past that it is impossible to say whether Shakespeare utilised the then recent versions or the older authorities to which such versions were themselves indebted. They were in various languages, more particularly Latin, French and Italian, by many authors, principally Ovid, Plutarch, Seneca, Virgil, Horace, and Pliny, amongst the ancients, and Chaucer, Saxo-Grammaticus, Boccaccio, Ser Giovanni, Ariosto, Cinthio, Belleforest, Bandello, Rabelais, Montaigne, Sidney, Florio, Brooke, Painter, Whetstone, etc. amongst later writers, all of which implies the possession of an extensive library as well as much leisure time for reading (neither within the restricted amenities of Stratford or a wig-maker's lodgings).

William Stanley, Shakspere and the Earl of Southampton.

An attempt will now be made to explain how the seeds of confusion between Shakespeare and Shakspere may have been first sown. In 1587 Stanley returned home, probably arriving in London early in the year, but about May he went to his father's Lancashire seat (Lathom) as may be gathered from ffarrington's diary (p. 17). That same Spring of 1587 the Earl of Leicester's company of players made a long tour (Murray—see p. 205) through the provinces starting from Dover, through Canterbury, Oxford, Marlborough, Southampton and Exeter, and then on Northwards through Bath (14th June) and Gloucester to Stratford-on-Avon, where they performed towards the end of June. From here they proceeded further North to Lathom, arriving there early in July and performing for two or three days, so that if at Stratford they had taken on, as a super, young William Shakspere (aged 23), he would be at Lathom with the rest of the Leicester company. Here he could hardly help coming into contact with William Stanley, whose interest in players was so keen ; for on the 6th July 1587 ffarrington's diary contains the highly suggestive record :—

> " on Thorsdaye Mr. Stanley dep'ted and the same daye my L. of Leycesters Plaiers plaid."

The significance of the coincidence that the players had just come from Stratford-on-Avon direct to Lathom, when Stanley was there, was first pointed out by Lefranc and the net-work of circumstances is almost binding : first in the linked connections Stratford-Lathom-Stanley-Lathom-Leicester players, intersecting like lines in a point (of time), and secondly in the fact that Shakspere was later a member of Stanley's brother's company (Lord Strange's) re-inforced by men of the Leicester company the following year (1588). The cross-linkage here is so striking that Shakspere's movements at this time may be plausibly re-constructed ; that is to say probably he did not go straight from Stratford to London, holding horses' heads outside the theatre or employing boys to do so (a later tradition due to Sir William Davenant) but, having joined the Leicester men, followed their subsequent peregrinations through Lathom, Coventry, Leicester, Norwich, etc., and when the Earl of Leicester died (4th September, 1588) was absorbed, as Murray supposed, into Lord Strange's company along with Kempe, Bryan, Pope and other Leicester men.

What arrangement, if any, was contrived between Stanley and the raw recruit that July 1587 at Lathom, must be conjectural but something must have happened to explain subsequent events, particularly Shakspere's later appearance as a broker of Plays (inferred from the description in Greene's little book and confirmed by Jonson—p. 134). It is shown in Chapter XI that Stanley had already written some Plays and, zealously contemplating others but unable (p. 48) to disclose himself as Author, it may be that he made Shakspere his agent for introducing them on the London Stage, since his own brother's company, i.e. Lord Strange's, was then acting only in the Country,

while Leicester's men also acted in London (originally at Burbage's ' Theater ' and then at the Cross Keys). Shakspere as a Leicester man (and soon afterwards a Strange man) would of course be a mere cipher, a procurer, but if he received some sort of stipend or commission from Stanley to present new Plays from time to time, such an enterprising man would soon attain prominence (especially if he posed as author) by impressing young Richard Burbage, Edward Alleyn and even leaders of other companies such as those patronised by the Earl of Pembroke and the Lord Admiral ; these companies being in close acting association with Lord Strange's.

In this presumed arrangement Stanley, desiring above all to remain unknown, but as a pure artist neither pay nor *kudos*, would naturally warn his agent not to risk betrayal in any way, such as by allowing Plays to leak out to publishers. Otherwise he would give him a free hand, perhaps even to pose as author. Such a *modus operandi* might have worked well had not this agent, " Shake-scene," boasted too freely to Greene that he was the author of the Plays, but after Greene's outburst in 1592 probably Shakspere was more discreet. There was however nothing to stop the man making money by secretly conniving with pirate publishers, who through him could have acquired copies of the *Troublesome raigne* pair, the *Contention* pair, *Titus Andronicus*, *Edward III*, *Faire Em* and *Mucedorus*, all of which were published anonymously though, as will be seen, written by Stanley.

Stanley probably knew his kinsman,* the boy Earl of Southampton before March 1587, when the latter entered his name for Gray's Inn after a striking career at St. John's College Cambridge. Judging by the Sonnets this wayward quarrelsome youth must have sorely tried the wisdom, love and long suffering patience of the 13-year older Stanley, though the brilliant cultured young Earl could not fail to be deeply impressed by his dramatic genius ; especially if some of his early Plays were performed at Southampton House, Holborn, [it is known at least that *Love's labour's lost* was played there in 1605]. But what would most appeal to the licentious youth would be the classical and erotic tone of some of his friend's early Poems (Chap. XII). He would have been greatly thrilled too on reading the revised manuscript of *Venus and Adonis* ; perhaps in September 1592 at Oxford during the Queen's visit, when Lord Strange was also there, probably with his brother William just before being sworn in as Governor of the Isle of Man. The enthusiastic youth may even have over-come the scruples of his ardent admirer by persuading him to publish the Poem, suggesting as pseudonym the name of Stanley's agent, which in its modernised spelling would make a capital pen-name. Carrying the conjecture further, it would be from the Island that this agent in London would receive the packet containing *V. and A.* (which was entered on the Stationers Register 18th April 1593) with directions for publication by John Harrison ; but as it was printed for the latter by Richard Field, a native of Stratford-on-Avon, who also printed *Lucrece* the following year, it may be that the choice of publisher was left to Shakspere.

No one familiar with the dedications of other poets of the period to their aristocratic patrons, can fail to be struck with the extraordinary difference in tone from each of Shakespeare's terse and dignified dedications. No long-winded servile flattery here ; these two short letters are simply couched in words of affection and *familiarity*, such as one Nobleman addressed another in those days. In the first the Earl of Southampton is to be god-father to the " unpolished lines " and in the second, though short and formal, the author, speaks of the " love " he has for the Earl. Both as already noted (p. 86) are

* He was the son of the 2nd Countess of Southampton, Mary Browne, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne and Jane Radcliffe, daughter of the 1st Earl of Sussex and Lady Margaret Stanley, herself daughter of the 2nd Earl of Derby and thus William Stanley's great Aunt.

singularly reminiscent of the Earl of Derby's composition. No one of the base social grade (p. 204) of actor, least of all a practically unknown player, who only a year previous to 1593 had been assailed as a Jack of all trades and " upstart crow " (whose patron in any case was Lord Strange not Southampton) could even secure the (very necessary) permission to dedicate, much less use such a familiar style to a great Nobleman like Southampton. Nor could he take the liberty of assuming in 1593 that he could yet dedicate another Poem to him (" some graver labour ") later ; and all this in making his *début*. It would be against all reason. The very polish of *V. and A.*, exceeding anything that had ever been known, and above all the audacity of the two lines from Ovid (*Amores*, Lib. I, 15, 35-36) on its title-page, announcing a taste which was not that of hinds admiring trash, proclaim that the poet who thus blazed into fame was not of the common herd but some highly cultured aristocratic genius. Orthodox assumption of intimacy between actor and the Earl of Southampton, because (as the Comptesse de Chambrun has ably demonstrated) Shakespeare borrowed from the Earl's tutor Florio, merely begs the question by tacitly making Shakspere poet, for despite much research there is no external evidence whatever of contact, not even in the 1595 entry (p. 107) of payment to actors, and certainly not the forged signature. Stanley, being intimate with Southampton, no doubt knew Florio and had read his *First Fruites* (1578) and *Second Fruites* (1591) ; but the Sonnet by " Phaeton to his friend Florio " prefacing the latter, and supposed by Minto to be Shakespeare's, passes none of the tests of genuineness laid down in Chapter X (pp. 168-178).

It has always been a mystery, why Shakespeare having broken the ice in 1593 and 1594, with the apparent intention of continuing to publish failed to do so, for there is no evidence that he published any of the Quartos though in 1601 he probably sanctioned the *Phœnix and the Turtle* in Chester's collection (p. 163). The coincidence that Stanley became Earl of Derby in 1594 suggests that the new responsibility made him fear the risk more acutely, in the dangerous '90,s, of his *incognito* being penetrated ; yet for years Shakespeare's Plays continued to leak out, at first anonymously, as pirated Quarto issues, no doubt against his wishes. This raises the interesting question as to how the publishers got hold of the name ; that is, how they found out that the poet " Shakespeare " of 1593 and 1594 was also secret dramatic writer of certain very popular Plays, for there was apparently nothing to connect the two, much less anything to connect Shakespeare with the Earl of Derby. But with a man of Shakspere's character, though bound to secrecy, there would have been no difficulty. He was as Greene said, or implied, a broker as well as actor, and trading on the new London spelling of his name he had only to pose as the real author of the Plays to his actor friends, accept payment from similarly deluded pirate publishers for providing them with more or less corrupt texts to which he had access, and the thing would be done, even though he betrayed Richard Burbage in the act. This of course is only surmise, but it is in keeping with a number of other circumstances, all suggesting that he broke faith with his principal by conniving at the leakage of Plays and by leading the publishers to believe that he was their author. It was however not till 1598 that the author's name, spelt ' W. Shakespere ' first appeared on the title page of any of the Play Quartos (*L.L.L.*) and in the same year it was spelt ' William Shake-speare ' in the second Quarto of *Richard II*, (the first having been issued anonymously in 1597) ; after which the Quartos always carried the name ' Shakespeare ' or ' Shake-speare ' that had now come to have mercenary value to publishers.

In this connection, the temporary cessation of Quarto publication in 1604, for four years, may have significance. That Shakspere was a broker of other Plays besides Shakespeare's is very probable ; it was part of his business, as indicated not merely by Greene but later by Ben Jonson (p. 134) who uses the word " brokage." But in 1604 Shakspere seems to have overstepped the limit by furnishing N. Landure with a copy of the new *Hamlet* (p. 192), the very perfection of which would indicate to the Earl of Derby that no one but the recipient, his agent, could be the culprit. He may have suspected him of connivance in the earlier piracies, such as the 1603 *Hamlet* Quarto, or attempts, as in the case of *As you like it* entered at the Stationers' Hall on 4th August 1600 and *Troilus and Cressida* (7th February 1603), whose publication was stopped ; and if, exasperated, he tried to dismiss his agent in 1604, it is not difficult to imagine that a man like Shakspere, quick to realise his financial loss, might threaten disclosure of the Earl's identity as author of the Plays ; a serious matter to him. Derby, thus blackmailed, may then have paid him a lump sum to keep silent and clear out of London. Anyway there are no records showing that Shakspere resided in London from now on, but about this time he was certainly investing money heavily in Stratford-on-Avon. Thus having in 1602 laid out £320 in purchasing 107 acres and two houses there, in 1604 he embarked on his largest transaction by purchasing the unexpired lease of half the Stratford tithes for the (then very large) sum of £440, which brought him in at least £60 a year, and though he might have possibly raised such capital sums as actor-manager-sharer, it seems more likely at that time that they came as windfalls ; for Rowe's legend, handed down by Sir William Davenant, says that the Earl of Southampton gave the player £1000, " to enable him to go through with a purchase which he heard he had a mind to." More probably it came from the Earl of Derby, who however might have utilised Southampton's services as intermediary in the transaction.

The later piracy of *King Lear*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Pericles* and the Sonnets cannot be laid to Shakspere's account ; if he was out of London, his company (now the King's) *ex hypothesi* received no more Shakespeare Plays through him, and the Earl of Derby would be probably no longer greatly interested in it, now that his brother-in-law, Lord Hunsdon the Lord Chamberlain was dead (9th September 1603) and James I had assumed patronage. For the previous ten years the Earl had been patron of his own company of Players, so that it is likely enough that he now looked upon it rather than the King's men as an outlet for his future work, also the Court, Wilton House, Lathom and Knowsley. About all these things we are completely in the dark.

The Stratford Monument.

When Shakspere died in April 1616 no notice was taken by anyone outside his native town, but as a prosperous land-owning farmer in Stratford-on-Avon he was buried in the Chancel of its beautiful church, an honour to which he was entitled as lease-holder of the Stratford tithes, and four graves of his family lie adjacent to his in the Chancel. As is well known the effigy and inscription do not surmount the tomb itself but stand against the North Wall of the Chancel some distance away, opposite the tombstone which has no name inscribed on it but merely the four lines of the familiar epitaph (" Good frend for Jesus sake " etc) whose coarseness contrasts vigorously with the dignified partly Latin inscription on the wall monument. This disharmony coupled with the history of the monument, presently described, affects the very important question of evidential trustworthiness, for if reliable the inscription, which unequivocally identifies the deceased " Shakspeare " [*sic*] with the great poet, would nullify all the elaborate reasoning in this book. The monument however, as it exists

to-day, is fundamentally different from what it originally was i.e. when it was erected sometime between 1616 and 1623 ; for a " restoration " was carried out in 1749 with very extensive changes, as we know from an engraving of the original, fortunately preserved in Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656). Sir William Dugdale,* a well known Herald of high authority whose duty it was to check designs and inscriptions on monuments, was meticulously careful in all his work and there can be no doubt that his engraving is accurate, though Spielmann and Lang on *a priori* grounds attempted to discredit it. It is moreover confirmed in the expanded edition of Dugdale's book by Dr. Thomas, a Warwickshire man, and so late as 1709 Rowe, who visited Stratford-on-Avon, in his *Life* of Shakespeare gave a sketch of the monument as it then was, agreeing with Dugdale. Any lingering doubt as to Dugdale's accuracy has been eliminated by Greenwood (*Is there a Shakespeare problem*, p. 563) who got into touch with Mr. W. F. S. Dugdale (a descendant) and induced him to search through his ancestor's papers, with a result that he found not only Sir William's original drawing, dated July 1634, from which the engraving in the book was made, but a copy of the inscription on the monument. Both show that the 1656 book was accurate ; and the inscription (i.e. as in 1634) is the same as that today except for spelling differences, probably due to changes made when the old tablet was replaced by a new one in 1749.

But the startling differences between Dugdale's 1634 drawing or Rowe's 1709 sketch and the present monument, confirmed by a measurement of relative widths, heights and other dimensions, show that in 1749 a clean sweep was made of the base (which had been brought forward) the bust, the pillars, the cupids and the whole superstructure carrying the Coat of Arms ; that is from top to bottom. In the present monument for example, the two ugly cupids sit close against the surmounting block ; in the original they were pleasing figures, sitting far away from the block, right at the edge of the architrave, with legs dangling over into the air, one of the cupids holding out an hour-glass in its hand and the other holding out a shovel. There is nothing of this now, and the emblazoned Coat of Arms is also totally different. But the most damning difference of all is in the bust within the niche. Most people are familiar with the appearance of the present effigy believed to be that of Shakespeare, the chief features of which are a 'wooden' brachy-cephalic face, vacuous and stupid with small upturned moustache, and fore-arms resting horizontally on a *flat cushion* ; one of the hands grasping a pen while the other rests on a scroll of paper. The original bust (which is the thing that matters) had nothing of this and was radically different ; it was much less 'wooden' and more human, showing a dolico-cephalic oval bearded face,† with heavy drooping moustache, a face decidedly suggestive of a weary but prosperous farmer. Here the fore-arms and hands, instead of resting in a position for writing, descend vertically in order to clasp a *thick sack*, tied at both ends, apparently a sack of wool or malt—the emblem of his trade, just as the pen and paper of the present effigy are the symbols of a writer. This cardinal difference is evidentially vital because it conflicts incompatibly with the inscription below, and shows plainly that the restorers in 1749 tried to rectify the glaring inconsistency by changing the character of the whole bust, rectifying that is to say

* Sir William also preserved the inscription on the tomb of Shakspere's daughter Susanna (Mrs. Hall, *d.* 1649) ; an epitaph which notes her wit and says " Something of Shakespeare was in that," but the lines were inspired by the earlier inscription on the monument of her father, as is shown, by the words " Then, passenger hast ne're a teare," simulating the first line of the inscription, " Stay passenger " etc. The point is of no evidential importance.

† According to Wislicenus (1912) this face resembles the original of the Chandos portrait (p. 125) before it was altered slightly by retouching (of which a photograph is said to exist). As to Dugdale himself, being orthodox, he of course accepted the bust as an effigy of Shakespeare.

what it suggested to anyone looking at it. There were other differences, and though Dugdale's drawing of course does not show colour, Halliwell (1853) must have had grounds for his statement that " the entablatures were formerly of white alabaster " (they are now of black marble).

It appears from the investigations of Mrs. Stopes, who has unearthed the relevant documents, that there was a long dispute between the Grammar School master Joseph Greene, who wanted a clean sweep, and the Vicar, Kenwrick, of Stratford-on-Avon, as to how extensive the alterations should be. Part of the requisite money was raised by the proceeds of a performance of *Othello* in 1746, and in the end Greene had his way, but it was not till 1749 that John Hall was entrusted with the job of " repairing and beautifying " the monument, which had fallen into decay. The mystery is heightened by the fact that although Dugdale's published drawing of 1656 still held in 1709, Pope's edition of Shakespeare in 1725 and Hanmer's in 1744 show a completely different *ensemble*, namely a flat cushion with pen and paper (as it is today) but a new head with *ear-rings* in the ears (like the Chandos portrait). The origin of this extraordinary hybrid was an engraving by Vertue in 1723, which Mrs. Stopes thought was entirely imaginary and not an actual drawing of the monument in 1723. This no doubt is right, but it shows that even then there was a sense of incongruity in the original farmer-like bust, as a figure of Shakespeare, and a feeling that it must be changed ; indeed it is probable that Vertue's picture gave the cue of the restorers in 1749, who adopted the idea of a flat cushion instead of sack, left out the ear-rings and made a sorry mess of the physiognomy.

The changes made during the " repairing " were of course not deliberate falsification, though their effect is to falsify evidence to us now ; the alterations were perfectly natural and spontaneous to the restorers because the bust representing Shakespeare as a local maltster must have seemed to some of the disputants so grotesque that they took the opportunity during repairs to replace it by a less incongruous effigy (incidentally much worse) which would symbolise a writer, and harmonise with the eulogistic inscription beneath. History presents numerous similar instances of well-meant acts (copious literary forgeries, pious frauds etc.) designed not always for unworthy mercenary ends, but to eliminate contradictions between discordant reality and prevailing ideas or theories. So it was that the original bust was radically transformed, and so it is that the present effigy is worthless as evidence, though not the inscription, whose validity is unaffected because it was not tampered with, beyond copying and adding the two half lines giving date of death (not found in Dugdale's dotted lines). This inscription raises a grave problem. How can its refined poetry and its contents, referring to Shakespeare as the equal of Nestor, Socrates and Vergil, be reconciled with : (1) the original farmer bust representing him grasping a sack, (2) the unrefined doggerel epitaph on the tomb, (3) the incompatibility of the local farmer's life with Shakespeare and above all (4) the verbal inconsistency of asserting that " Shakspeare " lay *within* the monument (" with in this monvment ") when in fact the body lay in the tomb several yards away ? These things cannot be ignored, nor can the spelling " Shakspeare " which confirms the inference that the writer of the inscription, whoever he was, believed the poet to be identical with the deceased Stratford man.

These contradictions can be partly resolved by supposing that the eulogist was someone at a distance, who knew nothing about local circumstances, but sent a copy which was adopted by the Vicar and Shakspere's relations. There is nothing surprising in the latter, because it is beyond reasonable doubt that he had boasted of being a playwright in London (p. 113) and therefore probably at home. As for the four wretched lines on his tomb, they may or may not have been composed previously by himself, and they may or may not have been an appeal (i.e. not to transfer his bones to the neighbouring charnel house) but they are clearly of local inspiration, suited to the man himself and an

insult to Shakespeare. Although we know that a London sculptor was employed for the original monument (a Fleming, Gerrard Jannsen, as Dugdale stated in his diary of 1653, published in 1827), any attempt to penetrate further into the obscurity must be conjectural, but if all the facts are inductively taken into account it is possible to frame a reasonable hypothesis, as now suggested by the writer, namely :—

Shakspere's relatives obtained the church authority and provided the money necessary, say late in 1616, employing the London sculptor, who with the aid of local information at Stratford-on-Avon, and perhaps the Chandos portrait as well, executed the original farmer-like bust with tolerable skill. An inscription beneath (not the present one) would probably give his name with date of birth and death, while the figure itself was made to clasp the thick sack of wool or malt, congruous to Shakspere's principal business. The effigy had only local interest ; and it was not till 1622 that the literary world realised that Shakespeare must be dead, for it was about then that William Basse wrote his lines regretting that he [Shakspere] had not been buried in Westminster Abbey. " Confusion now hath made his master-piece " ! A few cultured men would naturally wish to know more about the poet, as for example Basse, or L. Digges, ' I.M.' and Hugh Holland (p. 127), but Derby's secret being well guarded, these enthusiasts would only learn from hear-say that the elusive " author " used to live in London about 20 years ago, that he came from Stratford-on-Avon and had been dead some years. In their great enthusiasm they must have felt soul-vexation to think that a mighty poet should have passed away six or seven years ago without a tear or a word of praise. It was probably one or more of these in London who, cherishing an illusion, determined about 1622 that at least there should be a memorial in the Stratford Church. Finding on enquiry that there was already a monument, all he (or they) had to do was to get the consent of the relatives and incumbent (Richard Watts) to replace the original 1616 tablet, recording Shakspere's birth and death dates, by another i.e. the present inscription, but without the record of birth and death, since this has a different appearance and may have been added in 1749, as noted, owing to the absence of the requisite dotted lines in Dugdale's engraving. Whoever composed this inscription never saw the bust, underneath which it was to be placed, but *thought that the monument surmounted the actual grave*, as proved by the words " with in," and having acted from a distance never realised the glaring incongruity as between the eulogy and the actual maltster bust (as it was then) or the gross epitaph on the tombstone. Locally the inconsistency may have excited some surprise among a few, but to them the matter was of no consequence and nothing was done about it. As for the outside world, very few had troubled about the identity of Shakespeare, and as time rolled on they had other things to think about in the thickening perplexities of politics. Any curiosity concerning the author of the Plays must have been finally extinguished by the artistic ' black-out ' of the Commonwealth, and it could not be healthily revived by the Restoration, for the thread of continuity had been snapped. Neither Davenant, Dryden, Rowe, Malone or later commentators could bridge the gap which Puritanism triumphant had created. The break was irretrievable and thenceforth the name Shakespeare became traditional, unreal and as shadowy as that of Homer. As for the inconsistency between effigy and inscription, it was not till 100 years after the Civil War that the anomaly was swept away by a " restoration " which by the emblem of pen and paper set a final seal, as of truth, on the false equation : Shakspere = Shakespeare.

Portraits.

None of the many so called portraits of Shakespeare can be accepted as genuine, though two may be portraits of Shakspere. One of these, the 'Grafton' picture of a pleasing young man of 24, is doubtful, but the other, called the 'Chandos' portrait, now in the National Portrait Gallery, and said to have been painted by his actor friend Burbage, is almost certainly Shakspere; it is an excellent picture of a man, middle-aged and wearing ear-rings, whose features, as noted, bear some resemblance to Dugdale's farmer-like drawing and, so far as character may be judged from physiognomy, it fits the actor fully. The grotesque Droeshout engraving in the Folio is said to be the only authentic portrait of Shakespeare, despite its hydrocephalous head and vacuous face, but Greenwood's comment was that this "graven image" tempts to irreverent laughter and must have been designedly intended as a mask for the real dramatist. The suggestion, an old one, is heightened by the false line running down from the left ear to the chin and by the reversed sleeves of the tunic below. As for Ben Jonson's ten lines of fulsome flattery for this ridiculous caricature, either he stands self-condemned as a fool (which he certainly was not) or guilty of gross insincerity in so praising a picture he had not seen. But as he must have seen it and as there is certainly other Jonsonian insincerity in the Folio (Chap. VII), his ten lines raise more than a suspicion of satirical double meaning; especially in his words 'for' [implying substitution], and 'gentle' [noble birth] of line 2, 'out-doo' [destroy] line 4 and 'hit' [struck] of line 6, all of which would entirely reverse the sense, thus conveying the idea of a mask to his enlightened, less credulous, readers. Whatever the explanation, the face probably was a bad copy, by an incompetent artist not of any death mask but of the Chandos Shakspere portrait because of the hair, forehead, nose, moustache and lips; all these and the general orientation are reproduced, if in absurd wooden fashion.

We are thus in the lamentable position that no one knows what the world's greatest poet was really like, apart from the portrait of the 6th Earl of Derby, and *he* was a handsome man of kindly, open countenance. In the Sutherland collection of the Bodleian Library in Oxford is a beautiful full length replica of him in colour, at about 50 years of age, executed by Silvester Harding from a portrait at Knowsley. This copy is much more pleasing than the photographic reproduction in Lucas's *S.V.S.*; the principal colours of the apparel are dark cerise and gold, the ribbon carrying the insignia, like the garter, blue, the rakish hat black-grey and the gloves brown and gold, while the silk hose is white. The small amount of hair visible beneath the hat is dark brown, as also is the moustache and upper part of the beard; lips red, eyes blue-grey and face pleasantly ruddy. There is great character in this face and eyes, whose expression conveys a jovial urbanity with a touch of wistfulness rather than intellectual abstraction; but though the artist who depicted the man was apparently more interested in the sumptuousness of his clothes than in his physiognomy he did not conceal the Stanley soul-kindliness which shines out of his face.

Curiously enough the Chandos Shakspere portrait bears a slight resemblance to the 6th Earl of Derby in oval shape of head though it lacks the soulful expression, and so it comes about that Derby was not at all unlike the popular conception of Shakespeare as symbolised and spiritualised in countless pictures or monuments throughout the world. In appearance Derby was also singularly like the well known "Davenant" (Garrick Club) terra-cotta bust (see *S.V.S.* pp. 4, and 253) which was originally found bricked up in the old Duke's theatre in Portugal Row, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and as this was the theatre (about

1666) of Davenant, who claimed to be Shakespeare's illegitimate son (p. 57) and revived his Plays after the Restoration, one would think it might be genuine, seeing that Derby was a member of Lincoln's Inn ; but Spielmann stated that the bust was executed by Roubillac (*b.* about 1696) and so the matter rests in doubt.

It is noticeable in the above Harding picture of the Earl of Derby that the right leg is perceptibly shorter than the left, which might be due to the original artist's defective perspective but which might have been real, causing a slight limp like that referred to in Sonnets **37** and **89**. Documentary evidence on a point like this could hardly be expected but if such lameness had been real it is intriguing to imagine, however fancifully, that the traditional stage-limp of Richard III, for which there seems to be no biographical authority, was actually initiated by himself involuntarily while playing the part (p. 88) at some private performance.

CHAPTER VII

BEN JONSON AND THE FOLIO

THE First Folio (1623) of Shakespeare's Plays clearly remains the one sheet anchor of orthodoxy, and this for the plain reason that certain prefatory statements unambiguously identify the author with the dead actor Shakspere. The ascription is indisputable, but since it conflicts with massive contrary evidence equally indisputable, it is incumbent on all who honestly seek the truth to test the veracity of these statements ; for if anything is true as to objective fact critical scrutiny, as all scientific experience demonstrates, can only go to confirm it the more—truth need never fear the searchlight. There were six contributors, all except Ben Jonson (of whom more hereafter) quite insignificant, that is to say Heminge and Condell, Shakspere's two actor colleagues, L. Digges, I. M. [? James Mabbe] and Hugh Holland. At the outset it may be asked why in so weighty an enterprise men of greater repute, like Donne (p. 54) or Heywood (p. 249), were not chosen for the eulogies ; but no criticism can shake the sincerity of the three short Poems submitted, so that when for instance Digges speaks of " thy Stratford Moniment " while I. M. and Holland refer to the dramatist as dead, it is obvious that they honestly believed what they said, no less than the two actors in their trumpery declamations. The problem is too serious to shirk, namely how far their beliefs represented the truth or how far they were men of easy faith in actors' gossip, which long before 1623 had adopted Shakspere as author ; for if the poet had concealed himself behind a Batillus *these* were not the men to penetrate such a well preserved secret as Derby's. The absence of any unambiguous linkage with Shakespeare during Shakspere's life-time (Chap. VI) and the absence of any comment when he died, even by James I when he was in Warwick (p. 33) in themselves should be sufficient warning against acceptance of the honest beliefs of second-rate witnesses ; in fact it was only about 1622 that the first written implication of identity appeared, in the short Poem of another obscure writer (Basse) and in the remarks of the thoroughly unreliable publisher, Thomas Walkley (see p. 239), of *Othello*. Such belated opinions, all traceable to theatre sources, but formally crystallised into a posthumous identification seven years after Shakspere's death, have no more evidential value than numerous other errors of ascription in those days (of various Poems and Quartos), when publishers or pirates were either unsure or fraudulent.

The Folio, so tremendously valuable to us now, was nevertheless a commercial venture, the prime mover in which was Isaac Jaggard, son of William the notorious literary pirate (then dying) who in the past had been guilty of gross errors in ascription. Jaggard's first concern was financial success, to ensure which he and his collaborators, after settling the business of copyrights, engaged a competent editor (Ben Jonson) and enthusiastic eulogists. The nominal editors Heminge and Condell, essentially uncultured men, tell a story in their two dedicatory letters (inspired if not written by Jonson, as Malone first detected) so suspicious as to have attracted the notice of many critics, both orthodox and unorthodox ; these actors in fact have been mercilessly

cross-examined, much like witnesses in a law court to test their credibility and their credulity, the net result of all of which has been to discredit not a little of their testimony. This being now conceded on all hands, no great weight can be attached to the fustian stuff in their first letter, the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke and his brother Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery ; for if as other evidence shows the actors were simply deceived, this "most incomparable paire of brethren" (who *ex hypothesi* would not be deceived) must have treated with an indulgent smile the flatulent remarks about their " Friend & Fellow " Shakespeare, seeing that both Earls were so closely related to the Earl of Derby.

The two "brethren," who a few years later were Derby's trustees (p. 34), were sons of the illustrious Mary, Countess of Pembroke (*d.* 1621) of Wilton House which had once been the centre of such throbbing literary life. William Herbert when young had been proposed as husband in 1597 for Bridget de Vere, sister of Derby's Countess ; his younger brother Philip who became Earl of Montgomery in 1605 and 4th Earl of Pembroke in 1630 on the death of William, married Susan de Vere in 1604 and afterwards when Susan died (1629) he married (1630) Anne (Clifford) daughter of Derby's Uncle (Earl of Cumberland), then the widow of Richard Sackville 3rd. Earl of Dorset.

This intimate relationship with the Earl of Derby lends piquancy to the actors' fulsome adulation of the " paire," which among other absurdities leads them to declare that the Plays were " trifles " (*three times*) beneath their dignity to read though they (the " brethren ") had enjoyed them " when they were acted."

This was probably at Wilton ; at least in August 1603 the Countess of Pembroke wrote a letter (now missing) from there to her son,* in which she said "We have the man Shakespeare with us " (Wyndham, *Poems of Shakespeare*, 1898). The existence of this letter was confirmed by William Cory in his diary (1865)—see Slater (*Seven Shakespeares* p. 78), and the Countess's words are singularly suggestive of familiarity with the pen-name.

Heminge and Condell's second letter (to readers) is quite as bad as the trash which had prefaced some of the pirated Quartos, offensively unworthy of the priceless gems they were recommending ; but all this might be forgiven such men if falsehood had not been mixed up with what they say in both their letters. Their professed object to keep the memory of their " Fellow alive " was no doubt perfectly sincere, but even so rigidly orthodox a critic as the late Sir Sidney Lee recognised that their " pretensions " were exaggerated ; and his reasoned conclusions (*Facsimile edition of the Folio*), supported by various other commentators, amount to this : that the actors' claims were as unabashedly inaccurate as many a modern advertisement, that it was not they but a mercenary publishing syndicate (to which the world may be indeed grateful) which pulled the strings necessary for " collecting " the Plays. With such a money-making enterprise, the actors' boasting prefaces are no more sacrosanct than the blustering title-pages of pirated Quartos.

A long standing tenet of orthodoxy is that Shakspere wrote his Plays, first for Philip Henslowe, managing proprietor of the Rose theatre, and then solely for his (Shakspere's) acting company, under some kind of remunerative contract, because there is no record anywhere in Henslowe's diary† of payment to the dramatist. The corollary, that accordingly Shakspere relinquished his rights in the Plays and that his company furnished them for the Folio, meets with several inconsistencies. Lee's considered verdict was that only 18 of the

* William, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, then only 23, whom she requested to bring James I over from Salisbury to see *As you like it*. The King came on 29th August, and Cory mentions that the Countess's real object was to cajole him on behalf of Raleigh, due for trial in November.

† Henslowe did not begin to record payments till 1597, prior to which the only unambiguous Shakespeare Plays which he produced were *Henry VI*, *Titus Andronicus* and *Hamlet*, but considering that he had dealings with nearly every dramatist of the period (1592 - 1609) it is remarkable that he never mentioned Shakespeare ; nor did his distinguished actor-son-in-law, Edward Alleyn, in the voluminous manuscripts he left. This significant silence shows that Shakespeare never had any pecuniary transactions with the illiterate theatre proprietor.

36 Plays were in the repertory of the theatre in 1623, and that the publishers had in some cases to fall back on transcripts " in private hands " ; but it must be remembered as Fleay pointed out, that when the Globe was burnt down in 1613, Court versions might have been preserved at Blackfriars. Wherever they came from, Heminge and Condell decidedly labour the point about " their care, and paine, to have collected " them, but in their address to " Readers " they further say that they could have wished " that the Author himselfe had liu'd to have set forth, and ouerseen his owne writings ; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray " etc. Logically then this assertion that Shakspere originally had the " right " to " set forth " i.e. publish his Plays, if true, invalidates the contract theory of relinquishment, while if untrue Heminge and Condell are discredited here as elsewhere, so that either way orthodoxy must face a dilemma ; that is the inexplicability of Henslowe's silence or the unreliability of the two actors as witnesses of the truth.

Midst all this tangle, what can be definitely proved is that the two actors were guilty of a false statement in asserting that the text of the Folio, unlike the Quartos, was " perfect," an assertion which the sub-title of the Folio also (twice) confirms by stating in one place that they were " according to the True Originall Copies " and in another " Truely set forth, according to their first originall." It is perfectly true, as they declared, that some of the Plays had previously been issued as " stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes " of impostors [the Quartos] but when they added that they " are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbs ; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived thē " [them], they uttered a most palpable untruth, as all critics, orthodox and unorthodox, now admit. In fact, not only did the Folio editors utilise these reprobated Quartos freely, but much of their available manuscript was manifestly incomplete or in a very confused condition, owing to alterations and theatre tampering ; in some Plays indeed the Folio text is in numerous places inferior to Quarto text, and the present writer has now proved (Chap. IX) what has long been suspected that the Folio was wholly printed from copies and *not from original autographs at all.* A further mis-statement of the two actor-editors, in praising the author's " easinesse " in writing is that " wee haue scarse receiued from him a blot in his papers " [i.e. no deleted passages, alterations or interlineations] a remark which may have been true of some of the clean *copies*, but certainly not true if they were " originall," for such manuscripts must have been full of " blots " ; indeed there is now abundant evidence, as will be seen, that Shakespeare repeatedly made revisionary changes even after the manuscript had been copied. The (orthodox) Cambridge editors long ago reached the conclusion that since Heminge and Condell are " convicted of a *suggestio falsi* in one point [there are several points] it is not improbable that they may have been guilty of the like in another," and Lee was not far wrong when he decided on the general evidence that the Folio text, far from being derived from author's autograph, was based partly on theatre prompt-copies, partly on Quartos and the rest on unknown sources (" private hands ").

Such then is the now discredited account of the two actors, a blend of truth and falsehood which like many a concocted story in the witness-box breaks down (at least in part) under cross-examination, thus raising the justifiable suspicion of *suppressio veri.* The merciless exposure of Sir George Greenwood should suffice to convince any open-minded critic that the truth actually was suppressed, and that Ben Jonson for some reason aided and

abetted, for it is not merely by lack of candour that he failed to sustain his reputation, as " honest Ben." In extenuation he might have pleaded the general looseness of literary ethics at that time when, for one reason or another, camouflage and positive fraud were rife ; several non-genuine Plays in Quarto had already been falsely ascribed to Shakespeare on their title pages, and Jonson's disingenuousness would have been justifiable if he had received an influential request to conceal the real author. That would explain all the mystery. Heminge and Condell of course honestly believed their colleague to be the author ; not so Jonson. He no doubt bolstered up the actors' legend, but nowhere committed himself to an explicit *unambiguous* identification. The deception (or is it irony ?) of his lines praising the grotesque Droeshout engraving (but mercifully begging the reader to " looke / Not on his Picture, but his Booke ") has already been noticed (p. 125). More glaring is the self-contradiction in his famous eulogy—

" To the memory of my beloued, the Avthor Mr. William Shakespeare "

which cannot be reconciled with his past contemptuous attitude towards the player, whom he had previously scorned but who, he would now have us believe, was the world's greatest poet. Such exquisite inconsistency more exposes his deception than perhaps anything else ; for his admiration in the Folio of " My gentle Shakespeare " being unbounded, it is simply incredible that he could be speaking of the same man as the wretched broker, whom he had fiercely denounced as " Poor-Poet ape " (p. 134), because if the same, Jonson's magnificent Folio panegyric would be a mockery without equal in all literature for blatant humbug. When however his actual words are studied closely, his paean is found to be curiously non-committal on the specific point of identity of the man he was praising ; as if he intentionally but cleverly arranged his poetic flights to speak both ways. For instance his ambiguous apostrophe to " Sweet Swan of Auon " would naturally be taken by " readers," accepting the two addresses, as applicable to Shakspere, while the " incomparable paire " (to one of whom, William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, Jonson was indebted for £20 a year) or " our James " would equally naturally think of the Salisbury Avon (as Lucas pointed out), i.e. the "Avon rich in fame " of the poet Daniel (Herbert's tutor, called the " Sweetest Swan of Avon") where near-to at Wilton, " the man Shakespeare " once had been *persona grata*. Then again Jonson's words "And though thou hadst small Latine, and lesse Greeke " are capable of two interpretations, (1) that his mind was tinged with jealousy, in which case the phrase though hypercritical, pedantic and untrue, would imply (i.e. through " hadst ") that Shakespeare was dead, or (2) that the word " hadst " is subjunctive in tense (as suggested by Konrad Meier) in which case it would mean ' even if thou hadst ' ; and this, in respect of Plays no longer new, would not necessarily imply that the poet was dead, any more than Jonson's use of the past tense elsewhere in relation to the dramatist who had long ceased to write. A similar ambiguity appears in Jonson's refusal to acquiesce in Basse's wish (p. 124) that Shakespeare should lie next to Chaucer, Spenser and Beaumont in Westminster Abbey, a most significant refusal, the churlishness of which (if the poet had been really dead) Jonson softened by the lines :—

Thou art a Moniment, without a tombe,
And art aliue still, while thy Booke doth liue.

It is possible of course to attach a literal as well as figurative meaning to the words " art alive," but the figurative sense of the first of these lines, incongruous in relation to the grasping actor-money-lender, sleeping in the tomb

near his new monument in Stratford Church, is singularly appropriate to the living Earl of Derby, like the non-committal word ' Buskin' which could apply figuratively to him or literally to his amateur acting, or like the ambiguous verses of I.M.S. in the second Folio (p. 163). The fact is, Jonson whose utterances generally were so clear cut and trenchant, was altogether enigmatic about Shakespeare's personality, both in the Droeshout Poem and in his noble eulogy to the poet, as if designedly obscure because he had something to conceal ; at all events he nowhere *specifically* links his praise with the Stratford actor. He certainly allowed Heminge and Condell to do so, but at the cost of contradicting himself (through them) over their praise about having received no " blot in his papers," for in his eulogy Jonson on the contrary insisted that all good poets, like Shakespeare, are " made, as well as borne," that they must " strike the second heat / Vpon the Muses anuile."

So much then for the contradictions, inconsistencies and prevarications which criticism brings to light, making it impossible to accept the Folio prefaces at their face value. Another damaging piece of evidence, advanced by Greenwood, nullifying the actors' assumption that their " Friend and Fellow " was Shakespeare, is the well known petition of 1635 by Cuthbert, Winifred and William Burbage (brother, widow and son of Richard, who died in 1619) to one of the " paire of brethren " Philip, now Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. This appeal, to support them over their threatened rights in the Globe theatre, set forth earnestly all that the Burbages had done for drama and mentioned various actors, including " those deserveing men Shakspere, Hemings, Condall, Phillips and others." It would be a strange omission indeed on the part of the petitioners if they had failed to strengthen their case by pointing out the supreme distinction of one of these actors who, twelve years previously, the Earl had been told was Shakespeare of the Folio. Instead, the actor was merely grouped among the other " deserveing men," without distinction ; and further in their reference to the Blackfriars theatre they merely grouped him with the other actors by saying they " placed men players which were Hemings, Condall, Shakespeare etc " On all grounds therefore it may be fairly concluded that the Folio ascription was mythical—a clever device for concealing the real author behind the mask of his Batillus, by the simple trick of giving his name its usual London spelling, identical with the poet's pen-name, and by playing on the credulity of two actors and three minor poets.

Ben Jonson and Shakspere.

It may be taken as axiomatic that, for a long time, Jonson like the actors identified Shakespeare with Shakspere, and in what follows the latter is always assumed to be the man involved whenever the character clearly fits the actor. Unfortunately there are no documented records of any contact between Jonson and Shakspere though there are various traditional stories later, which may or may not be true. The story that he befriended Jonson in 1598 over his rejected Play, *Everyman in his humour*, and induced the Lord Chamberlain company to produce it at the Curtain is very likely true ; at all events " Shakespeare " [i.e. Shakspere] acted in it (possibly the part of the elder Knowell). We also know that he acted in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* in 1603, about the time of the traditional " wit-combates," that were later said by Fuller (*b.* 1608) to have taken place between " Shakespeare " [i.e. Shakspere] and Ben Jonson at the Mermaid tavern, then the haunt of all the wits including Beaumont, whose well known lines to Jonson are not inconsistent with Shakspere's participation in such exchanges of wit. Then there is L'Estrange's story about the actor being god-father to one of Ben's children, with its tale of the " Lattin spoones " ; also the anonymous account of the contest between them in writing an epitaph. This is similar to the story of Aubrey (*b.* 1626) about " Shakespeare " writing the Stratford usurer's epitaph (John Combe), which like all these traditions is very doubtful. John Ward, Vicar of Stratford in 1662, is responsible for the

tradition that " Shakespeare Drayton and Ben Jonson . . . . drank too hard " and that this drunken bout* led to the " feavour," which ended Shakspere's life, but it is improbable that Jonson was ever in Stratford-on-Avon. [Shakspere did not remember him in his Will as he did (for memorial rings) Burbage, Heminge and Condell.]

We are on firmer ground when we consider what Ben Jonson actually wrote and weigh it up critically. Apart from the 1623 Folio, his conversation with Drummond (p. 134) and his note on " Shakspeare " (p. 136) Jonson never alluded by name to either Shakespeare or Shakspere, but there is no reasonable doubt that he lampooned the latter in some of his Plays, under the impression that they were the same man. Ben Jonson, a fierce fighter, was the principal protagonist in the war of the theatres (Poetomachia) between 1598 and 1603, which arose through the resentment by Marston, Munday, Daniel and Dekker of his intolerable arrogance and his pedantic theories about drama. [Shakespeare, who stood aloof from all such personal feeling and satire, alluded to this war of the pens in *Hamlet* (II, 2).]. Jonson not only satirised his opponents, as thinly disguised characters in his Plays *Cynthias revels*, *The Poetaster* and *The Case is altered* but probably Shakespeare in *Sejanus*, since a covert criticism of his historical inaccuracies is implied by Jonson's accurate classical delineation, as a contrast to what he considered slipshod methods of dramatic writing. He was indeed a " pestilent fellow " who disapproved of Shakespeare's violation of his own pedantic principles. After 1603, learning a little wisdom and restraint, he abandoned biting satire, but from beginning to end his attitude towards Shakespeare was thoroughly inconsistent ; indeed if he could be imagined as a witness to-day in a law-court, he would be simply told by the Judge to stand down and not befog the issue. But until at least 1619 everything that he wrote shows that he was critical and contemptuous, if not envious, of Shakespeare. Also among his many Epigrams praising notable contemporaries, he never addressed one of praise to the poet—only the scathing " Poet-ape " Epigram to the man he no doubt thought was Shakespeare ; while on various occasions he sneered† at certain Plays, including *Titus Andronicus*, *Winter's Tale*, *Tempest*, *Henry V*, *Henry VI* and *Pericles* (a "mouldy tale ").

His first satirical attack at the age of 26 in 1599, was in his Play *Everyman out of his humour*, which ridiculed (among others) Shakespeare [i.e. Shakspere] in the thinly disguised character Sogliardo, an identification which has long been accepted for two good reasons. They are : (1) because much of the ridicule relates to Sogliardo's struggle to write himself a gentleman by securing from the Herald's office (by payment of £30) a Coat of Arms emblazoned " Not Without Mustard," at the time that Shakspere, after certain tortuous proceedings, had just succeeded in the same attempt (p. 104) with the motto " Non sanz droict," and (2) because Ben Jonson's Comedy has numerous oblique allusions to the text of Shakespeare including characters (Justice Silence and Sir John Falstaff). Indeed so sure is the identification of Sogliardo with Shakspere that Jonson's Play is worthy of the closest study as affording the best available information of the character and life of the actor at the time, provided of course that due allowance is made for Jonson's exaggeration in caricaturing him.

* There is no more evidence for the truth of this story than there is of Shakspere's vulgar orgy at " Drunken Bidford," told to Malone by a Stratford native ; but these Warwickshire legends seem at least to reflect a *banal* reputation, as congruous to the general character of the man as it is acutely incongruous to the author of (let us say) *Hamlet* or *The Tempest*.

† Yet he borrowed unconsciously from Shakespeare in some of his masques, as for example that at Althorp (1603), the *Masque of Queens* (1609) and *Oberon* (1611).

There is no malice in the sketch ; only ridicule. Sogliardo is a bragging simpleton, *boastful* of possessing more land than he actually owns, a yeoman who has followed the plough (V, 2) like his mean brother Sordido, desiring at all costs to appear as a gentleman and ape their ways, in smoking etc. [Shakespeare's Plays never refer to smoking.] Though contemptuously spoken of by other characters in the Play as " this clod," " this hulk of ignorance," this " shallow fool " who " cannot abide a scholar," Sogliardo is not without good nature, as for example when he tries to stop a quarrel (V, 3) or when after being made a fool of at the Palace with Saviolina (same scene) he says " I think I did my part." He is brainless and easily hood-winked, but of fair revenue and estate (IV, 6) ; is foolish in conversation and *boasts* of what he can do (II, 1) ; has " toiled among the harrots " [heralds] but his Coat of Arms is ridiculed (III, 1) ; and he is described in *mock* Shakespearian terms by Puntovarlo [probably Anthony Munday] as a travelled scholar, wit and master of languages, able to act and imitate anything (V, 2). Ben Jonson does not anywhere in the Comedy indicate what Sogliardo's profession was ; he was of course too clever to make the identification absolute and would have no wish to quarrel with the older man Shakspere, then 35, whom he would regard as an actor-playwright, one of a number of others, drawn like himself from humble origins—all histrionically on the wrong track. If Shakspere had befriended him in 1598 he would at least have been grateful ; he may even have been impressed for a time by Shakspere's volubility and braggadocio in taverns, but a man like Jonson must have soon perceived that it was all froth. Any Plays such a boaster could write might be popular, i.e. the Shakespeare Plays, but they must be poor stuff and, defying the " unities," not worth studying.

In *The Poetaster* (1601) Jonson severely attacked " poet-apes " (actor-playwrights) and players generally, but Tucca's allusion to players (I, 1) and " rascals " that are " blazoned," together with the context and the word " tricked," show that Jonson was still irritated by Shakspere's heraldic deceit (p. 104). This Play was no doubt mainly an attack on Marston and Dekker, concealed in the characters Crispinus and Fannius, but in his merciless use of the bludgeon in the last Act, Jonson in the character of Horace again obliquely vented some of his spleen on Shakespeare [i.e. Shakspere] by linking him with Marston and making the character a composite one, as is indicated by his use of the hyphen in the satirical trial scene (V, 1) of " Crispinus, alias Cri-spinas, poetaster and plagiary," a phrase which was undoubtedly meant to sting the hyphenated Shake-speare. [Greenwood in this connection noted Shakespeare's Crispin Crispianus (*Henry V*, IV, 3) ; also the Latin *crispo*, I shake.] That the purge scene was a satire on Shakespeare is confirmed by the well known converse allusion in the Cambridge *Parnassus* Play (p. 115), where " Shake-speare " [i.e. Shakspere] is reported as having " given him [Horace, i.e. Jonson] a purge that made him beray [soil] his credit," whatever this means.

Jonson may have been playing to the gallery in all this satire, and he apparently remained on friendly terms with Shakspere at least till 1603, but he must have found out sometime between 1600 and 1612 that Shakspere had been doing business as a broker of Plays and that he was a plagiarist-thief [i.e. Shakespeare as he supposed] of other writers' works. The denunciatory " Poet-ape " Epigram can only be reasonably referred to Shakspere ; it is No. 56 out of a total of 133 Epigrams which Jonson dedicated to his Patron, the Earl of Pembroke, and though they were first published in Jonson's Folio in 1616 they were licensed for publication in 1612. Many of them refer to events between 1603 and 1612, and one of them is in praise of the Earl of Derby's

sister-in-law (Countess of Montgomery) while another which must be of date 1605 is to Derby's relative, Lord Mounteagle who exposed the Gunpowder Plot. It is therefore possible that the " Poet-ape " Epigram was written about the time (1604) that (according to the present writer, p. 121) Shakspere had over-reached himself and was dismissed by the Earl of Derby, in which case though Jonson would not know the circumstances he might have ' smelt a rat ' ; but whatever the date, he was unrepentant up to the time of Shakspere's death in 1616. The first nine lines of this withering indictment run (modern spelling):

> Poor Poet-ape, that would be thought our chief,
> Whose works are e'en the frippery of wit,
> From brokage is become so bold a thief,
> As we, the robbed, leave rage and pity it.
> At first he made low shifts, would pick and glean,
> Buy the reversion of old plays ; now grown
> To a little wealth, and credit in the scene
> He takes up all, makes each man's wit his own :
> And told of this, he slights it. . . . .

These scathing words of contempt which undoubtedly sum up Jonson's opinion of Shakespeare [i.e. Shakspere] at that time, together with Greene's words (p. 113), engendered subsequent orthodox opinion that the poet was a plagiarist ; for they are a plain echo of Greene's denunciation of Shake-scene and his description of the boasting procurer, but in neither case is Shakespeare the subject. When Jonson's Poet-ape delineation and Greene's Shake-scene words are taken in conjunction with the internal evidence afforded by Shakespeare's Art and by Jonson's two Plays, just discussed, the facts are susceptible to only one reasonable explanation, viz that the allusions both refer to the same bragging thief of Plays that Jonson mistook for Shakespeare, the suppositious " author " whose *known* character anyway serves as a logical mediate term in the syllogistic reasoning. That this man was not Shakespeare, despite Jonson's mistaken belief, is confirmed independently by John Davies's Epigram (p. 43) written somewhere about the same time as Jonson's, for in it he portrays " Will Shake-speare " as the diametric opposite of Jonson's " Poet-ape " ; he is *honest* in his work, indeed the *victim* of other people's piracy and theft. It is beyond the bounds of possibility that such opposed descriptions, by Greene and Jonson on the one hand and by Davies on the other, all clear-headed shrewd men, could apply to the same individual. No evidence, perhaps, is more eloquent in emancipating the mind than the combined testimony of these three witnesses, which proves conclusively that there were two men involved in the case, one (agent) boastingly masquerading as the other (poet) ; for Greene's man in 1592 was beyond a peradventure Shakspere no less than Jonson's poet-ape, but Davies's man was Shakespeare himself.

In the summer of 1618 when Ben Jonson set out to walk all the way to Scotland and eventually became the guest, in April and May 1619, of Drummond of Hawthornden, the latter drew him out on many subjects, but unkindly made notes of his outspoken comments. Jonson might not have been so blunt if he had known his remarks would be divulged, but when asked his opinion of Shakespeare said " that Shaksperr wanted arte . . . Sheakspear, in a play brought in a number of men saying they had suffered Shipwrack in Bohemia wher y^r is no Sea neer by some 100 Miles." So here* in 1619, we have Ben Jonson still critical of Shakespeare, probably holding the same

* The geography of *Winter's Tale* was of course adopted from Greene's *Pandosto*, but Jonson's criticism nevertheless betrays his historical ignorance, for in 1262 when Ottocar II was King of Austria and Bohemia, the latter province extended to the Adriatic sea at Istria.

opinion he had held for 20 years, not only because of his own pet theories but in unforgotten contempt for a quondam friend now dead whom he secretly despised i.e. Shakspere. Four years later came the astounding volte-face of the Folio encomium, with its exquisite praise, ostensibly for the man he had so often criticised, lampooned and even reprobated ; now, " The applause ! delight ! the wonder of our Stage ! " the " Starre of Poets " whose " well torned, and true filed lines " outshone the glory of all other poets. As Jonson cannot be set down a fool, it may be taken as certain, either that he was not talking about the same man, or that some extraordinary change of mind had occurred. Groping in the mists of conflicting evidence, here we only step into a maze of pure conjecture, but in the writer's view what probably happened was that he was ' let into ' the secret of Derby authorship by Bacon (now Baron Verulam) about 1620, when Jonson was either at Gorhambury or York House, assisting in translating Bacon's *Novum Organum* into Latin. He was one of the " good pens " that Bacon spoke of in 1623, as we know because (later) Archbishop Tenison said that among the " diverse hands " employed in the work of translation " Mr. Benjamin Johnson " was one. Jonson at that time was a most fervent admirer of Bacon with whom he was in close touch, and on 22nd January 1621 he was at the celebration of Bacon's 60th birthday, when he composed an Ode in honour of the event. We may then hypothetically suppose that Bacon disillusioned him about Shakespeare some time between 1620 and 1623, and that for the first time he took the trouble to study some of the Plays ; after which he agreed to act as editor in the projected Folio scheme of the Jaggards, having had experience with his own 1616 Folio. He would be faced with the difficulty that numerous Plays were not in the hands of the King's company and he might have requested Bacon, as intermediary, to secure the missing copies from the Earl of Derby who, no longer interested, would consent provided that his *incognito* were still preserved, by retaining the familiar pseudonymic ' Shakespeare ' of the Quartos for the Folio.

The Earl, himself the soul of sincerity, would hardly condone the flagrant deception of the prefaces, but he would not see them, and being as usual indifferent simply permitted the name Shakespeare, while Jonson did his best in difficult circumstances to support the mask without actual lying. But distressed as he was at the time by the loss of his library through fire, he seems to have been unable to cope with the laborious task of editing properly the mass of tangled manuscripts in his hands, for which he can scarcely be blamed considering the magnitude of the undertaking. This imaginary train of events may be wide of the mark, but there can be no doubt about the general confusion and textual defects due to some such hap-hazard process ; for apart from wide-spread corruption of Plays emanating from the theatre which had been mutilated or " improved " by foreign interpolations, other Plays were omitted altogether (*Pericles* and those discussed in Chap. XI) and one (*Troilus and Cressida*) not in the " catalogve " was only included by an after-thought.

Lefranc and Lucas suggested that the original autographs of the Folio Plays would be in the Eagle Tower of Lathom, destroyed in 1645. Whether there or in the ransacked libraries, there is small chance now of any turning up ; but before the destruction of Lathom the contents had been partly transferred to Rushen Castle I.O.M., which surrendered in 1651. Here many books and papers were " sequestered," but a few years later (1654) the 7th Countess of Derby recovered some 360 large and 570 small books, together with maps and many pictures (Raines, *Seventh Earl of Derby*). Later, according to Raines (*loc. cit.* p. cccii) the books and family papers were dispersed in 1703 after the death of William 9th Earl of Derby (*d.* 1702) by his daughter Lady Ashburnam (*b.* 1687) who sold them publicly ; but though some of them were bought by her Uncle James, 10th Earl of Derby, when he died in

1736 they were scattered or purloined and " many never came into the possession of the eleventh earl." One of these books must have been Stow's *Annales* (p. 96) and another Parsons' book on the *Conference* (p. 26) ; another may be Hall's *Union of the Families of Lancaster and York* (1550) discovered by Alan Keen* (*Bulletin of John Rylands Library Manchester*, 1940 Vol. 24 No. 2) replete with annotations bearing on Shakespeare's Histories.

Shakespeare was an actor who knew his Stage—so Henry Irving ; of this there is no doubt, but the consummate stage-craft revealed by the Dramas far transcends mere experience in acting, of which Stanley must have had plenty (p. 88). In the creation of ' atmosphere,' in the unrivalled technique, in music, in the avoidance of biting satire or invective and in much else besides exits and entrances, we see histrionic niceties which he had learnt in a finer school than any London theatre ; whether as sympathetic witness of the primitive endeavours at Chester or as participator in the refined histrionics of Oxford, Gray's Inn, the Court, Lathom, Knowsley and other large houses. On foundations like these, with such a passionate devotee as Stanley, it is easy to understand why Shakespeare's Art has so high a reach ; why, unlike Jonson for instance, he never made his Plays the vehicle for moral instruction or for displaying classical knowledge and still less for pedantic theories of drama. Without ' playing to the gallery,' so emotionally true was his stage-craft that as we know from Leonard Digges (about 1640) the people, finding Jonson tedious, flocked to the theatre whenever Shakespeare was billed ; just as to-day even the " groundlings " are spell-bound by the general drift of the action, in spite of all the philosophy and subtle imagery intelligible only to the acute perception of the educated few. For as every producer knows, Shakespeare's adroit management of dramatic situations covers many subtleties such as the silent march of events, the telling pauses or even the mere juxta-position of particular characters on the stage at given moments, apart from the wonderful language itself—so often alas ! ruined by faulty elocution.

Ben Jonson's final obscurity. Some time between about 1630 and Jonson's death in 1637, he committed his thoughts to paper on a great variety of subjects, these notes being published posthumously in 1640, under the title *Timber or Discoveries made upon men and matter*. Among them is an article, entitled *De Shakspeare nostrat*, in whose few lines there is such a remarkable contradiction of what he said in 1623 that the reader gasps, for Jonson is once again back at his carping criticism. While professing that he " lov'd the man, and [I] do honour his memory, on this side Idolatry as much as any," adding that he was " honest and of an open and free nature ; had an excellent Phantasie, brave notions, and gentle expressions," he qualified this praise by severe strictures. Thus (modern spelling) " he flowed with that facility, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped : *Sufflaminandus erat*, as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his own power, would the rule of it had been so too." The allusion to Haterius, as Greenwood showed, proves abundantly that Jonson was referring to volubility in *speech*, not to writing ; but a little earlier he also castigated him for his prolixity in this too, " wherein he most faulted," by deploring the actors' frequent praise of their " friend " in having " never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, Would he had blotted a thousand." Jonson also added, " Many times he fell into those things, could not escape laughter," such as that about Caesar (see p. 137) and summed up his damnation with the faint praise, " But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned."

* Through the courtesy of Mr. Keen the present writer has carefully inspected his copy of *Hall* and identified the handwriting of the annotations as Stanley's.

What has become of the " Starre of Poets " who rivalled "Aeschilus, Euripedes and Sophocles," one whose writings were " such / As neither Man, nor Muse, can praise too much " ? Making all allowance for the difference between a public eulogium and " closet opinion," it seems impossible to reconcile such an acute contradiction, as a portrayal of the same man. In this private utterance he was certainly speaking of Shakespeare, but with the attributes and " vices " of Shakspere, so that after all they *were* the same (to Jonson at least), in which case he was a consummate hypocrite in 1623. This again is incredible and an *impasse* is reached ; a dilemma from which there seems to be no escape. The facts are clear but conflicting, as so often is the case with Shakespeare, and as sometimes happens in law-courts or even in scientific investigation, where the irreconcilability may be made intelligible by further probing. Unfortunately Jonson cannot literally be placed in the witness box, and (figurative) cross-examination fails to extract the truth from him despite his prolixity in writing. We know that he was a fearless and honest critic who hated hypocrisy, but there is no really valid evidence that he was envious of Shakespeare (even in the " small Latine " remark) though this is possible and has been often assumed. In the circumstances only two alternatives seem open, (1) to reject the whole of Jonson's testimony in relation to Shakespeare and the Folio because it is disruptively self-contradictory, or (2) to seek a conjectural hypothesis which would reconcile the conflict.

To the present writer (1) seems un-necessarily drastic because a solution of the riddle seems possible by way of (2), the key to which might lie in Jonson's own admission of failing memory at the time he wrote his *Discoveries*. A little prior to his note on Shakespeare there is in fact an article entitled *Memoria* in which he records that he once had a splendid memory but that now, " it is much decayed in me," " shaken with age now, and sloth—it may perform somewhat, but cannot promise much " ; a candid confession which calls in doubt the accuracy of his recollections as an old man and permits us to attempt a rectification conformable with his past experiences. For perhaps 20 years of his earlier life he had been under the illusion that Shakspere was the author of the Plays, condemned not only because they violated his " laws " but because he despised the man ; and being full of his own masques and Plays he did not take the trouble to study the Shakespeare Quartos. At first no doubt he was greatly taken by the ' tall talk ' of a man, nine years older than himself, on convivial occasions at the Mermaid or " the Sun, the Dog, the Triple Tun " referred to later by Herrick ; he may then have even " loved the man " in gratitude (p. 133) but sooner or later Shakspere must have given himself away. For instance, perhaps ' in his cups ' indulging in a display of his third rate histrionic ability in a tavern, when someone else quoted " Caesar, thou dost me wrong " (as Jonson puts it) he blurted out " Caesar did never wrong, but with just cause," a solecism which is not in Shakespeare's Play nor is ever likely to have been there. The mistake and others like it were not lost on Ben who treasured them up in his mind, to be ' trotted out ' years later in *Discoveries*, with the comment " which were ridiculous." When, long after the supposed incident, he wrote about Shakespeare he may have mentally lapsed into the old illusion, which had once had such a firm hold upon him, becoming thoroughly confused as to the identity of the man he was talking about. Shakspere was once more Shakespeare ; the image in his mind had become a composite one blurred by the long time interval, and so it failed to reproduce the truth, in much the same kind of way that an oft-repeated tale told in the garrulity of senescence bears little relation to the original facts.

The entire passage in *Discoveries*, otherwise a complete enigma, may be interpreted psychologically as the phenomenon of a partially lapsed memory, embedding an experience (confused identity) which had left a latent image on his mind. Such at all events is the writer's explanation, which seems to find some support in Jonson's spelling ' Shakspeare,' instead of ' Shakespeare,' as he spelt the name in his forgotten eulogy of 1623 ; for his spelling lacks the significant syllable " shake," that then he emphasised so meaningly when he wrote :—

" he seemes to shake a Lance,
As brandish't at the eyes of Ignorance."

CHAPTER VIII

SHAKESPEARE AND BACON

THE Baconian theory of identity *primâ facie* is eminently reasonable and it is vain to burke the issue by mere uninformed hostility or what is worse ridicule ; it should be the business of any fair-minded critic dispassionately to weigh up the supporting facts, not simply piecemeal but *as a whole* by Bacon's own system of inductive reasoning—the surest road to objective truth. Polemical experience has taught scientists, at least, to walk warily among the facts ; for however massive the evidence may be for any theory if, as here, the supporting facts can be individually explained otherwise, while other facts obtrude themselves of real (not apparent) incompatibility the total counts for nothing. That is the position with the Baconian theory, which on close scrutiny reveals many damning incompatibilities. Further the positive evidence, though *cryptically* conclusive in his favour, is found to be *factually* indecisive ; as for instance in the many admitted Play coincidences which, unlike those reproducing Derby's life experiences, relate rather to what Bacon wrote than what he did. As to cryptic evidence, the extravagant claims Bacon is alleged to have made in various secret ciphers in the Folio and elsewhere, about which so much ink has been spilt, would show him self-convicted of a grandiose obsession amounting to literary mania ; for in the reconstructed cipher story he not only poses as Shakespeare but asserts that he also wrote the works of Spenser, Peele, Greene, Marlowe and even Ben Jonson. Space forbids any discussion here of these fantastic claims beyond the remark that the present writer's critical examination of the supposed cipher narrative reveals a singularly un-Baconian style of prose, with not a few Victorian modernisms in vocabulary and phrasing, all of which seem symptomatic of decipherer's auto-suggestion.

Factual evidence.

Full consideration of all that has been adduced in favour of the Baconian theory is not possible in this short critique, but it is sufficiently obvious that a legal luminary of Bacon's stature fulfils many of the pre-requisite conditions laid down in Chapter I not excluding travel experience, patriotism, classical attainments, musical ability and of course consummate statesmanship ; qualities however which even cumulatively are not decisive, and the unhappy seal of ambiguity stamps all other evidence advanced. For instance, about the time of the Folio publication (1623) Sir Tobie Mathew, Bacon's great friend and literary helper, wrote him a letter in his usual obsequious language, adding by way of post-script " The most prodigious wit that I ever knew . . . is of your lordship's name, though he be known by another." This letter (so far as is known) had nothing to do with the Folio, but was concerned with a promised visit by Bacon, yet it was natural that Baconians should have construed the other name into Shakespeare. Bacon no doubt had a " prodigious wit " and immense knowledge, as Sir Tobie [who often discussed Galileo Galilei (p. 145) with him] knew, but his flattery may be alternatively construed as referring to

the philosophic writings which had made his name famous as Bacon (the other name), not Lord Verulam or Viscount St. Alban, as he was when Sir Tobie addressed him. So again, the allusions by Hall and by Marston (1597-8) to ' Labeo,' supposed to be a satirical nick-name for Bacon as author of *Venus and Adonis*, being quite problematical are evidentially valueless. Other ambiguous evidence advanced is the *Promus*, discussed briefly later (p. 149) and the Northumberland manuscript, which has been submitted to careful scrutiny (Appendix II) by the present writer. For here the important new discovery has been made that, in addition to the names Shakespeare and Bacon on the sheet, the Earl of Derby was involved and actually wrote on it, that in fact it can be interpreted to mean he had been jokingly linked with Shakespeare by the scribblers. As to other evidence in favour of Bacon, most of it applies with equal force to the Earl of Oxford or the Earl of Derby, and so is also indecisive, as for instance intellectual eminence (though more openly displayed by Bacon), concealed poetic genius, stage experience, legal knowledge etc.

Counter evidence.

Any incompatibility if demonstrably true *as a fact* would, as repeatedly insisted on in this book, suffice to make the hypothesis untenable. Bacon lacked Shakespeare's fundamental experience of the sea, military matters, falconry, hunting and horses, but perhaps the most glaring fact of inconsistency is the contrast between Bacon's handwriting and Shakespeare's Hand in the ' Mistress ' Poem (pp. 255-6) and in *Sir Thomas More* (Hands D and E, Appendix I). These precious specimens of Shakespeare's autograph have been proved by the most rigorous tests to be genuine, and comparison of the writing with Bacon's script* shows similarity only in so far as both resemble that of a law-clerk. Between the two there is a profound difference, not merely in the shapes of the letters but in word structure and general calligraphic habits, so that even a tyro could distinguish between the two pen-men. For example, Bacon like many writers sometimes gave the minuscle letter *a* a sharp point or spur on the left but generally made an actual *loop* instead of spur, which D i.e. Shakespeare never did, and similar habitual differences extend throughout the whole alphabet ; while on the other hand careful examination shows that there is complete agreement between Shakespeare's writing habits (shapes, flourishes etc.) and Derby's.

Another fact of Baconian inconsistency is Shakespeare's ' Dowland ' Sonnet (p. 251) printed in 1598 and 1599, admitting Knighthood which (no less than Shakspere) excludes Bacon, for he was not knighted till 1603. Then there are the three W.S. Poems (Chap. XII) proved to be early Shakespearian fragments, which in conjunction with Sonnets **135, 136** and **143** show that the poet's Christian name was ' Will ' and that his surname began with S (p. 7), a set of facts that can only be reconciled with Bacon by assuming that he initialled himself ' W.S.' in 1577 (p. 242) when he was only 16, called himself ' Will ' about 1588 (Sonnet **136**—see p. 323) and used the pen-name ' William Shakespeare ' in 1593. The assumptions may be not un-reasonable but they are far-fetched and unsupported by the least evidence.

As for item (3) on p. 7 where Bacon contradicts Shakespeare on a point of history, there may be some doubt as to who was right about the crowning of Henry VII, but Brereton's ballad (p. 12) of the Stanleys makes out that both the 1st Earl of Derby and his younger brother Sir William Stanley placed the

* As found in his earlier correspondence and in his private notes (*Promus*). Bacon was a voluminous writer, and there is no doubt about his autograph.

crown on the heads of Henry and his Queen Elizabeth at their joint coronation, while Bacon in his *History of Henry VII* states that Henry's coronation, on 30th October 1485, was prior to his marriage (18th January 1486) and that the Queen was not crowned till two years later. This matter however is only of academic interest, since the vital point is what happened on the battlefield at Bosworth (22nd August 1485). Bacon's words are explicit ; he says :—

> " Sir William Stanley, after some acclamations of the soldiers in the field, had put a crown of ornament, which Richard wore in the battlefield, and was found amongst the spoils, upon King Henry's head, as if there were his chief title."

Shakespeare (*Richard III*, V, 4) who does not bring Sir William Stanley into the Play at all (though he played a decisive part in the battle and actually saved Henry's life) gives the honour to Thomas, Lord Stanley (afterwards 1st Earl of Derby) who carried in his hands the crown of " royalty " which

> " From the dead temples of this bloody wretch
> Have I plucked off to grace thy brows withal :
> Wear it, enjoy it and make much of it."

No less significant than this contrast is the fact that in his *History of Henry VII* Bacon's attitude to the Stanleys wholly lacks the partiality of Shakespeare in the History Plays. The contradiction between the two is therefore not confined to a single point ; Bacon for instance clearly accepted the guilt of Sir William Stanley over the Perkin Warbeck conspiracy in 1495, and in his book summed up strongly against Sir William though the evidence was weak. It was the voluntary allegation of Sir Robert Clifford, charging Sir William with having said that *if* Warbeck were really son of Edward IV (i.e. Richard Duke of York) he (Sir William) would never bear arms against him. Bacon states that on interrogation Sir William confessed sufficient " for condemnation," though the guilt is not clear and probably he disdained to defend himself against the base imputation of disloyalty to Henry VII, so that there was almost certainly a miscarriage of justice. Whether or not, Bacon with characteristic forensic skill argued that the words alleged at the time amounted to treason and so justified his execution, but he made no comment on the King's odious ingratitude or any suggestion that mercy might have been shown in view of the flimsy evidence. Plain History is of course no place for emotional expression, though this omission and Bacon's coldly judicial summing up nevertheless show (like the Essex trial, p. 143) how he lacked not only Stanley bias but the *clemency* of Shakespeare.

It cannot be urged as counter-evidence that Bacon was not a poet, for there is no doubt that he could write poetry. This is shown by some translations (1624) of the Psalms, whose poor quality may be due to the fact that he was then an old and broken man. He seems to have referred to himself as a " concealed " poet, at the end of a letter (28th March 1603) to Sir John Davies (then on his way to meet the new King arriving from Scotland) desiring him to imprint " a good conceit and opinion of me," with a view to advancement. So far as can be gathered however Bacon, who preferred narrative and allegorical poetry to lyric, regarded poesie as a handmaid to learning rather than something great in itself ; poetry as a spiritually uplifting emotion soaring into the infinite, stirring the intellect no less than pure Science itself, eluded him altogether. Yet he must have written sufficiently well to justify the praise of John Davies of Hereford who in his Epigram " *To the royall, ingenious, and all-learned knight* Sr. Francis Bacon," wrote :—

> " So utterst Law the livelyer through thy *Muse*
> And for that all thy *Notes* are sweetest *Aires*."

But none of the Master's genius appears in his poetry. Thus the Poem commencing " The world's a bubble " signed ' Fra. Lord Bacon ' only in the later editions of *Rel. Wotton.*, and the M.S. Poem commencing " The man of life upright," signed ' Fra. Bacon,' both presumably his and full of sententious but insipid wisdom, utterly lack the familiar qualities of Shakespeare's verse. Baconians, interpreting Davies's Epigram as confirmation of their theory, perhaps justifiably accept his word " royall " in its literal sense. If this were so the counter-evidence under item (2) on p. 7 would be cancelled, but it should be noted that Shakespeare and others sometimes used the word ' royal ' figuratively (as for instance in *A.Y.L.* IV, 3, 118). It may be of course that Davies called him a " royall " knight because he was created by James I, in order to distinguish such knighthood from that conferred by some Earls ; at all events Bacon never claimed Royal birth, though he said (to the Duke of Lennox in 1622) without any mystery that he was born at York House. His supposititious cipher narrative makes out that he was the son of Queen Elizabeth, her baby having been secretly conveyed by connivance of doctor and midwife to Lady Nicholas Bacon, who had just been delivered of a still-born child ; so that if this fantastic story were true she was only his foster mother, and Bacon was true heir to the throne. As a matter of fact the Queen was at Whitehall Palace (an extension of York House) at the time of Bacon's birth (22nd January 1561), because only four days earlier she had witnessed a performance of *Gorboduc* (by Sackville and Norton) ; but apart from the gross inherent improbability of the narrative, John Davies's other Epigram i.e. to " Will Shake-speare " (p. 43) cannot apply (line 3) to Bacon because far from being disqualified (by having played " kingly parts in sport ") he was at the time very much in fact " a companion for a King "—indeed he was in constant and most intimate association with James I between 1606 and 1621, as his principal adviser. It is as impossible to fit this Epigram to Bacon as it is to Shakspere, but both it and the above generous Epigram of Davies to Bacon are probably responsible for auto-suggestion, which inspired the cipher " discovery " that he was the Queen's son by Robert Dudley (later Earl of Leicester).

Whether Bacon wrote any of the poetry of the Masques fathered by Gray's Inn, as for instance that of 20th February 1613 or of Twelfth Night 1614, is doubtful ; in any case this poetry is very mediocre, and it is more probable that he wrote some of the prose parts, as in the case of the 1594-5 revels (p. 148). Prose, magnificent prose, was his *métier* ; his temperament was philosophical not poetical, and though of music he said he liked " simple airs," its deep emotional content as understood by Shakespeare had no enchantment for him.

Bacon's character.

The glaring contrast between the character of Bacon and Shakespeare, next to hand-writing the most fundamental of all the incompatibilities which beset the theory of identity, shows itself in many ways—the sincerity, clemency and self-effacing modesty of Shakespeare stand in eloquent contradiction to the insincerity, inclement justice, self-assertion and inordinate ambition of Bacon. Consciousness of intellectual superiority drove him to an unrestrained ' cock-sureness ; ' and modesty was simply not in him. His insincerity took various forms, more particularly sycophancy to serve his own ends (as for instance obsequiousness to his own cousin, later Earl of Salisbury, whom after his death he deprecated severely in a letter to the King) or callous anticipation of the death of sick men he wanted to succeed. Just and honourable in high

office, but without tenderness to the guilty, after his own fall in April 1621 he whined for mercy from the King and Marquis of Buckingham, in repeated supplications of cringing servility. In office, with *suavibus modis*, not clemency, ever his watch word, his sustained policy was to uphold the Law and the King's prerogative ; but self-advancement ever remained the principal mainspring of his motives. Following repeated failures to obtain the high office which he coveted, he became an indecorous place-seeker, a cynical opportunist to whom touting and gross flattery (especially of the King) seemed second nature ; even after he had become Solicitor General in 1606. He achieved greatness indeed no less by these ignoble methods than by his forensic eloquence as barrister or skill as law-adviser to the Crown ; but not " all great Neptune's ocean " of his learning can wash out the stigma of self-seeking ambition, which so sharply distinguishes him from his great contemporary. Zeal for justice might explain but cannot condone his ungenerous posture towards the Earl of Essex, when the debt is remembered that he owed to the unhappy Earl, at least in the days of Bacon's early struggles for wealth and position. His advice to Essex before the Irish campaign of 1599 was itself tinged with insincerity and, subsequently torn between endeavours to serve both him and the Queen, he tortuously faced both ways ; but Bacon's crowning act of ingratitude followed the abortive revolt of February 1601. With his masterly skill he might yet have saved Essex, by pleading mitigation of punishment or even by allowing the case to go by default through Coke's blundering ; instead he brought his deadly power to bear on the conduct of the proceedings, and so sealed the fate of the unfortunate prisoner. It is characteristic of Bacon that, after the execution of Essex, in his "Apologie " there should be no hint of any remorse, only justification, but whatever the rights and wrongs of the case may be, posterity has long since recognised that Bacon in upholding the Law and the Crown violated a most sacred principle of humanity—gratitude—verily purblind to Shakespeare's " quality of mercy."

He does not appear to have had any deep love or affection for anyone, save his brother Anthony who died in 1601. He did not marry till 45, an alderman's daughter Alice Barnham, whose fortune was inadequate to the magnificence on which he was then (1606) embarking. He had been frequently in debt, from which he had been rescued by his brother or by Essex, and now he was commencing to live beyond his means though drawing a princely salary. Hope of further favour or emolument drove him to bribe and flatter the King's favourite, Earl of Somerset, and later to pay sycophantic homage to the rising star of Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, through whom he got the coveted office of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in 1617 ; but when he offended Buckingham by opposing his brother's marriage to Sir Edward Coke's daughter, he was apologetically abject in his climb-down.

So all through his career Bacon manifested a strain of insincerity in his character. One of the greatest men of his or any age, his wisdom failed to exorcise defects embedded in his personality ; " ambition which o'er leaps itself " fostered these defects, and it is part of the penalty of greatness that the search-light of history should expose them. Lesser mortals may feel some consolation for their own faults (if they are aware of them) in recognising his and while facing facts refrain from judgment. His acceptance of bribes which led to his undoing in 1621 (when the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's beloved friend, proved one of his bitterest enemies) was perhaps the least of his faults. His " guilt " was technical rather than real and his offence venial ; but his enemies triumphed and his fall was great, though we may be thankful for it, since it enabled him to devote the few years that remained to re-editing his earlier work on philosophy. Such, in brief, are the facts, mostly revealed by his own voluminous letters, study of which makes it quite impossible to

reconcile Bacon's character with that of Shakespeare ; and beyond this we know that Bacon's views on literature were equally irreconcilable. The greatest prose writer of his time, and one whose glowing oratory excited the unbounded admiration of Ben Jonson, Bacon nevertheless affected to despise his mother tongue ; he is made to say the exact opposite in cipher, but in actual fact he had his principal works translated into Latin, to him the universal and proper vehicle for Philosophy.

Bacon's Philosophy.

After publishing his *Essays* in 1597 he had such grand dreams (about serving Truth by embracing all knowledge) that he could only achieve a fraction of what he intended to do in his great " Instauration," which was conceived originally as far back as 1590 ; and the first two parts, *Novum Organum* (1620) and *de Augmentis* (1623), an enlargement of *Advancement of Learning* (1605), were as far as he got out of the four parts he contemplated, though he prepared fragments of the others. Even as a student he revolted against the Aristotelian deductive (*a priori*) method of " pure " reasoning from few data, which had become the curse of scholasticism, but in sweeping away the cobwebs he was not himself free from its blight, and his sub-divisions in Natural Philosophy were not penetrating. His really great service to Science was in showing the true *method*—experiment and observation, deduction and induction, all step by step, till truth is reached, the senses being utilised in observation, the intellect in reasoning on the facts established. He warns us (following Plato) against cherished idols, particularly the " idols of the mind " i.e. rooted or preconceived ideas which he stigmatises as false reflections, giving distorted images of the truth ; and this warning is not without its irony to those who have replaced Shakspere by Bacon.

He shows how dangerous, in reasoning, words can be unless their precise significance is defined so that these " symbols " should have the same meaning to different people using them. Accordingly in his style of writing though there is a wealth of imagery, his words are those of a precisian—clear cut, while those of Shakespeare are often elastic or " omnibus " in meaning and wildly luxuriant, intended rather to conjure up images in the mind than to crystallise concepts ; also some words like ' innovation,' ' infirm ' or ' lust,' as used by each, have totally different meanings. Bacon's disciplined mind was cast in the mould of Science and Law rather than Art, a fact which induced Harvey, the discoverer of blood-circulation, to sneer that he " writes philosophy like a Lord Chancellor," but to Bacon's enduring glory be it said, he was the spiritual father of the Royal Society ; for it was on his teaching and on his dream-college (' Solomon's House ') of *New Atlantis* that the " Invisible College " of scientists took its inception about 1645, leading in 1661 to the foundation of that great intellectual temple of Science itself.

But Bacon had his limitations in Philosophy. He never probed into fundamentals such as the nature of time, space, matter or mind but took these for granted just as to-day Science perforce must take for granted what it cannot explain—the origin of matter, energy and life. Though generally regarded as the father of Science, he was not himself really a man of Science, nor was he even the first exponent of inductive reasoning. His great contribution was to systematise the latter into a formal procedure and thus point out the proper way for scientific advance. Yet he failed to realise the immense power of Mathematics in the elucidation of intractable problems, and took no notice of Napier's great invention of logarithms. Though by a lucky hit he

anticipated the modern theory of heat, as a mode of motion, he missed altogether the pioneer discoveries in magnetism and electricity of his contemporary Gilbert, though the latter used the inductive system. He was aware of Galilei's telescopic discovery about 1610 of Jupiter's satellites, circling round their primary, but failed to perceive its illimitable significance to cosmogony. The anthropocentric idea of a fixed earth was so rooted in his mind that he could not see the parallel between the Jupiter system and the solar system of planets, including the earth, revolving round the sun. He ignored the reform of Nicolaus Copernicus altogether as well as Kepler's fundamental laws of planetary motion ; and so failed to realise how the new astronomy was destined to revolutionise human thought in all its ramifications by dislodging the earth from its proud position as centre of the Universe. So he classed " planetary orbits " among the fictions, as " false and idle theories," persisting in the time-honoured but discredited geocentric cosmogony of Ptolemy (140 A.D.) which he attempted in vain to save by modification.

During this transitional period, before the new conception of the Universe had emerged, the Shakespeare Plays were composed, yet it is most remarkable that the author nowhere commits himself like Bacon to a clogging belief in the old false geocentric (Ptolemaic) system. It is true that in the fairy panoply of *M.N.D.* (1594) and elsewhere Shakespeare's poetic fantasy freely invokes the Pythagorian heavenly ' spheres,' but without indicating that he was in any way wedded to such obsolescent Science, any more than to a belief in astrology, magic, fairies, or witches with supernatural powers. Never meddling with scientific theory, his allusions to matters of Science or Nature are so non-committal in their phrasing that they are capable of easy interpretation in terms of modern thought, as if the author like Leonardo da Vinci had been gifted with super-normal prescience, and especially so with psychiatry. Truly Shakespeare " was not of an age, but for all time." Take for example the doggerel letter to Ophelia in *Hamlet* (II, 2) as it appears in the two Quartos :—

Q1 (1603)	Q2 (1604)
Doubt that in earth is fire	Doubt thou the starres are fire
Doubt that the starres doe moue	Doubt that the Sunne doth move
Doubt trueth to be a liar	Doubt truth to be a lyer
But doe not doubt I loue.	But never doubt I loue.

The difference in wording has been claimed as supporting authorship by Bacon, because he is believed to have changed his mind about the earth's central heat. He may have done ; but any way it signifies nothing and either reading stands to-day as true. The central temperature of the earth is far above red heat, that of the stars runs to millions of degrees, and they like our own sun, which is only a star near-to, move at velocities ranging from 30 to hundreds of miles a second. It is true that the " doubt " of the second line in Q2 refers, not to this motion, then unknown, but to the Ptolemaic motion round the earth ; yet the line suits modern theory which makes out that all motion is relative in what we now call the time-space continuum. Scientific reality, one of the most elusive things in Philosophy, was not Shakespeare's will-of-the-wisp though it was Bacon's, and he vainly groped for it in the dark.

Bacon's erudition was truly immense but it was mainly in the domain of the Law that he grasped reality, where his comprehension and clear perception far transcended that of his great rival Sir Edward Coke, whom he never ceased to criticise and discredit. But in Science Bacon tripped up repeatedly, losing himself in the vain endeavour to read " Nature's infinite book of secrecy."

In the *Novum Organum*, while denouncing the futility of the schoolmen and their *a priori* methods he was forced, to some extent, to imitate them, for lack of facts established by experiments which he had no time to carry out. What experiments he did make were too primitive to settle anything, and so though he reached sound conclusions respecting porosity, taste and smell, he had absurd ideas on many mechanical, physical and chemical phenomena ; and he never discovered any Law of Nature. Instead of applying his own unrivalled instrument of inductive reasoning to the facts discovered by others, especially Gilbert, Galilei and Kepler, he was suspicious of these facts, because they so often failed to suit his own or prevailing theories ; so missing a great opportunity of philosophic synthesis, he cherished not a few false illusions. His abstractions of logic and his habit of personifying the qualities of inanimate matter often made him a victim of word-obsession, by deceiving him into thinking he had got to the heart of the matter, when as Hamlet said it was merely " words, words, words." Thus for instance he declared that electricity was an ' appetite ' for certain bodies attracted, and that it was insanity to ask why the heavens revolve from East to West instead of vice-versa, because it was with the ' consent ' of the Universe ; and so on.

It is easy of course, and very unjust, to pass judgment in these enlightened days, for errors that then could hardly be avoided, but the issue is comparison with Shakespeare, who never committed himself in the imperturbable way that was so characteristic of Bacon ; while Bacon with his ' prerogative instances,' ' singular instances,' ' ultimities ' and such like obsolete jargon, purporting to explain natural phenomena, simply betrayed scientific ignorance. Shakespeare steered his way so skilfully through the shoals that beset Natural Philosophy that *his* ruminations far from being obsolete are still perennially fresh. This of course is partly due to their poetic content, which precludes comparison with the *Novum Organum*, but in matters touching actual Science the Plays reveal no dogmatic and palpable errors of principle—only a few popular misconceptions. Thus the circulation of the blood had not been promulgated by Harvey till after *Coriolanus* was composed, yet the Aristotelian description (I, 1) suitably modified by the concept of " the rivers of your blood " passes muster to-day without seeming obsolete. So does the vague and distracted question (*Cymbeline* V, 5, 233) " Does the world go round," written long before Bacon discussed the rotation of the earth, without even being able to make up his mind on the subject. Shakespeare in a way anticipated Newton's force of gravitation as directed towards the earth's centre (*Troilus and Cressida*, IV, 2, 111), but there is no clear indication of the new Heliocentric cosmogony in Ulysses' eloquent speech in *T. and C.* (I, 3) on " degree " ; the author, in using astrological planetary influence to give point to the argument, nevertheless employs a true astronomical simile by comparing a military General to the sun, " this centre " [of the solar system] and saying "And therefore is the glorious planet Sol/ In noble eminence enthron'd, and spher'd / Amidst the other." These words might easily imply that the sun [itself a planet, by abiding in the plane of the ecliptic] is surrounded by the planets as Copernicus had vainly adumbrated in 1507, and that Shakespeare had abandoned the old false geocentric theory, to which Bacon tenaciously clung. All through indeed, Bacon's assertive, but often erroneous, conceptions, contrast with Shakespeare's intriguing non-committal ambiguity ; and Bacon's wholesale repudiation of the tribe of alchemists, astrologers, astronomers and all their paraphernalia is itself mockingly disclaimed by Shakespeare's glowing dramatisation of their esoteric technology.

Francis Bacon and William Stanley.

There is much indirect evidence of association between the two men, who were related by marriage, Bacon* being first cousin to Sir Robert Cecil, but Bacon and Stanley were probably not cordial friends, having such opposite temperaments. Little has survived indicating what they thought of each other beyond the facetious anticipation of 27th January 1595 noted by Chambers, in which Bacon says he would be sorry if the newly married Earl and his bride should " go to bed fair and rise lowring " like the weather. But these two intellectual giants, who were about the same age, had apparently long known each other as fellow students at Gray's Inn. Bacon, after having been a student of Trinity College Cambridge, was admitted to Gray's Inn on 27th June 1576, a few months after which he left for Paris with Sir Amyas Paulet's embassy, remaining abroad till his father's death at the beginning of 1579, when he resumed his law studies at Gray's Inn. He became ' utter-barrister ' in June 1582, just before Stanley left for Paris, and it now appears that for the previous three years the two students were in continual association ; also it is probable that when Stanley returned home in 1587 he resumed his connections with Bacon and Gray's Inn. These inferences derive from an important discovery, recently made by the present writer,† that William had been entered by his father, the 4th Earl of Derby, as a future student of Gray's Inn when he was an infant early in 1563. His name appears in a copy of the original register that perished in the fire which destroyed Bacon's chambers on 6th January 1684 ; this copy had fortunately been compiled about 10 years earlier by Simon Segar, Library Keeper, and is now in the British Museum (Harleian M.S. 1912). It shows the entry " Wm. Stanley " on folio 539 of date 1562-3 and there can be no reasonable doubt that it refers to the future 6th Earl of Derby, for not only was it the custom, then as now, for fathers to enter their children soon after birth in one or more of the four Inns of Court, but William's father Henry himself was entered at Gray's Inn only two years earlier, on 24th January 1561, and his grandfather Edward (3rd Earl) on 28th January 1561. Later his son James (7th Earl) was also entered as a baby on 12th August 1608.

This presents the early life of William Stanley in an entirely new aspect, for hitherto it has been believed that he was a student of Lincoln's Inn. It is true that he was also entered for Lincoln's Inn, but this was years later, in 1594 (13th August) and his name appears on the original register in Gothic secretary writing as :—

" Will s Stanley comes Derbey "

with three Latin lines below showing that he was sponsored by his friend the Lord Keeper of the Great seal (Sir John Puckering).

This entry, which is found on folio 41b of the Lincoln's Inn admission register, was probably written by a clerk, and to the left of the name there is a long double *ss* like that before other names, signifying perhaps the plural of ' student.' But it is very remarkable that there should be a minuscle *s* between ' Will ' and ' Stanley,' for unless it was a clerk's mistake this *s* suggests a second name. In those days names were often written with minuscles (e.g. the signature " henry chettle ") and second names though unusual were in use (e.g. Mark Alexander Boyd, *b.* 1563, and others mentioned by l'Estrange Ewen—*History of Surnames*, 1931). The letter *s* therefore might have stood for some baptismal name like Strange, or (if it is not too fantastic to suggest what was legally possible) for the adopted

* Francis Bacon (1561 - 1626) was the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon (1509 - 1579) by his second wife Anne Cooke (1528 - 1610) whose sister Mildred (*d.* 1589) married William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1521 - 1598), father of Sir Robert Cecil (1563 - 1612) and of Anne Cecil (1556 - 1588). The latter, marrying the 17th Earl of Oxford (1550 - 1604), was the mother of Elizabeth de Vere (1575 - 1627) wife of the 6th Earl of Derby (1560 - 1642).

† Who wishes to record his cordial thanks to Mr. M. D. Severn, Librarian of Gray's Inn, for his kind assistance in this investigation.

name ' Shakespeare,' which however in his high station could hardly have been a baptismal name owing to its plebeian origin and its earlier association with some disreputable characters, in different parts of the country. But Stanley, say after receiving Knighthood, might have adopted such a second name (p. 119), partly to dissociate himself from his renegade namesake and partly to serve as a pen-name, or even *incognito* among low associates. All this is shrouded in a thick haze of ignorance.

The date of this Lincoln's Inn entry is important because it was after his recent accession to the Earldom (p. 24) and subsequent to the time when he had exercised legal powers as Judge in the Manx Assize Courts ; his membership of Lincoln's Inn, known to Lefranc and Lucas, has thus obscured the highly important fact that, after leaving St. John's College Oxford, he received his education and legal training as a fellow student of Bacon at Gray's Inn, probably between 1576 and 1582. There are no records that he was ever called to the Bar at either seat of learning (Gray's or Lincoln's Inn) ; but there is indirect evidence in several ways of other contacts with Bacon, who during the '90,s was also in correspondence with the Earl's relatives and friends. Bacon, who had commenced his great career in 1589 as Clerk of the Star Chamber and soon afterwards displeased the Queen by his speech in Parliament on subsidies, was so consumed with ambition for advancement that during the period March to May 1594 he pestered Derby's intimate friend Sir John Puckering to canvass the Queen for him, until in fact a quarrel arose between the parties which was composed by the Earl of Essex ; and he (Essex) did his very best to move the Queen on Bacon's behalf even to the point of quarrelling with her too. Following this, further dissensions arose from Parsons' treasonous book (*Conference* etc., p. 25) with its attendant dangers to the Queen, and perhaps from the proposed betrothal scheme (pp. 72, 73). Lopez was executed in June 1594 on the alleged charge of attempting to poison her ; in November 1594 she violently accused Essex of traitorous sentiments when she learned that Parsons' book was dedicated to him and it was not till the following January that he cleared himself of suspicion. From all these quarrels and intrigues the Earl of Derby remained aloof, then no doubt composing *Midsummer Night's Dream.*

As is well known Bacon was always interested in drama, especially that form known as Masques, which became so elaborate in James I's reign, and he was the leading spirit in those organised by Gray's Inn, as for instance the famous revels there during the Christmas season of 1594-5, remarkable for the fiasco of 28th December 1594 (when the *Comedy of Errors* was produced in the Hall) due to ' gate-crashing.' The record of these revels (*Gesta Grayorum*) shows distinct traces of Bacon's hand in some of the six Councillor speeches and the reply of the " Prince of Purpoole " ; one of these speeches (the fifth) exhibits such State-wisdom that it might have been written by Shakespeare himself (even the phrase " the glorious Planet sol " just noted in *T. and C.*, I, 3, 89), and other features in the proceedings are suggestive of collaboration with Bacon. But the Earl of Derby is not mentioned as being actually present during the revels (which extended well over the date of his wedding on 26th January 1595) though his relatives are (Earl of Cumberland, Sir Robert Cecil and Lord Mounteagle), also the Earl of Southampton and other notable people.

There are good reasons for believing that after 1594 Bacon was the Earl of Derby's legal adviser or Counsel, especially over the great inheritance law-suit, and it is known (from the record of another action in 1605—E. B. Goodacre) that the Earl in May 1596 had granted him the keepership of Lathom Park. This is the time of the Northumberland document,* in which the present writer discloses a legal tie between Bacon and the Earl,

* See Appendix II which should be read in association with what now follows.

confirming that shown by the *Egerton Papers* where, as Lefranc first pointed out, there is a record dated 25th September 1594 indicating the commencement of the great suit. On that day the Earl's secretary, Michael Doughtie, deposited a trunk containing papers relating to the case, for the care of Sir Thomas Egerton, Master of the Rolls, later Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, who in 1600 married the dowager Countess Alice (claimant to the Earl's estates on behalf of her three daughters). On the same occasion i.e. September 1594, her secretary, Hugh Ellis, deposited a bag containing her papers, and Francis Bacon was the principal witness acknowledging the receipt of both sets of documents, which were later (30th October 1594) produced before the Court of Wards.

In the protracted litigation which ensued, the part that Bacon played does not appear from the reports, but the Calendar of Pleadings of the Court of Wards and Liveries for the years following 1594 shows how the case came up at intervals. In January 1595 the Earl of Derby was ordered to bring further evidence into Court and later it was required that his Counsel " shall set down their exceptions in writing unto aunswers of Sr. Thoms Legh [and others] and deliver the same into the Courte." In the early stages Derby appeared as plaintiff, but soon afterwards the position was reversed and he appeared as defendant. No progress was made and according to the *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic series)* 1595 - 1597, there is an " abstract of claims " of the dowager Countess dated 15th July, 1595, suggestive of suspicious procedure on her part, namely in trying to supplant her brother-in-law in the whole Earldom by bringing various suits in the Courts at Westminster " causing him to spend £1,000 in defence of his title " ; he " has just cause of complaint against her, she thinking by her importunity to extort a greater dower than were ever of that house, to the great dishonour of the present Earl and the weakening of that honourable house." The parties were now given power of attorney to repair to the Isle of Man for deeds and further evidence, to be sealed up and brought to the Rolls Chapel, Chancery Lane ; but already in 1595 the Earl of Derby had made a first payment of £1,666 towards settlement with his litigious sister-in-law. This was soon followed by offers of £5,000 to her, £8,000 to her eldest daughter and £6,000 to the two younger ones ; and about a year later the Northumberland M.S. gives us a glimpse of his pathetic appeal to Bacon for help in the words " your defenc formost," " fraud " etc. (Appendix II.) Later his financial position deteriorated, mainly owing to the Countess Alice's increased demands, now supported by her husband ; and Raines in the history of the 7th Earl said that his father the 6th Earl must have followed with " keen interest " [tragic would have been a better adjective] " the curious spectacle of law, politics and human nature," evoked in " the various judicial encounters of the watchful Coke with the subtle interested Ellesmere." So with " the law's delay " the *cause célèbre* dragged on for years, being only settled* in the end by compromise and compensation (p. 31).

The foregoing evidence of relations, between Bacon and William Stanley, that must have subsisted from the days of their youth, has a bearing on the Baconian theory because it helps to explain some of the mystery, more particularly the Northumberland M.S. and Bacon's *Promus*, which is one of the most powerful arguments adduced in favour of identity, for it has a decidedly Shakespearian flavour. This *Promus of formularies and elegancies* (so called by Spedding) is a set of manuscripts, mostly in his handwriting, consisting of 50 sheets and containing over sixteen hundred notes or entries in English, French, Spanish and Latin, mainly of date about 1594. Spedding, who examined the collection, showed that these miscellaneous notes were not as a rule Bacon's own thoughts, but rather apothegms, proverbs, and quotations mostly in English derived from books he had been reading, so that as a whole the *Promus* is rich in proverbial wisdom, including maxims derived from the Bible and Latin sources. It seems to have been a sort of store-house on which he could draw in his literary work or oratory, but while hundreds of these recorded notes are clearly recognisable in some form in Shakespeare's Plays, there are not many in Bacon's own prose works. In the former case there is a general similarity in opinions, turns of expression etc., so much so that Mrs. Pott (*Bacon's Promus*, 1883) went so far as to say that Bacon and Shakespeare either borrowed from one another or Bacon took notes for the poet's use

* The final Acts of Parliament implementing the settlement would be drawn up by Bacon as Crown Solicitor (Mackenzie, *Manx Society's Journal*, 1860, Vol. III, p. 203).

(either of which alternatives she rejected) or that Bacon *was* Shakespeare (her decision).

This rejection of the first alternative, reasonable in 1883 since no contact was conceivable between Bacon and the Stratford player, is no longer justifiable in the light of Derby authorship, particularly in view of the association now established between the two gifted men, dating from the early time when they were students together ; no doubt exchanging ideas of all kinds. Here were two youths of diametrically opposed temperaments : William, as yet untravelled, buoyant, light hearted, poetic, impulsive, and a brilliant wit in conversation : Francis full of his multiple, if boyish, experiences abroad, cynical, prosaic, analytical, philosophical and critical. Both young men were deeply learned, and it is easy to conceive that some intellectual sparks must have flashed out in the daily intercourse between them at Gray's Inn. Viewed in this perspective it may well be that mental inter-penetration led to a veritable intellectual synthesis, and initiated the profound philosophic thought which runs like an endless thread through Shakespeare's drama. If so and if Stanley resumed his relations with Gray's Inn after the ripening years of experience abroad, Bacon must have played, if unconsciously, an inspiring part in the birth and development of this mighty dramatic Art. Between them must have arisen many abstract conceptions in common, not only those reflecting contemporary thought but culled from the sages of the past, comprising proverbs, similes and metaphors such as are found committed to writing in the *Promus* ; as well as other brilliant ideas forged on the common anvil between them. Did (one wonders) Bacon with characteristic egotism regard such aphorisms or ideas as his own and secretly resent their exploitation for poetic or dramatic purposes by Stanley ? Such resentment might explain why he never had a word of praise for him either in the rôle of Earl of Derby or of Shakespeare ; or was it simply that he considered Play-writing an idle pastime not worthy of comment ? If, as suggested on p. 135, he acted as intermediary in the publication of the Folio it may be that he left his mark on it by secret means, as has been so consistently maintained by Baconians, that is by appropriate italicisations interpreted through the numerical cipher which Bacon himself is said to have invented. Certainly his name in some form can so be detected repeatedly in the Prefaces, though this is discounted by the fact that it can be similarly discovered in other non-Baconian works. In 1623 Bacon, then Viscount St. Alban, had fallen from greatness, had failed even to secure the minor post of Provost of Eton and had retreated to his three-storey chambers at Gray's Inn where he still was in October 1924, all the while being in close touch with Ben Jonson, the Folio editor ; so if Bacon felt that he was entitled to some credit in the Folio venture (or even by way of amusement) nothing would have been easier than to insert his name for the benefit of friends acquainted with the cipher. As to the validity of " signatures " decoded by modern Baconians the present writer is not competent to judge.

CHAPTER IX

SPELLING TESTIMONY

NO manuscripts have survived of Shakespeare's canonical Plays and Poems, but specimens of his handwriting nevertheless exist (considered later) which throw valuable light on his orthographic habits. Even in the printed text of the Folio and Quartos, despite spelling changes by scrivener or compositor, such habits are still often perceptible, especially when measured by frequency ; and one particular frequency, whether for Shakespeare or other authors, has been found of the utmost service in helping to elucidate a variety of problems, namely that which takes account of the well-defined contemporary practice of spelling with a *y* many words that are now spelt with *i* ; this peculiarity having been selected because such words are easily picked out by the eye for a count. The problem was to determine mathematically the factors which control the frequency of such *y*-spelt words with various writers of the period whether in manuscript or as found in print, such words for example as : *tygre, synce, prayse, affectyon* etc. In the 16th and 17th centuries both spelling forms were of course in vogue (e.g. *time* and *tyme*) even by the same writer, who might spell any such word either way in the same passage or even line, just as nowadays we might write indiscriminately 'realise' or 'realize,' 'connection' or 'connexion.' In spite of this variability the *average* proportion or frequency of *y*-spellings was tolerably constant for any particular writer ; but in general during that period of rapid transition, this frequency for all writers became less as time rolled on and words took on a more modern or familiar spelling, so that by 1700 the frequency in general was very small indeed.

In the method now being described no notice is taken of other differences in spelling in any *y*-spelt word, (e.g. *prevayle, offyc* etc.) while making the count, because they are very frequent and would complicate the problem ; also to simplify procedure and reduce the tediousness of the count (and therefore liability to personal error) the frequency is not expressed, as it strictly should be, as a percentage of *y*-spelt words on the total spelt with *y* or *i*, but merely as the mean number of *y*-spellings counted in 100 *equivalent* lines. An equivalent line is defined merely as equal to seven consecutive words, which is about the average in a verse i.e. line of Elizabethan blank verse or poetry, so that 100 equivalent lines $= 100 \times {}^{7}/_{m}$ actual lines averaging *m* words per line. The Index, *I*, of frequency is therefore the number of *y*-spelt words (now spelt with *i*) including proper nouns, per 100 equivalent lines (700 consecutive words) and though only approximate it is a satisfactory measure of frequency provided that the count is made over a sufficient number of lines (several hundreds). For autograph, copy and printed text, *I* is suitably distinguished by subscript so that :—

I_a = Index of autograph, I_c = Index of copy, I_p = Index of printed text.

When as is sometimes the case a sufficient number of equivalent lines is not available, say at least 500, the Index of frequency will not of course be a true figure since it is subject to random unevenness of distribution according to the laws of probability. Owing to such

chance effects the deviation from the true frequency figure might be large with a few equivalent lines only available, though not so great with say 100. For example suppose the true figure I (based on an indefinitely large number of such lines) were 3, what would be the probability of y-counts more or less than 3, given only 100 available? This probability can be calculated accurately from formula (8) p. 154, and with this particular case of 100 equivalent lines :—

For a y-count of :	0	1	2	3	4	5	above 5
the probability is :	·0498	·1494	·2241	·2241	·1681	·056	·1345.

This means, since the total of probabilities is 1, that there would be a 61·63% chance* of finding 2, 3 or 4 y-spellings and less than a 40% chance for any higher or lower count, which gives a measure of the departure (for only 100 equivalent lines) from the true frequency of 3. Even with 500 it can be shown, by the same formula, that (for the same frequency, i.e. 3) the total count would only be *exactly* 15 in about 10% of the cases counted ; it would range mainly between 12 and 17 but with a maximum probability at 15.

In printed literature of the period the Index I_p is very variable, ranging between 1 (or even less) and 20 (or even higher), as shown for instance in the following examples :—

	Spenser				Shakespeare		
	Shepheards Calender	*Faerie Queene* (sampled)	Sonnets	*Colin Clouts*	1623 Folio (sampled)	Sonnets (Thorpe, 1609)	*Romeo and Juliet* Q_2 (1599)
I_p	27	18	29·6	8	3·46	2·46	2·45.

Contemporary autographs of different writers invariably show a much higher Index (I_a) than printed matter but, so far as can be judged from various holograph manuscripts examined, each writer's Index I_a was tolerably constant for any given date though it is assumed to become slightly less as he grew older. There was of course a variation between different writers, but it was small if they were about the same age, and a survey of the data shows, that the Index was less a personal idiosyncrasy than a matter of age and date of writing : also it appears from general observations (details of which are too voluminous to give) that the main cause of reduction of Index in printed matter was the handling by copyist and to a less extent printer. It is of course quite impossible to evaluate mathematically these varying factors from comparison of actual changes suffered in copying and printing, because no such large scale data exist. All that could be done was to take into account a number of manuscripts on the one hand and a number of printed Plays and Poems by different writers on the other, and find by induction, i.e. *a posteriori*, approximate mathematical expressions which would be in reasonable conformity with the actual y-spelling frequencies observed.

The theory can be simply stated by saying that any writer's Index of y-spelling frequency, I_a, was exponentially determined by two time factors, (1) age and (2) date of the writing thus :—

$$I_a/100 = p \cdot e^{(ax-by)} \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots \quad (1)$$

where p = personal constant (varies slightly and may be taken as 1),
a and b are constants,
x = age of writer,
y = date—1550,
e = natural base of Naperian logarithms (2·718...).

Let us now suppose that some author's M.S. of high I_a (his words written nonchalantly) is copied by a scribe whose own holograph I_a is also high : what effect will this have on the Index, I_c, of the copy? The I_c would be much less than the I_a because (1) the scribe is not writing *currente calamo* like the author, whose mind is occupied with his subject and not orthography, whilst the scribe is free from such pre-occupation, and (2) because spelling being so variable the chances are that he will unconsciously replace y by i in many words, especially if he is one of the younger generation. The probability factor of reduction, which is inaccessible theoretically, can only be deduced empirically from the general observations showing that professional scriveners, in modernising spelling generally, were taking up the new fashion for i spellings ; and so far as the evidence goes this had the effect on average of wiping out from half to two-thirds of the autograph y-spellings, if the ages of author and scrivener were about the same ; but if as usual the scrivener was younger the replacement of y by i was even greater. Thus the Index I_c is always much lower than I_a, and in general it will be equal to I_a multiplied by a factor f_c which is generally a small fraction of unity, dependent on the relative ages of scrivener and author at the time of copying.

* i.e. (·2241 + ·2241 + ·1681) × 100.

The printer or compositor tried more faithfully to reproduce the spelling before him than the scrivener, and H. C. Wyld said (*History of modern colloquial English*, p. 112) " printers are unlikely to introduce, of themselves, any considerable novelties in spelling." This is generally true of reprinting from printed texts (as shown by successive editions of the Quartos), unless reprinted much later ; but compositors, though to a less degree than scriveners, also reduced the number of *y*-spellings when printing from manuscripts, and fairly consistent results in general calculations are obtained if it is assumed that they cancelled out on average nearly half such *y*-spellings, so as to give a reduction factor f_p of about ·54.

The empiric formulae, which have been thus derived, with some uncertainty as to the magnitude of the constants, are :—

Index of author $I_a = 100 \cdot e^{(\ 06x_a - \ 068y_a)}$ ..... (2)

Scrivener's reduction factor $f_c = \dfrac{x_c}{3x_{a_1}}$ ..... (3)

Printer's reduction factor $f_p = \cdot 54$ ..... (4)

Scrivener's Index $I_c = I_a \times f_c$ ..... (5)

Printer's Index $I_p = \cdot 54\ I_c$ (if printed from a copy) ..... (6)

$I_p = \cdot 54\ I_a$ (if printed from autograph) ..... (7)

where I_a, I_c and I_p = frequency Index, as defined above, respectively of autograph, copy or printed text, and

x_a = age of author at the time of writing ; x_{a_1} = his age at the time of copying ;

x_c = age of scrivener at the time of copying ;

y_a = date of author's autograph minus 1550.

These related expressions (*hereinafter called the 'standard equations'*) roughly fit the facts where known, but they are valid only for writers, scriveners or compositors born after 1550, and since they take no cognisance of unknown personal factors they are necessarily only approximate. Any attempts to find ideal formulae which would cover all dates and persons, even if possible, would introduce such complexity as to make mathematical analysis merely picturesque but useless ; and all that can be claimed for the new method is that, in spite of its limitations, it offers a serviceable means of settling a number of disputed questions concerning Shakespeare and indeed other writers of the period. As the ages of different authors are generally known, also usually the date of writing and printing, but not the ages of scriveners, solution of the standard equations is only possible by trying out different assumed ages for the latter ; and those solutions are accepted as in general satisfactory, which would require that x_c should lie between 20 and 40. In this way the formulae set limits within which it is often possible to deduce whether a given text was printed direct from autograph or from a copy, and if the latter to arrive at the Index I_a of the author through equations (3) to (7), quite independently of (2), namely by finding what figure will inductively satisfy the varying observed I_p values of widely different samples of his text.

Shakespeare's theoretical handwriting Index, I_a, calculated from equation (2) for 1590, comes out at nearly 40, assuming that his age, x_a, was then 30, but it should be noticed that such calculated values for different writers are dependent on the fixed constants in (2), constants however which are not arbitrary in the case of Shakespeare because they have been determined by many observations of *y*-spellings scattered through the 1623 Folio. But canonical Quarto I_p values are sometimes so low as to suggest that where this is the case they were printed from *copies of copies*, which would of course be beyond the scope of the standard equations.

An important question at once arises concerning the actual *distribution* of *y*-spellings in any piece of text or autograph. Though the overall frequency of any writer was virtually constant, in practice when writing he did not spin out his *y*-spellings evenly but purely as a matter of chance, so that over (say) any ten consecutive lines there might be found sometimes

one or more, sometimes none, and these normal chance deviations from the level average, must be distinguished from any that are not normal. If for instance an author of high Index I_a made interpolations in his own hand on a copy of low Index, I_c, such interpolations, if lengthy enough to include several y-spelt words, would be reflected in the printed text of low average I_p by local concentration of y-spellings ; and the problem is, how to distinguish any such local accumulations from those due to random clustering. The latter, determined by probability, can be calculated by Poisson's theorem, provided that the average frequency is not too high. Thus (for printed matter) :—

Let ϕ = frequency of a y-spelling to be found in any random line, *i.e.* $\phi = I_p/100$; let $\mu = n\phi$ where n = number of consecutive lines in a group containing several y-spellings :

then :	For	0	1	2	3	4	etc. ..... y-spellings,
the probability is		$e^{-\mu}$	$\mu e^{-\mu}$	$\frac{\mu^2}{2!}e^{-\mu}$	$\frac{\mu^3}{3!}e^{-\mu}$	$\frac{\mu^4}{4!}e^{-\mu}$	etc. .....(8)

where the symbols 2!, 3! etc. (factorial $n!$) signify the product of the natural sequence of numbers (*e.g.* $3! = 1 \times 2 \times 3 = 6$).

The sum of these terms in expression (8) is unity, and each term in the expansion gives the random probability. To take a case in point, let $n = 4$ (i.e. equivalent lines) and $\phi = \cdot 03$. Then $\mu = 12$ and $e^{-\mu} = \cdot 886$, whence the calculated probabilities :—

For	0	1	2	3	4	.. .. y-spellings in the group n,
are	·886	·1063	·00638	000255	·00000018	etc.

which means that there is an 88·6% chance of none, and a 10·63% chance of one, while the chances of anything higher than one in 4 equivalent lines are very small indeed. If then the number of y-spellings in the group n greatly exceeds the calculated figure, they are probably *not* due to random clustering.

The problem with the printed text, in Shakespeare's Folio (1623) or the Quartos, resolves itself into a series of calculations for the solution of I_a from observed I_p figures, by using equations (3) (4) (5) (6) and (7), in which various trial numbers are inserted for the unknowns, with the object of finding, i.e. by straightforward induction, what consistently constant I_a satisfies the varying observed I_p values of the printed texts. No such constant figure for I_a, which should be about 40 if equation (2) holds, was found possible with any Shakespearian text using equation (7), i.e. for autograph, but if the Plays had been printed from *copies* of autograph there is no difficulty with equations (3) to (6) in reaching an approximately constant I_a lying between about 40 and 35 ; though not for some Plays (discussed later) of abnormally low I_p, believed to have had a different bibliographical origin. Shakespeare's I_a of about 40, thus reached both from equation (2) and indirectly as above by mathematical induction, is much higher than similarly reached figures for contemporary playwrights, but it is close to the *observed* I_a of the Earl of Derby which is 40·7 (with a small ± probability error on a total of only 273 equivalent lines in his letters). The (counted) Index I_a for Bacon about 1594, in the *Promus* (p. 149) is 37, and that of the Earl of Oxford in two lengthy letters (1600 and 1603) is 60 ; but as no writing of Shakspere is known, except his signatures, his Index cannot be reached by count, though his theoretical I_a can be calculated for say 1594 (when he was 30) by equation (2) which gives 30·36.

That Shakespeare's I_a in the '90,s was about 40 finds very important confirmation, independent of calculation, by the *direct* count that can be made in his actual autograph, that is the 3-page manuscript commonly known as the "Addition " to the Play *Sir Thomas More* (Appendix I). And as in general consistent results are obtained with equation (2) using a birth date of 1560 rather than earlier or later, this is taken as the datum line in all calculations bearing on the Poems and Plays henceforward to be discussed.

Shakespeare's Sonnets (Thorpe's 1609 Quarto).

These will serve as an illustration of procedure. The Sonnets were written over a period (Appendix III) between 1587 and 1598. For purposes of approximation they may be lumped together with a mean date of 1592, whence $y_a = 1592 - 1550 = 42$. Taking x_a (author's mean age) as 32 (1592 - 1560) we now calculate I_a from equation (2). The exponential index $= (\cdot 06 \times 32) - (\cdot 068 \times 42) = -\cdot 936$, and $e^{-\cdot 936} = \cdot 39$. Whence $I_a = 39$ (calc.). In the Quarto the counted y-spellings give $I_p = 2 \cdot 46$ and this low figure, which excludes equation (7), means that the printer could not have worked from autograph in general. If all the Sonnets were printed from copies, equations (3) to (6) can be applied, but only as trials by making assumptions as to the date of copying and age of scrivener. Solution first requires the combination of equations (5) and (6) giving :—

$$f_c = \frac{I_p}{\cdot 54 \times I_a} = \frac{2 \cdot 46}{\cdot 54 \times 39} = 1168$$

If now it is assumed (*a*) that the copies of the 154 Sonnets were made at the same mean time (1592), $x_{a_1} = 32$, and substituting this in (3) we get $\cdot 1168 = \frac{x_c}{3 \times 32}$, whence $x_c = 11 \cdot 21$, an impossibly low age for the scrivener ; but if (*b*) it is assumed that they were copied in 1609, just before printing, $x_{a_1} = 49$ and x_c works out at about 17, which is still low. Other assumptions tested give persistently low results, so showing that the Sonnets were almost certainly printed, not from first copies at all, but from *copies of copies*, with consequent ironing out of many original y-spellings.

A lover's complaint.

Appearing at the end of Thorpe's pirated 1609 Quarto of the Sonnets, this Poem of *Lucrece* versification has a low index I_p, $2 \cdot 74$, which through the standard equations (2) to (7) proves that it could not have been printed from autograph, but as the date of copying is uncertain it is necessary to try out alternatives in calculation. Imperfect revision of the Poem may have instigated Lee's supposition that it was early but this is negatived by a certain gravity in style denoting maturity and (more surely) by the relatively high proportion of *strictly* pauseless ' run-on ' lines* (1 in 25) as compared to *V. and A.* and *Lucrece* of 1593-4 (average about 1 in 68) while in *As you like it* (about 1600) the proportion is 1 in 24. Taking then the date of writing provisionally as 1600, the theoretical I_a calculated from equation (2) comes to $38 \cdot 6$, from which if the copy was of the same date the scrivener's age works out at only $16 \cdot 5$, but if copied in 1609 $x_c = 20 \cdot 2$ with the usual (probably small) personal error. Assumed dates of writing earlier than 1600 make x_c too low, while later dates only slightly increase it, and the calculated figures therefore suggest that the unrevised autograph (perhaps temporarily purloined and copied by " Mr. W. H."—see p. 303) was at any rate copied by a young person just before printing in 1609.

Certain vivid features impart verisimilitude to this Poem as portraying some incident in real life ; indeed the Earl of Southampton has usually been regarded as the ' villain of the piece.' About this villain the poet tells us a good deal. He was certainly very young, handsome (" beautious ") with long brown curly hair, but only incipient beard, a skilful horseman, " Of young, of old, and sexes both inchanted," though more especially the darling object of feminine adoration ; a youth who contrived to put the blame on the girls he seduced (" They sought their shame "), he glorying in his ascendancy over them. Like the Earl of Southampton he was fiery " if men mov'd him " and clearly an aristocrat, indeed the whole painful story appertains to the Court ; thus for example one of his potential victims (stanza 34) who became a nun to escape " her noble suit [pursuit] in court " was " sought by spirits of richest

* Such lines, defined as *R*-lines (for blank verse, p. 168) and *S*-lines (for rhyme, p. 234), are susceptible to mathematical treatment for the elucidation of date.

cote " [of arms] i.e. the choicest flower of the nobility, and this lady was prepared to fly from " the cagéd cloister " into the arms of the irresistible libertine.

Such in brief were the attributes of the man, described so minutely as to suggest that he was not only real but personally familiar to the poet ; and the same suspicion attaches to the latest of the youth's victims, who as the " lover " bemoaning her lot is also clearly limned. This deluded and prematurely-aged girl must have been older than her betrayer ; she spoke as if she too moved in aristocratic circles, talked about " some my equals " who yielded to him, and implied that he had promised to marry her (" undertake my troth ") by " strong bonded oath." But she was ' no chicken,' knew by " experience " of " bulwarkes " against frailty, knew of his " deceits " and even that " his plants in others Orchards grew " ; yet this experienced young woman, though " in honour so forbidde," after vainly striving to resist for some time, succumbed to her seducer's false protestations.

All this might suit the Earl of Southampton and some hypothetical older girl, if it were possible to take the date as nearly 10 years earlier than that indicated by the ' pauseless ' lines and standard equations ; for granting that the Poem relates to real life it was obviously penned soon after the girl's seduction. But it cannot apply to Southampton and the Queen's Maid of Honour, Elizabeth Vernon ; they had been genuinely in love for three years before she became *enceinte* in the Summer of 1598, when he secretly married her ; while the lady of the Poem was deserted, and vented her spleen accordingly on the man, who in any case is not portrayed, as having fighting qualities like Southampton.

When discovered by the poet* at the riverside she in fact ' let herself go ' with such vehemence as to raise the suspicion that marriage disappointment rather than loss of her " white stole of chastity " had embittered her. In seeking an alternative hypothesis, Mary Fitton at once comes to mind ; i.e. her seduction by Lord William Herbert, eldest son of Henry 2nd. Earl of Pembroke, in the Spring of 1600, her recognition that she was pregnant, the refusal of Herbert to marry her and the acute realisation that she would never become Countess of Pembroke. Herbert's reputation at this time, which is well known from the *Sydney Papers* and other sources, agrees closely with the poet's description ; when proposed in marriage for the Earl of Derby's sister-in-law, Bridget de Vere (who was only 13 in 1597), her father, the Earl of Oxford, admired his " many good partes " and said that he was " faire conditioned." Herbert was indeed handsome, attractive to men and women alike, brilliant (though given to fits of melancholy) ; also a skilful horseman who in May 1599 attended the Queen with 200 horse " swaggering among the men of war," later (1600) practising vigorously for a tournament at Court. It was not till November 1599 (shortly before another abortive match was proposed for him, Anne daughter of Lord Hertford) that the Queen began to take notice of him ; and it was about this time that he commenced his suit with her seductive Maid of Honour, Mary Fitton, who was then being pestered by old " Partie beard " (probably Sir William Knollys). Herbert was only 19, but already " immoderately given up to women " (Clarendon, *History*) ; his notorious seduction of Mary Fitton was taken very seriously by the Queen, who indeed temporarily imprisoned him in the Fleet (shortly after he had become 3rd Earl of Pembroke) and banished him from Court, a punishment

* Though in stanza 1 he speaks of himself as ' I,' he is clearly identifiable with the " reverend man " (stanza 9) or ' father ' who as an older man sympathetically listens to her ' tale of woe '; the word reverend signifying ' revered ' as in *Lucrece* (line 90) and elsewhere, not ' religious.'

which he found " hell." But he refused " all marriage," and if his victim is to be identified with the disillusioned lady of the Poem she, being two years older than he was, must have finally surrendered to him about April 1600 ; at all events Mary's baby was born early the following year (a boy which died).

It has long been presumed on Folio-preface grounds that there was some kind of friendship between Herbert and Shakespeare, and this without regard to the incongruity of the actor's station in life. The intimacy and marriage relationship (through his brother) between Herbert (i.e. the Earl of Pembroke) and the Earl of Derby have already been pointed out (p. 128), so that in these terms the Poem takes on a new meaning, by conjuring up the image of an episode in the Summer of 1600 near Chester, where at Derby House it is easy to believe that Mary was a guest of the Earl, perhaps with her father Sir Edward Fittón, one of his oldest friends, who was often a guest at Lathom or Knowsley. What more particularly favours choice of this locality is the topographical peculiarity of the opening line, " From off a hill whose concave wombe reworded " and in the words " So slides he down " ; certainly vague but reminiscent of the ground East of Chester, where the River Dee curves round ' Earl's eye ' opposite, leaving a steep escarpment on its Northern bank (now built over). The scene of Mary's distress and confession, on this hypothesis, was on the river bank below this concave and echoing escarpment ; and she would be wearing on her head " a plattid hive of straw " in this, one of the hottest spots in the Vale Royal, i.e. the " sistering vale " of the Poem. Shortly before, Mary, then 22 years old, had been in London taking part in a masque (June 1600) at Blackfriars, celebrating the marriage of (another) Lord Herbert and Anne Russell, and at this masque, William Herbert being present (probably also the Earl of Derby), she was one of the eight Muses seeking the ninth (Queen) ; apparently nervous or conscious of coming disgrace, for when she danced up to the Queen the latter ' tripped her up ' for giving her name as ' affection ' instead of Terpsichore.

As for the Earl of Derby about this time, he is known to have been in London on 26th July, but it was his custom to go North in the Summer, so that he could have been in Chester early in August 1600, perhaps travelling with Mary and her father Sir Edward Fitton, who on 5th August wrote to Sir Robert Cecil virtually implicating William Herbert. So it must have been about then that Mary confessed. Let us imagine that the Earl of Derby is self-represented in the Poem as "A reverend man that graz'd his cattell ny / Sometime a blusterer that the ruffle knew / Of Court of Cittie etc," who as a great landowner had farms near Chester ; let us picture him strolling, with his " greyned bat," along the fields, noticing below his fair guest in a distracted state, seated on the river bank, ' weeping her eyes out ' while throwng Herbert's letters and broken trinkets into the river. Her kindly host, 18 years her senior, had no doubt previously suspected that something was wrong, but it may well have been the accidental surprise which prompted her to make a confession to him (" priviledgd by age ") which otherwise she would not have made. Her distressing story, making a deep impression on him could easily induce him to write this Poem, which probably would never have been heard of but for the unscrupulous piracy of 1609.

It is a curious coincidence that Shakespeare should long have been mixed up with the name of Mary Fitton, as the supposed ' dark lady ' of the Sonnets, this theory being essentially derived from the unfounded belief that " Mr. W. H." was William Herbert and addressee of many of them ; but Tyler pointed out long ago that a *liaison* was inconceivable between one of the Queen's

Maids of Honour and anyone of the " low social rank of an actor," such as Shakespeare was supposed to be. The argument of course no longer applies to an aristocratic poet, but as a matter of fact the ' dark lady ' of the Sonnets was Shakespeare's unfaithful mistress and a married woman at that (Appendix III), while Mary Fitton was neither married (then) nor dark.

Venus and Adonis. The Quarto, printed by Richard Field in 1593, is of special interest because the author, signing himself ' William Shakespeare ' for the first time, called the Poem the first heir of his " invention," when it is known that he had written much prior to 1593 ; a puzzling statement the clue to which lies in the remarkable disparity in the proportion of *S*-lines (p. 235) as between *V. and A.* and *Lucrece* published only a year later. This disparity shows that *V. and A.*, though undoubtedly revised in 1593, had certainly been written years earlier—the poet's first great essay.

The Quarto was really an *edition de luxe*, in unusually large and clear type, with a high proportion of modern spellings. It was also virtually free from misprints or blemishes, and so quite unlike the (later) pirated Quartos of Plays or the wretched Quarto of Thorpe (1609) just considered. The Index I_p 3·15, shows that it was not printed from autograph ; and taking the I_a for 1593 as 39 given by the standard equation (2), the other equations on trial lead to an age x_c below 15 for the scrivener ; from which low figure it is deduced that the Poem was not printed from a straight copy, but that the author after making extensive alterations on the original copy had a fresh transcript prepared from it before going to press. The distribution of *y*-spellings, like those in *Lover's complaint*, roughly conforms to the random law (p. 154) but in two places four *y*-spellings are concentrated within eight lines, namely as shown below, with the line-numbers :—

326 Boystrous 331 stayd 971 joyne 977 voyce
330 aydance 333 sayd 975 ayre 978 rejoyce

The probability of such local concentrations as a purely chance effect can be calculated by expression (8) taking $\phi = \cdot 03$ and $n = 8$. It works out at ·0001085 (reciprocal 9215) for any random sample of eight lines, i.e. it would only occur by chance once in 9215 lines ; and as the concentration appears twice in the total 1194 lines of the Poem, it may be reasonably regarded as due, not to chance, but to interpolations or word changes made on the final copy (or perhaps proof) in the author's own handwriting of high Index I_a. There were no doubt also other corrections, which being scattered cannot be detected in this way. All this care and the double copying must have involved unusual outlay of money in publishing, as with *Lucrece*. Such a risk would be incongruous to an actor who practised usury, and who being devoid of literary reputation could not enlist on his behalf any financial guarantors. Nor could he have had the rich first-hand experience of many things that the vivid imagery of this great Poem reveals, as for instance technicalities of law (repeatedly), boar-hunting, horses or mountain snow (line 750).

Lucrece. The first Quarto (1594) also a handsome edition, has Index I_p 1. 9, lower even than that of *V. and A.*, so that the original autograph must have been copied and re-copied before printing. The short dedication, like that of *V. and A.*, has no *y*-spellings but " The argument " has 4 in its 55 equivalent lines, indicating (through the standard equations) that it was only once copied before printing. As in the case of *V. and A.*, there are local accumulations of *y*-spellings which, being well above the calculated random figures of distribution, point to changes on the final copy by the author whose general care is further shown by the almost complete absence of misprints (as with *V. and A.*). Charged as the whole narrative is with classical erudition, personal experiences, too, of the most varied kind, are unconsciously revealed by prolific images, proving intimacy with legal practice, music, falconry, the sea, foreign paintings etc ; no one meditating on lines 548, 1042, 1077 and 1437 for instance, could reasonably doubt first-hand knowledge of *mountain* mists, mountain springs, Aetna and " Simois reedy banks." All this experience and learning,

mocking the pretensions of an imperfectly educated actor, impart not a little ironical pungency to line 940 (" To unmask falsehood and bring truth to light ") or even to the words " illiterate " and " learned bookes " (810, 811).

The First Folio.

The I_p values of the 36 Plays of the Folio vary between 6·8, for *Henry V* and (1) *Henry VI*, and 1 for *Comedy of Errors*, the overall average being 3·46 which is higher than that for the 16 Plays in Quarto though these had been published earlier ; this means that, unlike most of the Folio Plays, the Quartos had been printed from copies of copies, except *King Lear*, *Merchant of Venice* and *Love's labour's lost*, where the higher I_p is normal for straight copies. As to the Folio Plays, the standard equations show unambiguously that none had been printed from autograph ; for in each case equation (7) is forbidden by the derived I_a figures, which are not only much too low as compared to those given by (2) but much too widely varying. On the other hand with the (non-autograph) equations, (3) to (6), no less than 26 Plays give self-consistent results, adopting the usually accepted writing-dates ; that is to say these Plays, with I_p lying between 2 and 6·8, give fairly constant calculated I_a figures (p. 154), with scrivener's ages not less than 20 or more than 35, though four of these 26 Plays (which four had been previously published in Quarto) give rather low results. The remaining 10 Plays of the Folio (p. 160) have low I_p and are outside the scope of the equations, having been apparently printed from copies of copies or in some cases direct (or partly so) from Quarto. The calculations, much too copious to re-produce here, demonstrate that there is not a single Play in the Folio that had not previously been copied,* and since (as with Sonnets and Poems) the Quarto Plays can be proved by similar calculations to have been printed from copies or copies of copies, it follows that no complete printed text was ever derived directly from Shakespeare's autograph.

This important mathematical induction strikes at the very root of the confused growth of deduction which has developed from the general assumption that (apart from the use of Quartos) the Folio was printed from author's autograph, lying in the recesses of the theatre library. Some critics it is true have dropped this idea, and long ago R. L. Stevenson suggested that the Plays must have been printed from clean copies because of the words of Heminge and Condell (p. 129) " that wee haue scarse receiued from him a blot in his papers," seeing that any author's original M.S. would show alterations and interlineations. No doubt the two actors, deluded by Shakspere, honestly believed that the Plays received were autograph, but the untidy condition of the *Sir Thomas More* M.S. (i.e. "Addition " by Shakespeare—p. 227) proves otherwise : that he made changes and that he paid little attention to such details as capitals (after a full stop or at the beginning of lines), punctuation, brackets, hyphens, apostrophes etc ; so much so that the autograph of his Plays, in many places, would not be intelligible to a printer until it had been rendered ' ship-shape ' by a scrivener. In such copying many peculiarities in spelling besides *y*-spellings would be expunged no less than handwriting characteristics, so that the transcript would contain many spellings of the scrivener, together with his own errors only partly due to the author's calligraphy ; in which circumstances it is not surprising that facile assumptions as

* That prompt copies were used, at least partly, in the case of (3) *Henry VI* and *Much ado about nothing*, is shown by the way actor's personal names have crept into the stage directions ; and the same is true of some Quartos.

to the autograph-origin of Folio and Quartos should have grievously misled the various protagonists in the tangled controversy, concerning Shakespeare's handwriting in general and the authenticity of the *More* manuscript in particular.

Spelling deviation and use of capitals.

The ten Plays of low Index noted on p. 159 require consideration, but as four of them had previously appeared in Quarto, viz *Much ado about nothing*, *King Lear*, *Love's Labour's lost* and *Titus Andronicus*, and as the use of these in printing the Folio Plays (*Much ado*, for example, which was virtually a re-print of Q1) would complicate the problem beyond solution, they are best eliminated from the discussion, thus leaving six of Index I_p each a little above 1 ; these having first appeared in the Folio, viz :—

Measure for measure	*As you like it*
Taming of the Shrew	*Comedy of errors*
All's well that ends well	*Two gentlemen of Verona.*

Calculation (which need not be reproduced here) shows that none of these six Plays could have been printed from singly copied autograph, even if copied so late as 1623, and it is necessary to seek independent evidence of their history. This has been attempted by way of (a) obsolescent spellings in general, and (b) typographical frequency of unnecessary capitals.

(*a*) *Spelling deviation.* If the early Plays among the above six (*C. of E.* and *T.G.V.*) had been twice copied at the time they were written (say the early '90,s) the general spelling would be much less modern than if the second copy had been made in 1623. Taking random samples from all 36 Plays of the Folio for comparison, a count was made of *deviations* from today's spellings, excluding any foreign words and abreviations, but including such deviations as *t* for *ed* (p. participle), the letter *u* for *v* and vice versa, though not interchangeable *i* and *j* or missing apostrophes, nor spellings in which modern alternatives still exist (honor, honour ; surmise, surmize etc) ; the deviation being expressed as the percentage of words spelt differently (i.e. from modern). The mean deviation for the above group of six Plays is $11 \cdot 7\%$, while that of the remaining 30 Plays of the Folio is $14 \cdot 6\%$. The difference is significant (see p. 175) but not great, probably because the latter include all the later Plays, with a tendency to more modern spelling ; but when Plays of about the same date are compared the difference is more marked. For example, taking early Plays, the pair *C. of E.* and *T.G.V.* shows a deviation of only 10% as against 18% for (2) and (3) *Henry VI*, of about the same date, and the contrast is so striking as to be noticeable even to the eye in reading, without any count at all ; so much so that it seems impossible that these two pairs of Plays were copied about the same time. But if only the former pair had been re-copied at a much later date i.e. from the old copies with their numerous obsolete spellings, the modernisation, compared to the *Henry VI* pair, becomes at once intelligible, to say nothing of the great difference in I_p. Since the other four Plays with their more modernised spelling must have had a similar history and since it is difficult to presume any other date for re-copying all six Plays other than the date (1623) of the Folio publication, the interesting question arises whether the publishers if they had the Plays in their hands would go to the expense of modernising their spelling or whether, because the theatre could not supply the Plays, the author himself furnished transcripts newly made in 1623 from his old original copies ; a point that is further elucidated under item (b) now considered.

(*b*) *Capital frequency*. It has long puzzled commentators that the Folio text should contain many thousands of words beginning with capital letters in a more or less aimless way, and it has sometimes been supposed that they had a histrionic significance (emphasis). This typographical peculiarity however follows no regular rules and is so variable in its distribution that it would seem to be mainly a matter of idiosyncrasy ; the whim of either author, scrivener or compositor. Shortage of lower case type fails to explain these redundant capitals since they are mostly used for nouns, and German practice may have dictated the fashion ; but neither this nor emphasis can explain the numerous adjectives, prepositions etc. also printed with capitals even in mid-line. Writers to-day vary considerably in their use of capitals for such words as : King, Court, Crown, Law, Justice etc, or offices like Mayor, Sheriff etc, or relationships like Uncle etc., which (unlike the present writer's habit) are often written with a minuscle. It is therefore difficult in any analysis of texts of the period to define what are redundant capitals. But by excluding ambiguous cases, also of course words beginning a new verse or a new sentence, as well as proper nouns, it is possible to count approximately the number of (now) pointless capitals in samples of about 500 lines taken at random from each Play of the Folio. *Capital frequency* is here defined as the number of redundant capitals per 100 equivalent lines (p. 151) and, as will be seen, it is a useful mark of individuality. Unlike *y*-frequency, it has nothing to do with date, but so far as can be judged each writer or scrivener had his own (approximate) frequency figure of redundancy.

The first point to determine is whether the compositor himself introduced these capitals. He must have been responsible for some (as accidentally he is today) but he would have been taking liberties, unheard of now, if he introduced them on the wholesale scale of the Folio ; and the variability in the latter, where the frequency ranges from about 5 to 70, suggests that the manuscript copy was responsible for this violent fluctuation. Very high frequencies are not as a rule found in the canonical or non-canonical Quarto Plays, the figures for which are mostly below 10, except in the case of *Pvritaine Widdow*, *Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Merlin* (where the frequency—nearly all nouns—ranges from about 25 to 40). Of the Folio Plays, ten have frequencies below 20, six from 20 to 30, thirteen from 30 to 50, and seven from 50 to 70 (the latter include *Winter's Tale*, *Macbeth*, *Henry IV*, *Henry V* and *Othello*). The prefatory matter of the Folio, with signature A2 or A3, probably set up by one compositor, shows similar wide fluctuations between the different contributors but the capitals here also are nearly all for nouns.

The capital frequency of Shakespeare himself, as found in the genuine M.SS. of *Sir Thomas More* is 20, with some ± probability-uncertainty due to the paucity of lines [and the Earl of Derby's figure is 21·4 with a similar small element of uncertainty]. Assuming as is reasonable that, given sufficient script, any writer's figure was tolerably constant, it follows that the great variability of frequency in the Folio text was due to the different scribes who copied the Plays, some reducing and others greatly increasing the number of capitals in the process of copying. Let us suppose hypothetically that all the Plays had been copied by two or three secretaries of different capital frequencies, in the employment of the Earl of Derby. In this case there would be a regular relation between the observed frequencies of the various Plays and their Index I_p ; for supposing one scribe had a capital frequency of 50 he would betray himself by this frequency as well as by his reduction factor f_c. No such simple relation can be discovered, which can only mean that many scribes had been employed at different times, and not a few such as would be servants to the Earl.

Now suppose that the Earl in 1623, on indirect request (p. 135) furnished transcripts of the above six Plays, made from his original and probably untidy copies by his own secretary; in which event all would have not only low I_p but the same capital frequency. As it happens this frequency is unduly low, averaging 12, but three have a figure of about 7 (*Taming of the Shrew*, *All's well* and *As you like it*) and three about 17 (*Measure for measure*, *Comedy of Errors* and *Two gentlemen of Verona*), from which it might possibly appear that two separate scribes were put on to copy them, which is doubtful. What may be taken as certain is that the King's company did not have copies of all the Plays, and that some were supplied to the publishers from outside, so that the Earl of Derby may have furnished not only the six above, but several others, including *Richard III*, discussed later (p. 183).

Author's interpolations. The general *distribution* of *y*-spellings in the Folio text of the various Plays is sufficiently close to the theoretical random given by formula (8) to warrant the supposition that Shakespeare's handwriting with its high I_a was not present as corrections on the copies (of much lower Index), except in a few instances, more especially in *Henry V* and the *Henry VI* trilogy (p. 178), where heavy local concentrations of *y*-spellings, exceeding calculated chance effects, are plainly perceptible and furnish evidence of revisionary changes, subsequent to copying. Another example is in *Macbeth* where the first part of the witch's scene of I, 3 (23 equivalent lines down to "*Drum within*") and the opening 22 equivalent lines of III, 2, must have been largely in Shakespeare's autograph (probably as interpolated slips cancelling the lines on the copy) because in these 45 equivalent lines there are no less than 13 *y*-spellings, for which, with an overall I_p of 5·5 on the Play, the calculated random probability is barely 1 in 30. Apart from this, there is abundant evidence of much more deep-seated revision in at least some of the Plays, after they had been performed in the theatre, the more interesting cases being considered later (Chap. X).

Second Folio.

The main interest of the 2nd Folio (1632) lies in the new eulogies, one of which (unsigned) is the beautiful encomium by Milton; another, an anonymous Poem, is that written over the cryptic initials I.M.S., a lovely fragment which has attracted much attention because no great poet is known of these initials. Lucas who quoted the Poem (in modern spelling, in *S.V.S.*) plausibly argued that he was the Earl of Derby's son JAMES, who to preserve anonymity had left out the A and E of his name. This theory however is easily disproved by the *y*-spelling count, which shows conclusively that the poet was an old man. In 77 equivalent lines there are 10 *y*-spellings (all save one having been expunged in the 3rd Folio of 1664) and this gives I_p 13, as an approximate figure only on so few lines. It shows however that if the Poem was written in 1632 it must have been printed direct from the writer's autograph (of I_a about 24) and calculation, using equations (2) and (7), gives the age of the poet as 69·5, which though only a very rough figure excludes young James Stanley, also John Milton Student, who has been suggested, both of whom were then barely 24.

Boaden's hypothesis that the initials stand for 'In Memoriam Scriptoris' would meet the case, but probably not with the suggested George Chapman as the poet, for though he was then 73 years old, he never wrote anything so fine as this. The present writer suggests Ben Jonson himself, then 60, but supposes that he wrote the Poem in 1623, as an alternative to the eulogy which was then published, keeping it back as inferior till pressed for its inclusion in the 2nd. Folio. Pursuing this idea, it is possible to calculate approximately the age of the writer in 1623 i.e. x_a which works out as 59, Jonson's age being

then 51. The calibre and classical style are consistent with Jonson, as also is the fact that the Poem immediately follows the reprint of his 1623 eulogy. Further, an earlier date than 1632 is indicated by what must have been two later interpolations in the main Poem, recognisable because they break the majestic flow of the verse, to which they also seem distinctly irrelevant.

The first of these passages consists of seven lines, separated from the rest by useless dotted lines at the beginning and end, commencing " While the *Plebeian Impe* " and ending " Stolne from ourselves." The other passage, near the end, consists of eight lines in italics (four quoted below) beginning " *Now when they could* " and ending " *rich and neate.*" These 15 total lines present orthographic differences from the rest of the Poem and that is why they are believed to be of different (later) date ; thus their spelling deviation is only 13·3% as against 18·4% for the rest of the Poem, their capital frequency 13 (uncertain with so few lines) as against 26, and in the 15 lines there are no words where final syllabic *y* is spelt with *ie* (out of four possible) whilst in the remaining 62 lines three out of twelve are spelt with *ie*. The first four lines of the second interpolation, copied and inserted like the other probably in 1632, are quoted below (modern spelling) :—

> Now when they could no longer him enjoy
> In mortal garments pent ; Death may destroy
> They say his body, but his Verse shall live
> And more than Nature takes, our hands shall give.

These words offer the same curious ambiguity about Shakespeare as Jonson affected in his figurative lines about " Moniment " (p. 130) in the 1st Folio, an ambiguity which here is even more suggestive of the writer's private knowledge that the man Shakespeare was not dead, i.e. in 1632. It is difficult otherwise to account for such words as " They say " (instead of ' Tis true ' for instance), " takes " instead of ' took ' or even " may " instead of ' did.' As in Jonson's earlier eulogy, so in all this Poem there is no explicit link with Shakspere while the above four lines distinctly suggest a similar subterfuge to perpetuate the fiction, then nine years old, of a dead Shakespeare ; in point of fact, as the lines stand, they apply perfectly well to the living Earl of Derby.

Phœnix and the Turtle.

The absence of *y*-spellings in the 67 lines of this remarkable Poem (found over the name " William Shake-speare " in Robert Chester's *Loves Martyr or Rosalins Complaint*, in 1601) is significant, seeing that there are plenty of *y*-spellings in Chester's own long Poem (I_p about 3) and several in the short accompanying Poems by Marston, Chapman and " Ben Johnson," but again none in the two stanzas, signed ' Ignoto ' (also probably by Shakespeare). All this is an indication that the *Phœnix and the Turtle* was carefully corrected and twice copied ; the Ignoto stanzas being sent perhaps as a sort of covering letter to Chester. Though Chester's long rambling Poem personifies the [strictly male] Phœnix as a mythical female bird, and the Turtle (dove) as a male, it is not necessary to suppose that Shakespeare's bird was in any way sexually relevant or the Poem written to order ; the latter has nothing in common, and the fact that virtually all its lines are end-stopt clearly indicates that it was written well prior to 1601.

Robert Chester was the *protégé*, at Lleweni in North Wales, of Sir John Salusbury to whom he dedicated this *Loves Martyr*, and Sir John was virtual brother-in-law to the 6th Earl of Derby, whose half-sister Ursula (p. 18) he married about 1587. Sir John (*b.* 1567), whom Derby called " my brother,"

traced his descent from an old and influential Welsh family of the Vale of Clwyd ; his grand-mother came from Chester and his mother, Catherine Tudor, was descended from the same Welsh Princes as Henry VII and Derby. Sir John's Uncle Robert married Margaret Stanley, the two families had been neighbours for centuries and Sir John himself was in close touch* with the Earl of Derby ; indeed [orthodox] Quincey Adams (*Life of Shakespeare*) supposed that Chester's allegory represented the marriage of John Salusbury and Ursula. Certain Salusbury manuscripts of the period have been preserved, as to which Sir Israel Gollancz said in 1923 " reminiscences from Shakespeare frequently arrest one," especially in the Plays and Poems of Sir Thomas Salusbury, Sir John's grandson. One of the manuscripts of date 1623, now in the National Library of Wales, is important because in a few lines of poetry it offers congratulations to the nominal Editors of the Folio (Heminge and Condell) on their great work and contains the line :—

" butt you haue pleased ye lyving loved ye deadd "

The writer of these lines, like Ben Jonson's Folio colleagues, evidently thought that Shakespeare was dead in 1623, and Gollancz said " it seems likely that this writer " was his eldest son, Sir Henry i.e. son of Sir John, and therefore nephew (by marriage) of the Earl of Derby. The nephew would surely know if his Uncle wrote the Plays, and if Gollancz' supposition were correct it would naturally be most damaging to the case for Derby-Shakespeare identity. That it is *not* correct is proved by the fact that there are no less than 8 *y*-spellings in 63 words i.e. 9 equivalent lines ; too few of course to reach any real I_a but sufficient to show that this I_a must have been very high (well over 60). The spelling deviation (50%) is also abnormally high i.e. for 1623 (see p. 175) and these values prove conclusively that the writer *was an old man*. Sir John himself is ruled out, for he died in 1613 and as his son Sir Henry was only 35 in 1623, his Index I_a can be approximately calculated by equation (2) ; it comes to only 7 which personal idiosyncrasy could only alter slightly, so that clearly he did not pen these lines ; and some secretary or friend (who was certainly old) ignorant of the truth may have written them. What really matters is the admitted linkage between Shakespeare and Sir John Salusbury, a most arresting fact but a mystery which as Lefranc first noticed is now cleared up by Sir John's relationship with the Earl of Derby, identified as the great poet.

Grosart who made a thorough investigation into the personalities and pedigree of both Robert Chester and Sir John Salusbury, concluded that Chester's allegory embodied the tragic relationship between Queen Elizabeth (Phœnix) and the Earl of Essex (Turtle), Rosaline being an alternative equivalent of the Queen (Tudor rose). He therefore supposed that the same allegory was implicit in Shakespeare's obscurely metaphysical riddle but admitted that he was baffled (like everyone else) by the 5th stanza :—

And thou treble dated crow
That thy sable gender mak'st
With the breath thou giv'st and tak'st
'Mongst our mourners shalt thou go.

Lucas (*S.V.S.*) got much nearer the truth in interpreting " the eagle, feathered King " of the 3rd. stanza in terms of the Earl of Derby and the famous Stanley eagle crest (p. 10), but the present writer cannot agree to his

* As shown for instance by two letters of Derby to Mr. Hicks, one dated 30th May, 1595 (Plate V) and the other 12th April, 1597, pressing for Lord Burghley's sanction to certain measures in the interests of Salusbury.

interpretation of the 5th stanza as signifying Derby's hostile sister-in-law, the Countess Alice. Grosart's theory is perhaps supported by the fact that Vennard about 1601 in a long Poem of fulsome praise (*The Miracle of Nature*) called the Queen " the Phœnix of our daies," (apt enough for a mythical bird of such gorgeous plumage) but Chester's Phœnix is a *young* girl whose physical and even anatomical charms, from top to toe, are unreservedly revealed (as later by Donne, Herrick etc.) in numerous stanzas ; so that as the Queen was over 60 it is rather difficult, despite all the flattery of the time, to equate her to Chester's Phœnix. Whatever cryptic meaning there may be in *his* long narrative, the present writer conjecturally interprets Shakespeare's dark enigma as an allegory, of date 1594, symbolising the Earl of Derby's loss of his beloved Elizabeth when he became, as supposed, secretly betrothed to the Queen ; possibly trusting in her soon-expected* death and the Phœnix-like re-birth of joy in union with his own Elizabeth.

However fanciful this theory may seem, it at least accords with those Sonnets and external facts discussed in Chapter IV ; even with Vennards words (in the above Poem), "A Virgin Queene deserves a servant King." In this light the *Phœnix and the Turtle* is simply a funeral dirge chanted, not to individuals, but to the soul of love (Phœnix) as found in Elizabeth de Vere and the soul of constancy (Turtle) as in him. So for example in the 6th stanza :—

> Love and constancy is dead
> Phœnix and the turtle fled
> In a mutual flame from hence

—while, within the " Cock Robin " analogy, there runs a strain of two in one (not unlike the Trinity in the Athanasian creed) recalling the sentiments of Sonnets **36** and **39** ; so that though divided the two souls are still one There is however no stanza devoted to the future emergence of the new Phœnix from the ashes of the old ; circumstances would not permit it in 1594 and the original legend enables this to be ' taken as read '—instead all is unrelieved gloom (as it would be with the Earl of Derby at that time). As to the particular individuals implied in the birds, of course they can only be guessed. The " shriking harbinger " i.e. owl of the 2nd stanza might have been his sister-in-law, the Countess Alice, suspected in some quarters of having recently poisoned her husband (Ferdinando) and thus " augour of the fevers end " ; the fowls " of tyrant wing " may have been Essex, Bacon and other of the Queen's advisers, hostile to the scheme on political grounds ; the Eagle, Derby himself, as mourning for his lost soul of constancy (Turtle) ; and the " death divining " Swan, someone like Burghley who had anticipated a break in his love match with Elizabeth de Vere. The Crow of the 5th stanza, apparently *fons et origo* of all the trouble, might have been the Queen herself whose mother Anne had been called a " night crow " by Wolsey ; and the Queen herself addressed one of her friends (Lady Norris†) as " My own dear Crow." This bird, one of ill-omen as in (3) *Henry VI*, V, 6, 45, had the legendary power of changing its sex ; the Queen often behaved like a man, was called and imagined herself " King " and, as is well known, disrespectful rumour has absurdly suggested

* When for State reasons his great grandmother Mary Tudor (p. 46) married the decrepit King of France she was in a similar position to Derby, being in love with the Duke of Suffolk whom she married within two months of the King's demise.

† In 1592 when her son, Sir John Norris, was commanding the English forces in France, her husband Lord Norris several times played on the word ' crow ' in an address to the Queen, hoping that she would visit his Country seat (Ricote), which though only a " crow's nest " would be made a " Phœnix nest " by her. The neat parallel to the plumage of the Phœnix was applicable to the Queen but there is no such parallelism in Shakespeare's Phœnix, it and the dove being both self-immolated ; but the poet's general antithesis between crow and dove (e.g. in Sonnet **113**) is suggestive of the Queen's hostility to his constancy ; indeed she jealously resented the marriage of any of her Maids of Honour.

that she was a man disguised as a woman. Since crows were supposed to live three times as long as a man, and the word ' date " as used by Shakespeare means a period of time, " treble dated " (without hyphen in the original) probably means three times some period, which if taken as 20 (the age of Elizabeth de Vere) gives 60 (roughly the Queen's age in 1594). The second line of the 5th stanza becomes more intelligible when it is recalled that Chaucer and the Earl of Surrey meant ' mate ' by ' make ' (cf. Shakespeare's Sonnet **9**) while ' kind ' or ' sort ' is implied by " gender " (Fr. *gendre*) with subtle implication of the opposite sex ; the line could therefore mean ' That matest her peer in black ' i.e. " sable " [the Earl mourning for the recent death of both father and brother]. The third line, so difficult otherwise, is cleared up by construing " breath " so as to connote ' vow,' (as in *L.L.L.* IV, 3, 68), and even other simultaneous ideas like ' homage ' and ' life,' as in *Richard II*, III, 2, 185 and I, 3, 232. For, as with the whole Poem and many Sonnets, the poet by juggling with alternative word meanings imported a deep cryptic obscurity into this 5th stanza, which as here expounded reflects distasteful betrothal vows between Queen and Earl, vows involving his homage and even life, but death *pro tem.* to his real love.

CHAPTER X.

SOME OLD PROBLEMS RE-EXAMINED

THE Shakespeare Quartos were issued in circumstances that are still obscure despite much bibliographical research, but there is no evidence that even the "good" Quartos were ever sanctioned by the author. Whether impudently pirated or acquired from theatre managers, their mostly corrupt texts, sometimes accompanied by long-winded bombastic title-pages, were out of keeping with the dignity of the subject and surely offensive to so great an artist as Shakespeare; the principal motive as with the Folio being mercenary. There are many problems associated with these Quartos no less than the Folio, particularly those relating to textual genuineness and original date of composition, which are beyond solution by mere literary criticism but which nevertheless yield to quantitative treatment; for it is demonstrable that as different writers are characterised by singularities in what is called style, so more precisely they are distinguished by the frequency of particular idiosyncrasies. Numerical figures for these can be valid only of course when they are derived from a number of counts sufficiently widely distributed to guarantee some approach to a true frequency, and even so the figure may be shared by more than one writer, so that by itself the frequency of any single feature is utterly valueless. The probability however of approximately quantitative agreement, as between any two writers, in *several* diverse frequencies is so remote as to be negligible, so that when they are observationally fixed for Shakespeare they have the highest importance as an adjunct to literary criteria, in detecting or rejecting his hand in texts which have hitherto been subjects of doubt.

Date formula.

Many tacit assumptions derived from Shaksperian biography have necessarily influenced reasoning in relation to dates no less than other problems, and it is not surprising that such orthodox premises have led to ceaseless controversial confusion. It remains to be seen how far some of these unsettled questions are amenable to solution by *y*-spelling analysis and other new methods of approach in the light of Derby authorship; though space permits only a brief discussion of each. Of first importance is the date when the Plays, particularly early Plays (defining as 'early' any prior to about 1592) were written or revised; for though the date of most of the Plays is now known with tolerable precision others, especially early ones, have baffled critics ever since the time of Malone. The proportion of rhyme to blank verse, which is certainly greatest with the earlier Plays, is no criterion because Shakespeare so often subordinated his early propensity for rhyme to emotional or dramatic exigencies; and how un-sure rhyme-proportion is as a guide to date, is shown by its variability in Plays round about the same early period, being abnormally high in *L.L.L.*, much less in *C. of E.*, still less in *T.G.V.* and very low in the three *Henry VI* Plays.

A much better index of date, as has long been known, is the diminishing number of end-stopt lines, as Shakespeare progressively modified the syntactical overspill of his rhythm; that is by relieving metrical monotony through

the device of linking the last word of a line, here and there, pauselessly with the next succeeding line. Since the frequency of these so-called ' run-on ' lines obviously increased with Shakespeare as time rolled on, it seemed desirable to enquire whether the increase was regular, and if so whether it could be utilised quantitatively as a reliable indicator of date. An attempt has accordingly been made to elucidate more precisely the actual rate of change, but not by what are commonly called ' run-on ' lines for which different critics may, and often do, find different frequencies in any given Play. Such variation in judgment however can be largely eliminated and the figure made virtually impersonal, if during the count all lines are excluded where a slight pause in declamation is metrically imposed, and only those included which are truly continuous with the next line (i.e. if stilted effect is to be avoided). To distinguish such pause-less lines, in passages of blank verse, from the rather more numerous lines, loosely called ' run-on,' they are here called *R*-lines, but though they offer greater precision their number in any Play can be only approximately fixed, because often a very slight pause is optional. In order therefore to make the selection as rigid as possible for mathematcial purposes, short passages are excluded during the count, and the number *R* is defined arbitrarily as the quotient of the total lines inspected divided by the sum of (*a*) those which are obviously pause-less, plus (*b*) one third of those which are optionally pause-less. By this procedure the *R* figures obtained by different persons should not differ materially, provided that their judgment is severe and checked by a (most necessary) repeat inspection.

For instance, taking the 524 available lines (exceeding 5 in any passage) of blank verse in *M.N.D.*, in the present writer's judgment there are 9 under category (a) ending respectively with the words *messengers, one, know* (I, 1, 34, 48, 62), *see, change* (II, 2, 47, 53), *hear, intent* (IV, 1, 120, 157), *forth, death* (V, 1, 14, 52) ; and 4 under category (b) ending *this* (III, 2, 227), *undo, be* (IV, 1, 68, 97), *believe* (V, 1, 2). This makes the total number $10\frac{1}{3}$, whence on 524 lines the proportion is 1 in 50·7, the quotient in general (reciprocal of the frequency) being known as *R*, which is thus simply the ratio of the total available lines inspected, to the *R*-lines they contain (as defined). But a considerable bulk of blank verse is requisite including several hundred ' available lines ' (i.e. excluding short passages), for only so can a reliable frequency figure be obtained approaching the true $1/R$ for a large bulk. Where insufficient lines are available there might be big deviations from $1/R$; and if n is such a limited number of lines, the probability of finding 0, 1, 2, 3, 4 . . . . *R*-lines is calculable from expression (8) on p. 154, by making $\mu = \frac{n}{R}$. This shows for example that if the true *R*-value is 20, a count of 100 lines, only, would give a 50% chance of finding 20 ± 5 ; or if $R = 10$, a count of 20 lines, only, would give a 72% chance of finding either 1, 2 or 3 *R*-lines instead of 2 (for which, or 1, the probability is only 27%).

The importance of this quotient *R*, so computed, lies in the fact that when, for Plays whose dates are fairly well known, *R* is plotted as a graph against the dates, the observed values are found to lie close to a smooth curve of logarithmic type ; and subject to the present writer's elocutionary judgment of *R*-lines, the equation for this curve, *hereafter called the R-formula*, is simply :—

$$\log R = 2{\cdot}4 - {\cdot}05\ v.$$

Where v is the date (when the Play was written) minus 1580.

This formula gives the following calculated (i.e. ideal) values of *R* for the dates shown below :—

Date	-	1592	1594	1596	1598	1600	1602	1604	1606	1608	1610	1612
R(*calc.*)	-	63·1	50·1	39·8	31·6	25·1	19·95	15·85	12·6	10	7·94	6·3

The numerical constants in the above *R*-formula, being partly determined by personal judgment, would not be quite the same for other critics, but provided that *their* judgment is steady over all the Plays, though their *R*-values might be different (say 10% more or less than the present writer's) this would not appreciably affect the results, for after adjusting the constants to suit Plays of known date, the calculated values of v and therefore dates of other Plays would agree fairly closely with those given by the writer's constants. The

R-formula naturally applies only to Shakespearian blank verse, though probably a similar logarithmic relation holds with other dramatists, whose *R*-values vary individually. Ben Jonson's figure changed rapidly from about 50 in 1598 to much lower values in 1603 and finally, years later, to about 6 ; and so far as the present writer knows no one ever reached such low *R*-values as Shakespeare and Jonson. The figures for Beaumont and Fletcher's Plays range between about 25 and 12, but those for Marlowe are very much higher than Shakespeare's at about the same time (e.g. *Edward II*, about 1592, has $R = 195$).

The *R*-formula obviously cannot be used for *accurate* date calculation, first because of slight variation in judgment, affecting the magnitude of *R* which is very sensitive to change when the *R*-lines are few (i.e. *R* large), and second because, if a Play had been written over a period or revised later, the observed *R*-figure can have no precise application. Amazing though it seems to discover a mathematical time-function in Shakespeare's Art, there cannot be the least doubt that his versification underwent a *perfectly steady quantitative change* in accordance with the above *R*-formula ; this is shown by the concordance between the calculated and observed *R*-values with those Plays, whose date is reasonably certain and which were not subjected later to further revision, as for instance in the Table below :—

Date -	1592	1594	1598	1600	1604	1611
R obs. -	61·2	50·7	31·5	24	17	6·2
R calc. -	63·1	50·1	31·6	25·1	15·85	7·08
Play -	(3) *Henry VI*	*M.N.D.*	(1) (2) *Henry IV*	*A.Y.L.*	*M. for Measure*	*Tempest*

Similar approximate agreement holds between observed and ideal *R*-values with other Plays whose date is roughly known, so that the *R*-formula may be confidently accepted as a means of deriving unknown dates, and even of discriminating between portions of a Play whose text is of different dates ; provided always that there is sufficient* blank verse available, *as Shakespeare wrote it*, and not in a corrupt condition, as is the case with some of the ' bad ' Quartos, where many of the lines have been woefully mutilated. Subject to these conditions, even where high values of *R* are observed, prior to 1592 (and as will appear, there is much genuine work before then), dates are accessible by first fixing *R* then calculating *v* from the *R*-formula, and adding 1580. The *R*-formula thus becomes a most valuable adjunct to the independent ' standard equations ' (p. 153) and spelling deviation formula (p. 175), both of which are dependent on date of copying and printing, while the *R*-formula depends *only* on the date of composition.

Shakespeare and Marlowe.

Much confusion, as to complete genuineness of certain canonical Plays, has arisen from the difficulty of distinguishing Shakespeare's early blank verse from Marlowe's. As however Marlowe's *R*-values are all so much higher than Shakespeare's, distinction even in a supposedly heterogeneous Play, should be possible, at least with the aid of other criteria, and one of these criteria in a homogeneous Play is the proportion of scenes ending in rhyming couplets, in which respect the two dramatists had opposite tendencies. Some Shakespearian scenes end in prose (the majority in the case of *L.L.L.*, *Much Ado*, *M.W.W.*, *W.T.* and *Tempest*) and only those Plays need be considered

* There is not sufficient for instance in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, with only 137 available lines in the 1623 F Play and still fewer (that can be accepted as un-corrupt) in the 1602 Q Play, but the observed frequency of *R*-lines is smaller in the latter, as would be expected if it represented an earlier draft. For the F Play *R* is 25.7, from which the date calculates out as 1599·8, a figure that must be untrustworthy, both because of the revision and the fewness of available lines.

where there are 10 or more scenes, which end in two verses of 8-11 syllables (generally 10) whether spoken by a single person or two. The *end-rhyme fraction* is here defined as the proportion of scenes with terminal verses rhymed (expressed on the total, rhymed and un-rhymed), without taking account of any succeeding short sentence (such as " Fare well " " But heavenly Rosalind " etc.). Prologues, epilogues and choruses are not included in the count—only scenes and Inductions. For most of the Shakespeare Plays the end-rhyme fraction is fairly constant, averaging nearly ·6, but in a few cases (p. 188) it is decidedly lower, and it is high (over ·8) in the case of *C. of E.*, *M.N.D.*, *Richard II*, *T. and C.*, *Othello* and *T. of A.* On average the fraction increases from ·5 with the early canonical Plays (seven) to ·655 for those of mid-date (fourteen) and ·689 for the later Plays (sixteen), these figures being based on 116, 171 and 180 total scenes respectively, but owing to fluctuations they are of no service in date calculation.

As for other playwrights, there is great variation ; thus with the anonymous writers of the Apocryphal Plays (Chap. XI) the end-rhyme fractions vary between ·3 and unity (i.e. all verse endings rhymed) ; with Ben Jonson whose scenes so often have prose endings reliable figures can only be obtained for a few Plays, like *Sejanus*, *Fox* and *Cataline* with numerous terminal verses, but the overall average for his earlier Plays is ·73 i.e. high and it is fairly regular. On the other hand the figures for Greene's Plays and those of Beaumont and Fletcher are quite irregular, while Marlowe's fraction is regular but consistently *low*, ranging between ·08 (*Massacre at Paris*) and ·33 (*Jew of Malta*), the mean being only ·19, i.e. for his known Plays, and not including for instance the high figure for *Lusts Dominion*, erroneously ascribed to Marlowe in 1657.

Marlowe's persistently low and Shakespeare's usually high end-rhyme fraction, in conjunction with their sharp *R*-disparities, serve to distinguish their hands in some cases of disputed authorship, where quality of blank verse, parallels and treacherous versification tests, such for instance as those of Fleay, fail. By the latter Marlowe's hand has been " discovered " in several Plays of the Canon, Robertson going so far as to make Marlowe actual author of *Richard III* and part-author of a number of other Plays, even *Julius Caesar*. Other foreign hands (Chapman, Fletcher, Wilkins etc.) have also been freely discovered among other Plays, while as already noticed Slater would carve up the Canon as between the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Derby, Bacon and others. All this absurd disintegration through misleading literary criteria ignores the most fundamental fact of all—the all pervading singularity of mind that is demonstrably *sui generis*, even in minor scenes or incidents, despite the corruptions which disfigure the Folio.

Outside the official Canon are four Plays which have been the subject of endless orthodox dispute ; of these, the two conveniently known as (1) and (2) *Contention* (p. 178) were once ascribed to Marlowe, mainly because of certain verbal parallels with his *Edward II*. Parallels alone can never prove identity in authorship ; and if it is a case of imitation they have no significance unless the relative dates are known by which we may recognise the borrower, but in this instance the phrase-parallels are not more striking than the parallels in action between the closing scenes of *Edward II* and *Richard II*, which no one would assign to Marlowe. Decisive evidence that he had little or (as will be seen later) nothing to do with the *Contention* pair is found in (1) their end-rhyme fractions, ·42 and ·47 respectively, well above Marlowe's figure and (2) their *R*-values, 91 and 82·4 respectively, well below his. On the other hand the other two Plays, a pair known as *Troublesome Raigne* (p. 222) might be assigned to Marlowe if only their end-rhyme fractions were considered (·18 and ·11 respectively), but hardly when notice is taken of their *R*-values

(141 and 130 respectively) and not at all when other features are taken into account, considered later. Marlowe's Plays like Shakespeare's reveal military knowledge as well as a deep interest in magic, and between them there is so much in common,* as to phrasing, imagination, poetic sweetness etc. as to suggest some definite *liaison*. Yet the differences between them are nevertheless profound. Marlowe's drama is poetical rather than human ; overcharged with classical allusion and turgid hyperbole, it for the most part not only lacks that strict subordination of language to dramatic purpose which characterises Shakespeare, but also lacks his emotional technique, teeming imagery, rampant personification, alliteration, antithesis, overflowing periods, humour and numerous other idiosyncrasies.

But the whole problem has been prejudiced by the general assumption that Marlowe, by preceding, served as a model for Shakespeare, a Shaksperian postulate that is discredited by the new methods of date calculation, which disprove precedence. That *both* dramatists influenced each other is beyond doubt, Shakespeare's example probably restraining Marlowe in his later work ; in which connection it may be observed that since the latter had contacts with Raleigh and the Earl of Oxford, it is almost inevitable that Oxford's relative Stanley must have known him. Nothing indeed is more likely than that these two brilliant poets frequently met and exchanged ideas in London during the obscure period 1587 - 1592, so that mutual influence might well account for the Marlowesque parallels in the *T.R.* and *Contention* pairs, while conversely it seems possible to detect Shakespeare's hand in Marlowe's *Edward II*, not merely in the superior dramatic characterisation but in some actual passages.

Repeat index.

Despite the luxuriance of Shakespeare's vocabulary he frequently repeated his words, generally without clumsiness, sometimes with bold or unrevised carelessness, more often deliberately for histrionic effect or even word-jugglery, as in the extreme case of Sonnets **40** and **135** for instance. Quantitative comparison of Shakespeare's verbal repetition (based on large numbers of short random passages) with that of other writers is possible by counting in each packet of 100 consecutive words the number, N, of those which differ from all others (disregarding as repeats any variations of the same verb or noun due to tense changes or inflections), so that (100—N) *hereafter called* ρ, *the repeat index*, gives the percentage of repetitions. The repeat index, being very variable with all writers, has significance only as an average figure over several hundred words in such random packets, and as so reached the average ρ is found to be a fairly steady figure for each writer. Since however ρ includes insignificant prepositions etc. which everyone repeats and which swamp the effect of the more striking repetitions, only small differences in average ρ are to be expected between different authors. Owing to the labour involved, observations have been limited to about 20 of the leading contemporary writers, their averages being reached on anything from 3 to 10 samples each, while in the case of Shakespeare about 150 samples (Plays and Poems) have been counted. The general results show that his overall mean ρ is wonderfully steady at 24, considerably higher than the average ρ of most other authors which is about 20, but Bacon's average, at least in *Advancement of Learning* is higher (27). Marlowe's average (Plays and Poems) is about 25·5 and

* The more striking characteristically Shakespearian words or phrases used by Marlowe are : *beholding* (beholden), *dalliance*, *famoused*, *frolicke* [adj.], *lousy*, *outface*, *reverend* (esteemed), *runnates*, *the* (thee), "Away with her," " be ruld by me," " content thee," " gallop apace," " level at," " not a whit " and " what ailst thou."

Breton's as high as 35 (in 5 Poems sampled) while Raleigh's ρ is only 19·9 (in 9 scattered Poems) and the Earl of Oxford's 18·2 (in 6 scattered Poems), these sampled averages of course being only approximate. Shakespeare's ρ in various samples is found to be independent of date ; and it may range between the extremes of 15 and 37 but usually does not depart greatly from the general mean i.e. 24. [The Earl of Derby's ρ similarly varies and, counted over the whole of his available script, has a mean value 24·1—see p. 86.]

While therefore in any doubtful text a sampled average ρ of 20 or less is indecisive, without necessarily excluding Shakespeare, a high figure of 24 or above is *primâ facie* suggestive, so long as other evidence excludes Marlowe ; which conditions hold for some of the so-called Apocryphal Plays (Chap. XI), while seven others (*Locrine, Pvritaine Widdow, London Prodigall, Two Noble Kinsmen, Sir John Oldcastle, Merry Devill of Edmonton* and *Yorkshire Tragedy*) have average ρ values in the normal region of 20.

Northern verb-inflections.

In the Northern " Middle English " dialect, verbs indicative originally had the same *s* or *es* inflection for all six persons of the present tense (e.g. I makes, thou makes etc.) but these inflections had become largely obsolete in Shakespeare's time, except for the 3rd pers. sing. (he makes) which had then everywhere mostly displaced the old Southern *th* inflection ruling all six persons also (e.g. they maketh). As is well known Shakespeare used the Southern sometimes but much more frequently the obsolescent Northern inflections, especially the 3rd pers. *s*-plurals (e.g. " my bones beares witnesse," *C. of E.* IV, 4, 79 ; Folio), also to a less extent the 2nd pers. sing. of the Northern and Western dialect (e.g. " thou expects," *R. and J.*, III, 5, 111 ; Q2). His Southern inflection for the plural indicative is to be found mostly in ' doth ' and ' hath.' He very rarely used the old Midland inflection *en* for the plural and generally as a deliberate archaism, as in ' perishen ' and ' escapen ' (*Pericles*, Chorus II, 35, 36 ; Q 1609) ; as a contrast to which Peele may be cited, who used the Midland *en*-plural with great frequency, e.g. in *The Araygnement of Paris*, but the old Northern *s*-plural only twice.

Shakespeare's very numerous Northern *s*-plurals, most of which have been extinguished in modern texts, are neither solecisms nor affectations but quite spontaneous Northern practice and as a rule have nothing to do with dramatic characterisation ; but in counting them for frequency (including plural ' is ' and ' was ') in the early text of any Play or Poem, whether Shakespearian or not, it is essential to exclude ungrammatical blunders, designedly put into the mouth of Clowns, as well as other doubtful cases such as permissive singulars. Among the latter (to take modern examples) we have : " the news is good," " a hundred pounds is a good sum," etc., and various cases where ' it ' as verb-subject can be elliptically imagined ; all these are excluded from the count, as well as those instances where two or more singular noun subjects are connected by ' or ' or ' nor,' the verb then being regarded as normally singular. Only those unambiguous cases are reckoned, where the subject is manifestly plural, as in Gonzalo's " My old bones akes " (*Tempest* III, 3, 2 ; Folio) or where two or more subjects are connected by ' and,' as in " my hand/And ring is yours " (*Cymbeline* II, 4, 57). Such *s*-plurals were not exclusive to Shakespeare, but they were only used occasionally by other writers whereas they abound in Shakespearian Quartos and even the later Folio. Owing to the great labour involved in closely scrutinising a large number of Plays and Poems of the period, a limited number only have been fully counted by the

writer, viz 12 Plays of the Folio and 33 Plays, Shakespearian and non-Shakespearian, in Quarto, as well as a large number of Poems in first editions, from all of which sufficient statistical data have been acquired to make the following generalisations possible :—

First taking non-Shakespearian Quartos, the frequency of real *s*-plurals (as defined) is generally so low as to suggest that they may be misprints ; for instance in the seven anonymous Plays (p. 172), which at one time or another have been ascribed to Shakespeare, the mean number per Play (averaging about 2300 lines) is only 2·3, but certain other anonymous Plays discussed later show very much higher figures. The highest non-Shakespearian average per Play which the present writer has observed is 4·7 with Marlowe, where there are 11 in (1) *Tamburlaine*, 4 in (2) *Tamburlaine*, 2 in *Doctor Faustus*, 1 in *Jew of Malta*, 6 in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* (? partly Marlowe), 8 in *Edward II* and 1 in the imperfect *Massacre at Paris*. That his *s*-plurals were true Northern plurals and not misprints is at least shown in the case of *Hero and Leander* (1st two Sestiads, comprising 660 lines) where the only *s*-plurals viz. ' relies ' (I, 443) and ' rests ' (II, 216) are essential to the respective rhymes ; also in so far as it is possible to discover *s*-plurals in the clumsy syntax of Marlowe's translations of Ovid's *Amores* (p. 257) which are about the length of a Play, one is in rhyme viz ' guides ' (Elegia XVII), another being ' Burns ' (Elegia IX). But in his translation of the *First Book of Lucan* there are no *s*-plurals, and the frequency mean for all his Poems (1 in 1350 lines) is less than in his Plays (about 1 in 700). It is also noteworthy that in all his works there are 8 N.W. 2nd pers *s*-singulars, a frequency which is about one third of that of Shakespeare.

Turning now to Shakespeare : the average number of Northern *s*-plurals, per Play of the Folio examined, is 9 (there are 15 in *Winter's Tale*), and 13 per Play in the Quartos examined (mostly first). Much interest naturally attaches to the un-corrupt text of the two great Poems which the author himself published ; in the first Quarto (1593) of *V. and A.* with 1194 lines there are 3 *s*-plurals (ignoring a few doubtful cases or permissive singulars) viz *paies* (line 632), *makes* (988) and *lies* (1128) which is part of a rhyme ; and in the first Quarto (1594) of *Lucrece* with 1855 lines there are 5 viz *wakes* (168), *finds* (238), *beseemes* (277), *delayes* (552), which is part of a rhyme, and *addes* (564) ; besides which there are 2 N.W. 2nd pers. singulars viz *sets* (878) and *descants* (1134). In the 1609 Quarto of the Sonnets, with 2154 lines, there are 5 Northern *s*-plurals viz *liues* (Sonnet **11**), *beftts* (**41**), *depends* (**101**), *breeds* (**111**), the two latter being in respective rhymes, and (possibly) *proues* (**125**), also a N.W. 2nd pers. *s*-singular (' *confounds*,' **8**) ; while in the same Quarto, in *Lovers Complaint*, with 329 lines there are, ignoring the doubtful ' sweetens' of stanza 39, two *s*-plurals viz. *lets* (stanza 6) and *comes* (33). Thus the distribution is fairly regular and in general the frequency of these Northern *s*-plurals, which far exceeds that of other poets, is highest in the Quarto Plays (1 in 208 lines) and lowest in the Poems (1 in 369), while in the Folio Plays examined the average is 1 in 300, where it is very probable that many were extinguished by greater care in editing. They are not misprints ; their abnormal frequency, their occasional appearance as a necessary part of a rhyme and the fact that in one case noted 2 *s*-plurals are identical in the textually different Quartos of *Hamlet*, printed by different publishers, prove that they came naturally to Shakespeare in writing ; a fact of great importance in distinguishing him from other writers, except Marlowe, who as noted not only used *s*-plurals (though much less frequently than Shakespeare) but occasionally, like other dramatists, words of the Northern dialect (*belike*, *dally*, *lad*, *lousy*, *mickle*, etc.), though nothing like so often as Shakespeare.

The presence of more than 7 *s*-plurals (as restricted) in any Quarto Play or 4 in the Folio may be taken as a *primâ facie* indication of genuineness, if other evidence excludes Marlowe, so that (in say the case of part-authorship) about one *s*-plural is to be expected per 250 Shakespearian lines. If $\phi = \frac{1}{250}$, the probability of finding one in n consecutive

lines is given by $\mu \cdot e^{-\mu}$ where $\mu = \phi n$; for example when $n = 100$, the probability is $\cdot 4e^{-\cdot 4} = \cdot 268$ (about 1 in 4 chance). In the non-Fletcherian portion of *Two Noble Kinsmen* (Q, 1634) there are only 2 *s*-plurals in 1360 lines, not the 5 or 6 that would be expected if Shakespeare wrote them, a sufficient confirmation of other evidence, which refutes the assertion on the title-page that he and Fletcher wrote the Play. Similar remarks apply to *Yorkshire Tragedy*, fraudulently ascribed to " W. Shakspeare " in the 1608 Quarto, which has no *s*-plurals at all, and to *The London Prodigall*, also ascribed to " William Shakespeare " in the 1605 Quarto, which (ignoring six permissive singulars) has only three.

Orthographic peculiarities.

The 3-page autograph manuscript of *Sir Thomas More* (Appendix I) and the manuscript described on pp. 255-6, show that while Shakespeare varied his spelling like other contemporary writers he differed by a much more old-fashioned style, and his mean deviation (as defined on p. 160) from modern practice, in these manuscripts, works out at 27% [a high figure which is nearly identical with the Earl of Derby's average deviation, 27·5%, between 1595 and 1607]. In *printed* matter of the period, whether Shakespearian or not, spelling deviation is much less than this. But what distinguishes Shakespearian Quartos (and even the 1623 Folio) from most other printed texts is the continual recurrence of Chaucerian archaisms or other peculiar spellings, which are so marked as to make it reasonably certain that they were survivals of the author's own spellings, as for example in : *braule, ceaze* (seize), *conceipt, ewgh, ghesse, in steede, perst* (pierced), *the* (thee) *way* (weigh) and so on. It is not merely in the pirated Quartos that antiquated spellings are frequent ; they are found in the above manuscripts, in such words as : *afoord, aucthority, braule, feble, parcyall, sowles, straing, the* (thee), *toung, tournd, woorke* etc., also in considerable number in the author-supervised texts of *V. and A.* and *Lucrece.*

In *V. and A.* (Q1) for instance we have such spellings as : *ceazeth, fornace, hong, hed, goare, reres* (rears), *shrowd* (shrewd), *sturre* etc., and in *Lucrece* (Q1) : *conceipt, fowle* (foul), *heare* (hair), *ouglie, sclander, were* (wear) etc., as well as : *howr* (line 965), *howrs* (537), *sowr* (1334), *sowrs* (867) and *towrs* (945), which strongly recall the Earl of Derby's unusual spellings : *Desembr, Octobr* and *undr* (several times). As with all the Shakespearian Quartos, so in *V. and A* and *Lucrece* we find not only many words of the Northern dialect, such as : *ban, bonnet, crannie, dallie, galled, pelt* (curse), *shag, thong, wipe* (blow), *yelping* etc., but several whose spellings were most common in Cheshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire, such as *ech* (so spelt in the two Poems over 20 times, and rarely ' each '), *hew* (hue), *sommon* or *tushies* (tusks).

Despite variability and unknown changes due to scriveners, a general survey of the Folio and Quartos brings to light certain persistent spelling types, which from their strongly repetitive nature may be reasonably supposed to represent Shakespeare's orthographic habits. Expressing these habits, and those in the above manuscripts, as departures from modern spelling, the following tendencies (taken in the same order as the Earl of Derby's habits, p. 85) are very marked :—

(1) to drop final *e* and *l* in many words, e.g. *com, fo, gon, privat, therfor* ; *fal, hil, shal, wil.*
(2) to add final *e* with abnormal frequency, e.g. *againe, certaine, doe, goe, hoe, theire.*
(3) to use *r* for *er*, e.g. *battrie, offred, powre, uttring, watrie.*
(4) to use *c* instead of *s*, or of *t*, e.g. *bace, falce, sence* ; *adicion, oblacion, parciall.*
(5) to double consonants, e.g. *egall, eternall, jarre, pittie, tennants, vppon.*
(6) to use *oa, oo* or *ou* for *o*, e.g. *smoak, throane* ; *affoords, woon* ; *behould, toung* ; also, less often, the reverse as in spellings like *mone, oth, reproch, yong*, etc.
(7) to use *au* for *a*, e.g. *aunswers, commaund, faulse, straunge.*
(8) to use *ow* for *ou*, e.g. *clowd, cowch, lowsie, scowre, stowt.*
(9) to use *de* instead of *ed*, e.g. *decayde, dide, pide, tide.*

(10) to use *e* instead of *i*, e.g. *devided, devine, hether, thether, whether* (whither); and the converse in *hild, inforcement* etc; also to use *e* for *ea*, as in *brest, dred, pesant, tresure* etc and the converse in *hearbe, jeast, seveare* etc.
(11) to use *u* for *ui*, e.g. *brusing, pursut, sluces, suters*; and *u* for *i* in *stur, durt* etc.
(12) to use *o* for *u*, e.g. *abondance, dombe, ronne, sodaine, sommer.*
(13) to ruh two words into one with: *asoon, aswell, shalbe* and *wilbe.*

The above orthographic habits were in no sense exclusive, all being shared by older writers like Sir Philip Sidney and the Earl of Oxford, as well as the Earl of Derby; but Derby's spellings generally were more archaic, despite age-equality, than those of Bacon (who for instance usually wrote 'house,' 'self,' 'wine' which Derby wrote 'howse,' 'selfe,' 'wyne'). And types (1), (6), (8), (10) and (12) were sufficiently uncommon among playwrights after 1590 to have significance when they are recurrent in any doubtful text.

Marked orthographic changes began to take place at the end of the 16th century, and the transition to the more modernised spelling of the 17th century was so rapid, between about 1580 and 1610, that spelling furnishes a rough indication of date except of course when a writer deliberately affected archaisms, as Spenser and some other poets did. For average printed matter of the period, a serviceable quantitative measure of the rate of change is found in spelling deviation i.e. as defined on p. 160, which simply expresses the percentage of non-modern spellings, though it does not altogether reflect sporadic tell-tale archaisms, themselves useful indicators of date. Such percentages can only be reliable when founded on numerous counts (for instance in random sample packets of 100 consecutive words) and observation shows that for writers in general the average (printed) deviation was related to date approximately by the general formula :—

$$D = 100 \cdot e^{-(7 + \cdot 02y)}$$

where D = mean percentage deviation at the date $(1550 + y)$ i.e. y = date of printing minus 1550. [In subsequent pages $D_{calc.}$ *simply means the normal deviation for the date given.*] Examples of $D_{calc.}$ for different dates are :—

Printing date	1560	1570	1580	1590	1600	1610	1620	1630	1640
D_{calc}	40·5	33·3	27·5	22·0	18·3	15·0	12·5	10·0	8·0

These are general i.e. normal averages, with small ± divergences in particular cases, dependent on author and how far the scrivener or compositor had modernised his orthography, as for instance in the carefully edited texts of *V. and A.* or *Lucrece* where the deviation is from 3 to 4% below $D_{calc.}$ or the text of *A briefe Conceipt of English Pollicy* by W. S. (p. 241) printed in 1581, where the deviation is about 6% below $D_{calc.}$ With most Shakespearian Quartos however and most Plays of the Folio (p. 160) the deviation is fairly close to, but usually higher than, $D_{calc.}$, such high figures being due no doubt to survival of author's archaisms despite copying. In general when the deviation is markedly in excess of $D_{calc.}$ or when significant obsolete spellings are frequent, it may be fairly concluded *either* that the author, like Shakespeare, favoured old fashioned orthography *or* that he wrote the text long before the date of printing; so that spelling deviation, as will be seen later, is of service when paucity of available lines debars application of the *R*-formula.

When, as sometimes happens, the choice is between Shakespeare and Marlowe, the more archaic habits of the former will show themselves not only in repeated types (e.g. 'dye' and 'traytor,' spelt 'die' and 'traitor' regularly in Marlovian Quartos) but quantitatively in deviation. Large differences cannot be expected owing to the swamping effect of minor deviations (e.g. *u* for *v*) but they are sufficient to distinguish the orthography of the four disputed Plays on p. 170, i.e. the *T.R.* pair and *Contention* pair, from four Plays of Marlowe; printed about the same time (1591 - 1595) i.e. the *Tamburlaine* pair, *Edward II* and *Dido*. For this period $D_{calc.}$ lies between 21·8 and 20·3, and for the first group of Plays, the observed figures (computed from many random samples) lie between 23 and 19·3%, with an overall mean of 21%; while on the other hand the deviation for the four Marlovian Plays

lies between 19·5 and 17·5%, with an overall mean of only 18·4% i.e. well below $D_{calc.}$; all of which confirms the other evidence that Marlowe had nothing to do with the *T.R.* and *Contention* Plays.

Similar useful light is shed on other problems, as for instance the two Quartos of *Hamlet*, 1603 and 1604. They might (as frequently contended) have been simply bad and good issues respectively of the same original text, a theory not supported by comparison of spelling deviation; thus ignoring obvious misprints, the mean for Q1 (from many random samples) is 20·7% ($D_{calc.}$ = 17·4 for 1603), while that of Q2 is only 18·8%, and the more modern spelling of Q2 is apparent even to the eye, at least in passages where the text is identical or virtually identical with that in Q1, as for example in I, 1, 165-175 or II, 2, 60-79. Similar observations hold for *Romeo and Juliet*, where comparing passages which are identical or nearly so in the two Quartos, the deviation of the 1597 Q is 19·2 ($D_{calc.}$ = 19·7) while that of Q2 (1599) is only 17·3%. These figures decidedly confirm other evidence (pp. 192-6) that the texts of the first Quartos of *Hamlet* and *R. and J.* were respectively independent of the second, and in each case of much earlier date of copying.

Alliteration.

The somewhat elastic term alliteration might be restricted, to include only accented words in propinquity or extended to cover mid-syllable consonants, but if these conditions are ignored, a useful quantitative measure can be reached by first counting in any verse, i.e. line, *every* word which begins with the same letter as any other word, including even 'a,' 'an,' 'the' and repeat words. This procedure is for ease in counting the many lines necessary in order to get an average number per line i.e. for comparison of the habits of different writers. This gross average number (here called A), conveniently reached by scrutinising many packets of ten consecutive lines, scattered at random through Plays and Poems, is made up of intentionally alliterated words (two or more) plus those which accidentally begin with the same letter, these latter being dependent on the length of the verse, and easily reached, as a mean by counting samples of contemporary prose, arbitrarily divided up into imaginary 'lines' of different length.

From the observations we get the general formula :—

$$a = 100\,(A - \cdot 068\,b^2)$$

where A = any poet's mean number per verse as defined, b = number of feet in the verse, and a = alliteration number (per 100 lines), a_r being that for rhyme and a_p that for the blank verse of Plays; both being approximate measures because arbitrary. Although Shakespeare's alliteration is usually so unforced as to be hardly perceptible till looked for, his a_p is higher than that of any other dramatist which the present writer has examined; it is independent of date and his general mean a_p, counted over about 300 packets scattered through the canonical Plays, is 113, with usual limits of variation between 80 and 150. Marlowe's a_p is decidedly lower, averaging 97, though high (about 150) in *Jew of Malta* and *Dido*; Peele's mean a_p, as observed from a medium number of counts, is 102, but high (about 145) in *Old Wives Tale* and *David and Bethsabe*; Ben Jonson's mean a_p is also about 102 but very variable, and Greene's only about 60.

Oscillations, by which other dramatists may sometimes reach or locally exceed Shakespeare's high a_p, render alliteration (alone) valueless as a positive test in doubtful cases, but negatively it may be said that if over many counts the mean observed a_p is low (say 80 or less) the text is probably not genuine. If the quantity of text is too small for many counts, low figures are quite possible i.e. with Shakespeare; for instance in any random sample of only 10 lines there is a small chance (about 1 in 85) that his a_p might even be 0, a larger chance (about 1 in 20) that it will be over 200 and the greatest probability (about 1 in 2) that it will be close to his mean, 113. These probability figures are calculated from formula (8)—p. 154, which can be similarly used for other short passages.

It is therefore mainly as confirmation of other evidence that alliteration numbers have positive value, as for example with the four disputed Plays (p. 170) already considered. Thus the mean a_p of the two *Contention* Plays, derived from 26 sample packets, is 112 and that of the *T.R.* pair 124, in both cases with no great local variation such as might be expected if Marlowe, Greene or some other playwright had a hand in them ; these four Plays are entirely homogeneous and their a_p values abundantly confirm the other frequencies (*R*-values, ρ, end-rhyme fractions, Northern *s*-plurals and spelling deviation) which together prove conclusively that Shakespeare was *sole* author (for literary and general evidence see later). So also the a_p values of six Apocryphal Plays, discussed in Chapter XI, lying between 100 and 148, with an overall mean of 118, confirm the other evidence, there adduced, that these Plays are genuine ; while on the other hand six others among the seven Plays enumerated on p. 172 (one *Pvritaine Widdow*, being mainly prose) have low a_p values lying between 33 (*Locrine*) and 110 (*London Prodigall*), with a general mean only 73, thus confirming various other reasons for rejection.

In rhymed verse the distinction between Shakespeare and Marlowe is sharper, because while Marlowe's a_r (97 like his a_p) is low Shakespeare's figure is high, with an overall mean a_r 128, i.e. even exceeding his a_p ; his a_r is highest in the Sonnets and *V. and A*, for both of which the mean a_r is 140, but it is lower in *Lucrece* (118) and lowest in *Lover's complaint* (106), these figures being the averages of over 100 sample packets taken at random. Occasionally however Shakespeare's a_r locally soars to very high values, over 200 for instance in Sonnets **40, 91, 121,** and **136,** and in general there is a 1 in 6 chance (calculated) that in any single passage of only 10 lines his a_r (i.e. per 100 lines) will exceed 200 but only a 1 in 40 chance that it will be zero.

The only other poets that the writer has come across whose mean a_r exceeds Shakespeare's are the Earl of Oxford (154), Raleigh (141) and Spenser (130) ; Peele's a_r is also high (about 113) but variable, while Greene, Jonson, Barnfield, Sidney and the two Fletchers have values usually well below Shakespeare's. Not much poetry of Bacon is known but the two signed Poems (p. 142) have a_r values only 75 and 90 respectively. On the other hand six early Poems of Shakespearian stamp, that can be proved to be Stanley's (p. 266) totalling 170 lines have a_r values ranging between 108 and 255, with a weighted mean of 172, a figure frequently found with short canonical samples. High a_r values are useless of themselves in detecting Shakespeare's hand in doubtful Poems, seeing that other poets sometimes reach high figures, as for instance Marlowe locally in *Hero and Leander* or Peele in *Tale of Troy* ; so also in *P.P.*, of the various short Poems ascribed to Shakespeare by Jaggard, seven, which are certainly spurious, have actually a higher weighted mean a_r (157) than the remainder (a_r = 119) which are genuine. Thus in general the alliteration number must be regarded, as in the case of the Plays, only as a useful check on the other evidence, numerical and literary.

Literary criteria.

Collectively, *though not singly*, the foregoing frequencies are virtually decisive in settling disputed questions of authorship, but being the mere dry bones of evidence they must be clothed with the flesh of literary criticism before doubt is finally resolved. Literary criteria alone, in so far as they are subject to the frailties of human judgment, must be sometimes inadequate and are always misleading when interpreted through erroneous (Shaksperian) theory ; and it is just this which gives the impersonal cumulative testimony of numerical frequencies a finger-print significance that (subject to over-riding literary exigencies) transcends mere conviction. The literary requirements in any genuine piece of text are well defined ; they include some at least of those constantly recurrent Shakespearian idiosyncrasies which have been called

prerequisites (law, music, magic etc.) and always a distinguishing quality of style, rhythm or diction, which however might have only reached an embryonic stage in early immature work. The pattern of such strongly defined idiosyncrasies in the mature Plays and Poems certainly sets the bounds within which, *sine quâ non*, genuineness is acceptable, but only in greater or less degree, dependent on maturity ; and the principal features are :—

Stately metrical periods, of majestically smooth rhythm, not confined to single or couplet verses (as usually the case with Marlowe) but generally overflowing : vocabulary, unique and exuberant, often with much elasticity in word-meaning, sometimes degenerating into word-play quibbles : antithetical conceits (more marked in rhymed verse) : syntactical licence (often baffling to construe) and the frequent latinised practice of placing accusative nouns, predicates and all sorts of subsidiary clauses before the governing verb, whose ' delayed action,' far from being clumsy enhances the grace of the sentence : free personification and pronounced thought-condensation, often unsuspectedly subtle, by which words are made the instruments among other things of a luxuriant imagery, unparalleled in literature : the lawless use of adjectives as nouns, nouns as verbs etc. : a wealth of unusual words, some coined by himself, many obsolete, many French changelings and many of the North of England dialect (about 30% of the *unusual* monosyllabic words), others of rather uncommon meaning such as ' childing ' (fruitful), ' cope ' (requite), ' innovation ' (riot) etc. : frequent use of hyphenation or the prefixes *be-*, *in-*, *un-* or *out-* with all sorts of words. All these, with his own inimitable way of saying things, make Shakespeare's idiom virtually unique, while his palpable sincerity (even obscenity where dramatically called for), his philosophy, captivating charm and numerous less easily definable qualities impress (apart from an incomparable stage technique) an unmistakeable " seal manual " on his drama.

Henry VI trilogy.

Ever since Malone set the ball rolling with his false theory (p. 112) that Shakespeare had incurred Greene's jealousy, by refurbishing the two *Contention* Plays, the whole subject, involving the genesis of the *Henry VI* trio, has been truly a ' bone of contention,' during the long and sterile controversy which resulted. The Plays were published anonymously in Quartos (1594 and 1595 respectively) under ' long-winded ' titles (p. xi) which may be shortened to (1) and (2) *Contention*, for brevity ; Thomas Millington, their publisher issued a second edition in 1600 and a third in 1619 in Shakespeare's name, which is of course no proof of authorship. The three *Henry VI* Plays of which parts (2) and (3) correspond to (1) and (2) *Contention*, appeared first in the Folio (1623). Space forbids any consideration of past controversial Shaksperian theories of plagiarism, beyond observing that the original theory of Greene authorship was abandoned in favour of Marlowe, and that eventually this belief was given up in favour of Shakespeare himself ; Fleay's theory being that the *Contention* Plays were simply abridged versions of the very Plays, i.e. (2) and (3) *Henry VI*, which Shakespeare was once supposed to have plagiaristically derived by ' touching up ' (1) and (2) *Contention*. Even this and the modified modern idea, that the *Contention* Quartos were pirated versions of the *Henry VI* pair, are themselves open to grave objections, for while such piracy, whether by the agency of a shorthand reporter at the theatre or by bribing actors to recite their lines, is of course conceivable the facts, speaking otherwise, indicate that the *Contention* Plays preceded this pair ; that the

Quartos indeed were abridged versions of earlier drafts, later transformed into (2) and (3) *Henry VI*. Charles Knight who urged this explanation 100 years ago had much less to go upon than is now available through the new procedure, which even confirms his proposed date (about 1589) for the *Contention* Plays (though in this he was influenced by his acceptance of Collier's forgeries).

That neither Greene nor Marlowe had anything to do with these *Contention* Plays is proved not only by the frequency tests already noted but by ubiquitous qualities consistent only with homogeneous authorship, and that Shakespeare's. These complex qualities, which shine through the Quarto corruptions and are only brought out by exhaustive analysis, certainly betray immaturity, some Marlowesque ranting and even parallels with *Edward II*, but there is not a scene and scarcely a passage that has not some familiar mark of genuineness. All this indeed is so obvious to any unprejudiced critic as to render unnecessary any detailed consideration here, but a few of the more crucial features may be summarised briefly, viz. :—Shakespeare's characteristic vocabulary and idiom (*passim*) ; word-play (occasional) ; verbal repetition (" cold newes," three times, " worthie," " suters " etc.) ; grammatical peculiarities of all sorts, including the Southern plural ' doth ' and hath ' (four times) ; Shakespeare's metaphorical freedom (*passim*) and imagery (repeatedly); his philosophical reflections ; typical unity of characterisation, and dramatic management ; typical handling (ubiquitous) of government, war, horses, music (occasional only), law, magic, astrology and sport, each in a way quite peculiar to Shakespeare ; typical subtleties in portraying ambition, intrigue, revenge and passion. There are also minor idiosyncrasies too numerous to record and many parallels with canonical Plays ; also numerous words of the Northern dialect (*ban, betide, blabs, callet, chines, cogging, coystrill, gripe, ladde, rack* [verb], *rue, sith, tarrie, trull, wist*, etc.) and occasionally Northern idiom (" Why, man " [twice], " dead and gone," " take on " etc.). No less than 31 Northern *s*-plurals* (as defined on p. 172) have been counted in the two Quartos of 1594 and 1595.

Author's familiarity with bleak mountain tops is betrayed in (1) *Contention* 10, 169 and 21, 119 and 120 ; also with falconry in the typically Shakespearian imagery of (1) 5, 8-15, (1) 10, 74-78 and elsewhere. The words " Good unckle " (1) 5, 20 and " good unkle " (1), 7, 20 recall some of Stanley's letters as Earl of Derby (p. 85) ; the sorcery, so realistically portrayed in (1) 2, 48-67 and (1) 4, 1-36, recalls his mother's experience (p. 15) and the repeated allusions to legal matters betray a mind steeped in the Law, as for instance in the cross-examination of (1) 5, 58-106 or in the subtlety of the sex-image implicit in " entred my Action " (1) 18, 76-77. Stanley's orthography is reflected in numerous spellings which have survived copying and printing (*aswell, altred, iarre, inough, lif, sute, toung, uppe, wracke* etc) ; his sporting instincts in the " ten to one " odds in (1) 5, 3, similar to many Shakespearian wagers ; his love of horses in the solicitude shown in (1) 22, 21-26, where five horses were slain under Yorke at the first Battle of St. Albans (cf. *Richard III*, V, 4, 4-13). The " Derby " anachronism of *Richard III* (p. 184) is paralleled in (1) *Contention* 18, 87 by " Lord *Clifford* the Earle of *Comberland*," while in fact the 1st Earl of Cumberland, William Stanley's maternal great grandfather, was not born till nearly 50 years after the Cade rebellion. The Cliffords play a very prominent rôle in both Plays, as well as Richard Duke of York, his son Edward IV, the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Northumberland, all of whom were Stanley's direct maternal ancestors ; but his paternal ancestors, " Sir John Standley " in (1) 8 and " Sir William Stanly " in (2) 16, play only minor parts.

* They are (taking the scenes and lines as in Praetorius' facsimiles) in (1) *Contention : is* (1, 75), *fits* (1, 154), *craves* (2, 41), *gives* (3, 7), *loves* (3, 45), *makes* (7, 18), *bids* (8, 30), *is* (9, 31), *dreads* (9, 76), *showes* (9, 78), *bewraies* (9, 79), *is* (10, 6), *sends* (10, 116), *theres* (10, 144), *addes* (12, 53), *comes* (13, 47), *is* (15, 1), *reades* (18, 31), *talkes* (18, 32). In addition to these, the old N.W., 2nd pers. sing appears in *meants* (10, 105), *torments* (10, 164), and *fights* (22, 29) ; also the Northern ' at ' (= to) is found in 5, 125.

In (2) *Contention* the Northern plurals are : *makes* (1, 151), *triumphs* (4, 51), *blowes* (4, 130), *was* (5, 77), *flies* (6, 69), *flies* (10, 9), *keepes* (10, 30), *sues* (11, 8), *owes* and *commands* (12, 47), *fites* (15, 26), *whispers* (21, 55); also the N.W. 2nd pers. sing. is found in *bids* (4, 128).

The theory that the *Contention* Plays were " reported " versions of the *Henry VI* pair founders not only on the Northern plurals but on the plain fact that the former pair of Plays teem with genuinely Shakespearian lines, passages and part-scenes, which have either disappeared altogether in the *Henry VI* pair, or have been fundamentally altered ; lines that could not possibly have crept in by abridgement much less have been invented by any actor, reporter or printer. The same is true of the repeated Shakespearian spellings (*durt, throane, toong* etc.) ; further the Index I_p of (1) and (2) *Contention* (2 and ·4 respectively) is much lower than that of the (2) and (3) *Henry VI* pair (5·4 and 4·7 respectively), showing that the former had been printed from at least twice copied material ; for no scribe, writing from oral sources or converting short-hand into long hand, had at that time so low an Index I_a, as calculation by the standard equations (p. 153) shows would be necessary to give the observed I_p figures. If on the other hand, acting or prompt copies secured from the theatre, say in 1594, had been copied before printing, the observed low figures could result, just as the high figures for (2) and (3) *Henry VI* (i.e. in the Folio) would result by printing singly copied manuscript, whose original author's Index I_a was about 40.

In (2) *Henry VI* there are several local heavy concentrations of *y*-spellings, especially in the scenes now specified as I, 3, II, 2 and III, 2, which since they exceed calculated random-probability variations, may be safely taken (p. 162) as indicating places where the author had made interpolations or changes on the copy. This is not so with (3) *Henry VI*, where the distribution of *y*-spellings is normal ; but that a simple prompt copy was used for its text in the Folio is indicated by the names of the actors ' Gabriel ' [probably Spencer] ' Sinclo ' [Sinkler] and ' Humphrey ' [Jeffes] which have crept into the Stage directions.

Actually, owing to very extensive changes, there is very little of the text of (1) *Contention* left in (2) *Henry VI*, so that it must have been almost entirely re-written ; prose passages having been transposed into blank verse, other passages having been deleted, expanded or transformed almost beyond recognition, also much new matter appearing. The differences between (2) *Contention* and (3) *Henry VI* are slight in what are now the first two Acts, except in King Henry's soliloquy (II, 5), but elsewhere very considerable, especially in the enhancement of Richard's developing villainy and the characterisation of "perjured Clarence." Several scenes are transposed or are quite different in construction, but the sinister drift of events, culminating in the murder of the Prince and his father, poignant enough drama in (2) *Contention*, is little altered in (3) *Henry VI*, the main change being in V, 5, where Margaret's lament is expanded and all three brothers participate in the foul murder of her son. Some idea of the extent of the general revision may be gathered from the fact that among the 9 Northern plurals in (2) *Henry VI* and 13 in (3) *Henry VI* only 4 have survived out of those noted above in the *Contention* pair.

All the facts are consistent with Knight's theory that the *Contention* Plays, following their precursor (1) *Henry VI*, belong to an early period, probably 1589-1590 (see p. 182), so that then, as he contended, they were something new in the world of drama, beyond even the power (and certainly the restraint) of Marlowe's " mighty line." For here we find neither periphrasis nor dramatic insincerity but typical imagery and teeming thought, portraying human weakness and folly ; vile deeds or atrocious cruelty springing no less from gentle feelings than from motives of revenge, natural retribution rather than poetic justice, contrasts of tenderness and ferocity, statesmanlike exposure of the complex origins of the Civil War, and above all Fate, sinister and inexorable, presiding over human destiny.

Though no foreign hand is discoverable in (2) and (3) *Henry VI*, (1) *Henry VI* by its mixed quality offers a real problem ; and most commentators are

prepared to admit only the Talbot scenes (IV, 5, 6, 7) as genuine. Such reckless rejection overlooks not only the typical management of the Drama as a whole but a number of other scenes, particularly I, 6, II, 3, 4, III, 1, IV, 1, 2, and V, 3, 4, which are as genuine as anything Shakespeare ever wrote. Only three alternatives seem open : (i) the orthodox theory that Shakespeare ' touched up ' some predecessor's Play, (ii) the theory that he worked jointly with an inferior coadjutor, and (iii) the present writer's theory that the whole Play is genuine, but that the inferior portions are of very early date and therefore immature. Now that orthodoxy has abandoned the ' touching up ' theory for the *Contention* Plays and since for (1) *Henry VI* there is not the least evidence as to who the Shakespeare-like predecessor was, theory (i) must at least be held as ' non proven ' , and attractive though (ii) was to the present writer at one time, inability to find any coadjutor with Shakespeare's idiosyncrasies has forced him to reject it as no less conjectural than (i), the more so because perspective is no longer restricted to orthodox commencing-dates. It has always been supposed that the first production of (1) *Henry VI* was at the Rose in 1592 because Philip Henslowe in that year recorded " Harey the sixth " as " n.e." [new enterlude] but there is no real evidence that this refers to part (1) ; indeed considering the number of performances during the next 12 months it may be that all three Plays were performed and that (1) *Henry VI* or an earlier draft had been acted long before then, say at Lathom or by the Pembroke company at the Curtain theatre.

There is ample evidence for single authorship, not the least of which is the underlying design in relation to the sequel, indicating plainly that its author had in his mind a grand tetralogy culminating in *Richard III*, a conclusion confirmed by homogeneity in technique and by abundant cross-references which link all four Plays together in perfect cohesion. (1) *Henry VI* was without a doubt the prologue to the tetralogy, not a detached piece of history but designedly a Drama showing how the first seeds of dissension were sown that grew into the Wars of the Roses. The typical imagery and characterisation, even of its inferior portions,* are not the only sign-pointers to the hand that wrote the Talbot and other scenes which approach the level of (2) and (3) *Henry VI* ; for these inferior portions closely studied reveal the same singularity in idiom, similar verbal condensation, similar typical vocabulary, similar use of law and of astrology, magic or sorcery, and similar handling of human destiny, whether these things are employed dramatically or are embedded in images.

In all these respects there is no essential difference between **I** and **S** ; thus in **I** we have typical astrology and magic viz. in I, 1, " comets," " bad revolting stars " " planets of mishap," " adverse planets " ; in I, 2, " even as in the heavens " ; in I, 5, " conjure," i.e. a sorcery image ; in II, 1, sorcery and " heavens " ; in III, 2, " comet of revenge," " heavens have glory " ; while in **S** we have for example in IV, 5, " ill boding stars," and in V, 3, " spelling charms " and " monarch of the north " (an allusion to the witch's devil Zimimar). In both parts there are similar legal implications or disputes (some including matters of inheritance) as for instance in I, 4, 34 (" in fine "), in II, 4 (Temple garden scene), II, 5 (legal title), IV, 1, 95 (dispute) and V, 4, 61 (legal privilege). Word play of Shakespeare's kind in **I**, e.g. I, 2, 121 (" mean "), I, 3, 9 (" protect "), and III, 2, 10 (" sack ") is matched in **S**, e.g. in III, 1, 53 (" Roam), IV, 2, 53 (" dear "), V, 3, 90 (" wood ") and V, 4, 23 (" noble "). Also **I** abounds with typical situations, or phrases, such as (for instance in I, 1) " his thread of life," "Awake, awake, English nobility," "Away with these disgraceful wailing robes," " To weep their intermissive miseries," " a dismal fight " etc. and hundreds of similar expressions elsewhere might be cited to match those found in **S**.

* Principally found in scenes I, 1 to 5, II, 1 to 5, III, 2, 3, 4, IV, 3, 4, V, 1, 2, 5, all of which may be conveniently grouped under the letter **I**, while the superior scenes are called **S**.

The patchy inferiority of **I** is mainly a matter of un-Shakespearian monotony of rhythm or relative lack of imagery, but there is no patchiness in the sporadic distribution of the numerous Northern dialectical words (*blab, collop, giglot, gimmors, gleeks, drab, fell, trull* etc.), and as if to make proof of single authorship finally decisive chance has so arranged that the only Northern *s*-plurals to be found are in **I**, viz *where's* (III, 2, 123), *exclaims* (III, 3, 60) and *makes* (IV, 3, 28, all Folio text). That **I** consists of incompletely revised scenes, written some years earlier, is suggested in the first place by the sprinkling of obsolescent words like: *glikes, lowted, writhled* etc. but more particularly *wont* found in I, 2, 14 and I, 4, 10 where the later Shakespeare would have said 'were,' or 'are wont,' and the fact that in the **S** scene V, 3 the author now uses the words " was wont " indicates (with the other evidence) that at least I, 2, and I, 4 were very early. This conclusion is confirmed by or at least is consistent with the *y*-spelling count, which for the whole Folio Play gives an overall Index I_p of 6·8 ; but the most markedly inferior portions (II, 1 to 5) have an Index as high as 8. This certainly indicates an early date, but the fluctuations in the distribution of *y*-spellings are too considerable to apply the standard equations for any date calculation. Such patchiness in distribution is also found elsewhere in the Play, the figures sometimes exceeding those for random probability as for instance in II, 1, II, 2, IV, 4 and 5 ; so probably indicating author's revisions or interpolations on a copy. The most marked of these local concentrations is in the first 21 lines of I, 2, where there are no less than 7 *y*-spellings, and the whole of this scene accordingly has an abnormally high Index (10·75) ; but (as Knight showed) at least that part which describes Pucelle's detection of the Dauphin, and mentions St. Katherine's churchyard, must have been written after 1586, for these incidents first appeared in the second edition of Holinshed, 1586-7.

It is just here where the *R*-formula proves of service for elucidating the approximate date not only of (1) *Henry VI* but of the related Plays, because their *R*-values are accessible from the many available un-corrupt lines (not counting rhyme). The figures for *R* and the dates calculated by the *R*-formula (p. 168) are shown, as well as observed alliteration a_p values, in the Table below, those for (1) *Henry VI* having been dissected out as between **I** and **S**.

	(1) *Henry VI*		(1) *Contention*	(2) *Henry VI*	(2) *Contention*	(3) *Henry VI*
Lines	**I**	**S**				
available	680	553	575	1350	880	1366
R obs.	136	66·3	91	78·7	82·4	61·2
Date, calc.	1585	1591	1589	1591	1590	1592
a_p	85	120	106	142	120	97

The a_p fluctuations are normal to other Shakespeare Plays, and so also are the repeat index values ρ which vary between 20·6 and 25·7 for (1) and (2) *Contention* respectively, and 22 and 24 for **I** and **S** of (1) *Henry VI*, but the overall mean ρ for all the Plays is 24 (Shakespeare's mean).

This figure (24), which as already noted is virtually the same as the Earl of Derby's, is one of a number of circumstances which suggest that as William Stanley he wrote the first draft of (1) *Henry VI* when he was in France in 1583, inspired by the stirring historical associations of Orleans, Rouen, Paris, Angiers, Bordeaux, the Auvergne and plains of Gascony, all of which he is either known to have visited or could hardly have avoided on his journey to Nerac and Spain. Pucelle's intrepidity would appeal to a young man of such an heroic cast as Stanley, and he must have seen her spirited letter to the Duke of Burgundy at Lille (p. 80). His interests are reflected in the free play given to both law and war, as well as to astrology and sorcery ; moreover besides the Northern *s*-plurals in (1) *Henry VI*, as noted there are numerous words of the Northern dialect, one of which 'misconster' (II, 3, 73) was very common in Lancashire (see p. 220). The historical blunders might be explained by his usual nonchalance or lack of his great cumbersome History Chronicles, which he could not easily carry about with him in France ; and if later, on his return to England, he revised such a first draft incompletely there

would result just the kind of mixed text that we find in the Folio ; but whether, as with the *Contention* pair, he subsequently transformed the Play into a better Drama which has been lost, cannot of course be known.

Richard III.

That the editors of the Folio used the sixth Quarto of *Richard III* in printing the Play was established by P. A. Daniel long ago, by means of twelve exclusive errors in Q6 repeated in F, but the text of the latter, besides containing a number of new lines, shows some 2000 minor differences from Q6 or its five predecessors. As Q6 was not issued till 1622, it might appear *primâ facie* that all these puzzling amendments, which are genuinely Shakespearian, were made by Shakespeare himself, some seven years after Shakspere was dead ; but alternative explanations are possible, the best of these, by Daniel, being that there was an independent autograph of the author in the theatre library, and that this was used for correcting the faulty Q6. It is difficult to see why, if such autograph were available, any recourse to Q6 should have been necessary at all ; moreover it can be shown by the standard *y*-spelling equations that the I_p value of the new matter in the F Play would be very much lower than the observed figure (6·3) for this matter, if autograph had been copied by a scribe in 1623, as Daniel supposed. The overall I_p of the F Play is 3·8, while that of Q6 is 1·7, and this shows plainly that the text of the former could not have been derived to any great extent from Q6 (see below), that in fact the principal bibliographical source of the F text was a copy of the original autograph made years before ; so that there is no reason why this should not account for most of the differences between F and the Quartos (the first of which was published in 1597 and reprinted in subsequent editions). There are 12 Northern *s*-plurals in Q6, 8 of which re-appear in F together with some new ones, but all these being more or less chance survivals throw no more light on the puzzle than the a_p (100) or *R*-value (49) of the F text, which gives a (calculated) date 1594·2 of composition.

Lefranc, also Lucas, believed that the author himself made the supposed corrections and additions in 1622 on a copy of Q6, but this fails to meet the new evidence ; it is true that the relatively low *R* value of the new lines (of which only 86 are available, giving $R = 28$) suggests a date later than 1594 but not so late as 1622 and the style bears the stamp of earlier date, while if autograph changes had been made on the printed Q6 of I_p 1·7 prior to printing the F Play, the latter would only have an I_p of about 2·4 (as can be shown by the standard equations) instead of the observed 3·8. So their theory fails, and the only hope of solving the riddle is by induction on the widest possible range of facts. Apart from the numerous verbal changes, the new matter in F (not in Q6) consists of nearly 200 lines scattered through the Play, generally in short passages or single lines, but the longest (55 lines in IV, 4, after line 287 of Q6) contains 5 *y*-spellings which in itself suggests a later autograph interpolation i.e. on the original copy from which the first Quarto had been printed. The spelling deviation of these new lines in F is 15%, very much higher than the figure (12%) for the rest of the F Play or D $_{calc.}$ (11·7%) for 1623, but lower than that (20%) for Q6 ; but the most striking observation of all is the contrast between the high capital frequency (p. 161) of these interpolations (viz 61) and the F average (43) or Q6 average (about 10).

These then are the new facts which must be reconciled with any satisfactory theory, superadded to the dominant fact that Q6 was somehow utilised in printing F. The first thing to ascertain if possible is the proportion of Q6 used. Assuming that the F compositor had before him a composite ' copy,' partly Q6 partly manuscript copy, and that the I_p (6·3) of the above passages is a fair sample of that of the F text derived from this manuscript, also assuming that the I_p (1·7) of Q6 was not changed (since we know that changes in reprinting the Quartos were negligible) the proportion of Q6 requisite to give an overall I_p 3·8 can be calculated. It works out at 46%. Similarly from the capital frequencies, assuming the printer made no changes, the proportion of Q6 to give an overall frequency of 43 can be calculated. It works out at 40·6% ; in substantial agreement with the other. But in spite of this mutual confirmation the results can only be regarded as very approximate since

they contain assumptions and overlook the effect of any alterations made in the printed text of Q6. Taking stage-directions into account it is doubtful if more than 30% of Q6 was used, if that.

The general conclusion then is that the F text could have been derived, as to at least two thirds, from some manuscript copy, whose Index I_c must have been somewhere about 11·7, and about a third from Q6, which portion must have been of a scattered nature, not in solid blocks, because it is impossible to pick out any considerable patches of unduly low I_p and low capital frequency, by which they would be recognisable. One important consequence flows from this composite text theory. If about a third was derived from Q6, there must have been something like 700 minor changes made on its text, i.e. taking these as a proportion of the total 2000, and if only a fraction of these are acceptable owing to uncertainty there still remains a large number of truly Shakespearian *corrections made after* 1622. Is it likely that the F editors went to all this trouble, using for the purpose a genuine manuscript of earlier date from which they could have printed directly ? The numerical facts rather suggest that they originally had no copy at all of *Richard III* (apart from the Quartos) and so applied (say indirectly) to the author to furnish them with one. Suppose for instance that William Stanley through his agent had originally supplied the theatre with a copy of his Play about 1593, and in 1597 (when Earl of Derby) had asked for it back with the intention of revising and expanding it. The theatre managers could dispense with it, now that Q1, had been published ; and the Earl may have wished to try out his improved Play with his own acting company (p. 206). This much altered copy was (let us say) all that he had when importuned in 1623 and it was in no fit condition for the printer. He might then direct a secretary to cut out with a pair of scissors the more disordered parts, replace them by the corresponding parts of Q6, corrected with the aid of the original, and paste the loose parts together on a sheet. If this tentative conjecture is sound, about a third of the untidy original was thus excised and replaced by the Q6 text, so that the composite ' copy ' obtained by means of scissors and paste-pot would be the text as we have it in F, i.e. including the errors of Q6, the numerous amendments and all the new lines. This theory might explain another puzzling feature of *Richard III*, viz why F should have surprisingly omitted some lines and especially two passages, found in the Qs, which are such telling bits of drama ; one being the dialogue in IV, 2, where Buckingham is snubbed by Richard, viz between the words "A King perhaps " (" perhaps," twice in Q6) and Buckingham's " May it please you to resolve me in my suit " (which in Q6 reads " Why then resolve me whether you will or no ? "). Now the immediately preceding lines of F contain several redundant capitals which are absent from Q6, so that the whole omitted passage (and its context) must have originally been in the manuscript portion, which being untidy had been cut out by the scissors operator, who had then forgotten to replace it by the Q6 cutting. The other F omission (V, 3) follows Richard's uneasy dream, but consists of only three lines (212-214 of Q6), " O Ratcliffe I . . . . No doubt my Lord." Here it is easy to imagine that the operator had inadvertently pasted these lines over, by confusing the first " O Ratcliffe " with the second " Ratcliffe " just below, since the succeeding lines in F bear evidence of having been printed from Q6. It is most unlikely that either the author, theatre or the F editors expurgated either of these dramatically sinister passages.

Another and most significant feature of *Richard III* is the anachronistic nomenclature of Lord Stanley, more often called Derby, in the stage-directions,

and four times even in the text (I, 3) of F and Q, an indiscriminate procedure for which there is no excuse whatever in the historical sources ; these giving Lord Stanley correctly always. Wherever he appears in the Q,s as " Lord of Darby," or " Darby," or " Darbie," and in the margin " Dar.," in F he is similarly wrongly called, in the same places, " L. of Derby," " Earle of Derby," " Derby " or " Derbie " and in the margin " Der," So too where in the Q,s he is correctly called " Lord Stanley," " Lord Standley " (or " Standly " and " Stanly " as in the *Contention* Plays) in F he is similarly referred to, the spelling always being ' Stanley.' Lord Stanley was of course not created Earl of Derby till shortly after the Battle with which the Play ends, and Lefranc thought that the errors were designedly meant to emphasise the part played by the 6th Earl's ancestors in ushering in the Tudor dynasty. This theory is discounted by the fact that exactly similar anachronisms occur in *Edward III* (pp. 221-2) and (1) *Contention* (p. 179), where no such propaganda-motive is conceivable ; and the present writer thinks that in each case habitual historical nonchalance occasioned these mistakes, which the Folio editors did not rectify. It is true that the author gave great prominence to Richmond's solicitude for Lord Stanley's son George in the last scene, but as for the errors they could arise simply through the haste of a writer thinking familiarly of his ancestor as the Earl of Derby ; a kind of slip that no other writer but William Stanley would be expected to make, and which was unique in Elizabethan Drama (Lefranc).

Pericles.

In 1608 Blount obtained a licence to publish *Pericles*, though in fact it was Henry Gosson who issued the first Quarto in 1609, with ' William Shakespeare ' on the title page, despite which the general opinion (derived originally from Steevens) is that *Pericles* is a joint Play. George Wilkins is supposed to be the coadjutor, mainly because the previous year (1608) Wilkins had published a novel (which might have been founded on an acquired copy of the Play) on *The Painful Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre*, repeating the Quarto almost verbatim in places, though elsewhere there is much matter not in the Play. Alternative theories are that Shakespeare " worked over " a hypothetical Play by Wilkins, or one by Wilkins and Rowley, which has not survived, or that Wilkins filled in an uncompleted Play ; all illustrating the truism that it is easier to formulate theories than it is to rebut them or expose their fallacies.

The story told in Shakespeare's romantic Play was not Wilkins' but an old one with many versions in different languages, the main sources being *Gesta Romanorum* and Gower's quaint 14th century Poem (the name of Appollinius being changed to Pericles) while a French version seems to have inspired the brothel scenes (IV, 2 and 6). Other sources were also used to a limited extent, such as the novel of William Howe in 1576 and the story " gathered into English " by Laurence Twine. Charles Knight refusing to accept any theory of joint authorship, adopted Dryden's statement (1675) that the Play was Shakespeare's first ; Knight's judgment being founded on the entire construction of the Drama, and his conclusion that the Play must be referred back to the '80,s is now confirmed, as to a part of it at least, by the new methods of analysis. In spite of a good deal of corruption the Play exhibits *ubiquitous* marks of Shakespeare's hand, not only indefinable charm and philosophic thought, but so many special idiosyncrasies that only a brief summary is possible here. First it is clear that in certain points of characterisation Marina resembles

Perdita (e.g. in separation from her parents and her rapture over flowers, IV, 1, 13-16) ; Thaisa recalls Hermione, and Dionyza Lady Macbeth (especially in IV, 3) ; the impassioned cry of Pericles (II, 1, 1-2, and III, 1, 1-9) recalls that of Lear in *King Lear* (III, 2, 1-4) ; the pleading of Marina with Leonine (IV, 1, 66-90) parallels that of Arthur with Hubert in *King John* ; while the opening lines in the Chorus of Act III are reminiscent of Oberon's closing words in *M.N.D.* Such parallels may be deceptive, but since at least Acts IV and V are so rich in Shakespeare's mature technique as to make them indisputably genuine, it is only necessary to consider critically the relatively inferior first three Acts.

In these there is scarcely a passage that does not reveal Shakespeare's way of saying things (e.g. " Tis time to fear when tyrants seem to kiss "—I, 2, 79) or his peculiar licence in syntax and vocabulary, e.g. : *purchase* (twice, meaning profit), *rapture* (seizure), *plain* and *glads* both verbs, *frame* (incline), *heir* (heiress), *enquire* [noun] and dozens of others, having a similar Shakespearian connotation. Music (a strong dramatic feature of V, 1) appears also in the earlier scenes, in I, 1, 5 (margin) I, 1, 82, II, 3, 97, II, 5, 26 and III, 2, 88 ; and word-play (on " arms ") in II, 3, 98. There is a typical allusion to law in II, 1, 127 and to planets or stars (astrology) in I, 1, 10, I, 4, 168 and II, 1, 1 ; also there are numerous instances of Shakespearian imagery, such as those implied in the words : *casket* (I, 1, 77), *planets* (I, 1, 10), *viol* (I, 1, 81), *ball* (II, 1, 65), *mite* (Chorus II, 8), *Time* (II, 3, 45), *coignes* (' crignes ' in Q, Chorus III, 17), *Kiss* (III, 1, 46) and others ; but in general the imagery of Acts I, II, and III is less frequent and bold than it is in IV and V. The dramatic situations, which ring true, conform to the design as a whole and there are no unambiguous signs of any foreign hand (that is, nothing that cannot be attributed either to textual meddling, corruption or immaturity). Abundant confirmation that Shakespeare wrote the *whole* Play is found in the frequency figures : there are 14 Northern *s*-plurals in the 1609 Quarto, of which 10 are found in the inferior scenes viz. 3 in I, 1, 2 in I, 2, 1 in I, 3, 2 in II, 1 and 2 in III 2, while of the remaining 4, 2 appear in IV, 1, 1 in IV, 3 and 1 in IV, 4 ; there is no sensible difference between the α_p for the different parts (mean about 90) or repeat index (mean $\rho = 24{\cdot}3$, Shakespeare's normal figure). Finally as confirming early date for most of the Play, the spelling deviation is abnormally high, though variable, the overall mean being $20{\cdot}6$, as against $D_{calc.} = 15{\cdot}5$ for 1609.

The heterogeneous quality of *Pericles* is manifestly due to two widely divergent dates underlying it, the inferior portions perhaps representing the relics of a very early Play which was acted before the Court. The Quarto contains many spellings (and even words) which, obsolete in 1608, have survived copying and printing ; and these archaisms are richest in the first half of the Play. Those in the Gower Choruses (*iwis*, *wis*, *perishen*, *escapen*, *killen*, *yravished*, *yslaked*, *nill* etc.) were deliberately affected, but not those spontaneously written in the acting scenes ; words like : *belin*, *brayse*, *chist*, *coap*, *coutches*, *derne*, *ketha*, *neele* (neeld = needle), *nouzell*, *pangues*, *pearch*, *pheere*, *pierst*, *stounke* etc., none of which could credibly have been written by comparatively young men like Wilkins or Rowley in 1608.

This powerful orthographic evidence of early date is confirmed by the *y*-spelling frequency ; the over-all Index I_p of the 1609 Quarto is high ($6{\cdot}26$), but the *y*-spellings show such strong fluctations as to suggest that the scenes had been copied at different dates, and similar oscillations of capital frequency indicate at least two if not three different scribes. One of these for instance, with a high capital frequency of 33, can be picked out with fair certainty in I, 1, II, 3 and 5, and III, 1 and 2, as well as in the Gower Choruses of I, II and III ; the total of all of which is about 700 lines with the unusually high Index I_p $10{\cdot}4$; so late as 1609 this would only be possible (as the standard equations show) if these lines had been written and copied at some very early date, such as 1588, while alternatively if they had been printed from the autograph of some younger man like Wilkins the frequency of archaic spellings,

including *y*-spellings, would be much lower. For the rest of the Quarto where the I_p is only 4·4 the data are much too confused to permit any application of the standard equations, but they certainly imply on the whole a much later date either of writing or copying, or both ; and no further light of course is thrown on the problem by the Q issues of 1611, 1619, 1630 and 1635 (which last is the basis of the Play in the 1664 Folio). Nor is it possible with insufficient blank verse, to fix the dates of writing of individual scenes by the *R*-method ; but this is certainly possible for the separate Acts which, except III, contain a reasonable number of available lines. The observed *R* values, which speak unequivocally, are :—

Act	I	II	III	IV	V
R obs.	125	46·3	25·6	11·4	9·2

These figures, supported as they are by an exactly similar set of values for the frequency-reciprocals in the rhymed Choruses of the five Acts, prove that at least Act I (with 250 available lines of blank verse) was very early indeed and its date by the *R*-formula (p. 168) calculates out at 1586, while with 254 available lines in IV and V (weighted mean $R = 10 \cdot 16$), the calculated date is 1607·9, assuming that the blank verse had been then wholly re-written. The intermediate values for Acts II and III no doubt reflect different degrees of later revision of the early draft, and it is not difficult, on purely literary criteria, to detect in places the more mature Shakespeare, as for instance in parts of II, 5, or conversely relics of the old Play in V, e.g. in the Gower Chorus of scene 2.

What has hitherto been taken as evidence of a second or third hand in *Pericles* is now explained as the sharp contrast between the immature and mature Shakespeare ; though it is still possible that Wilkins or someone else might have ' improved ' the text for the performance at the Globe theatre, but only in minor degree. The very early date of Act I has an obvious bearing on the barrenness of Shaksperian theory, and though there is no direct proof that the author, who as a young beginner displayed his knowledge of Latin and Spanish in II, 2, was William Stanley it is noticeable that, as with so many Shakespeare Plays, Northern idiom peeps out intermittently. Apart from the 14 Northern plurals it is seen in expressions like " keep thee warm " (II, 1, 84), " eaning [Q ' yearning '] time " (III, 4, 6, cf. *Merchant of Venice* I, 3, 88), " cowers i' the hams " (IV, 2, 115) or in Northern dialectical words such as : *bots* (II, 1, 128—worm pests), *dern* (Chorus III, 15, i.e. ' dreary ' cf. *King Lear* III, 7, 63), *malkin* (IV, 3, 34) and *tib* (IV, 6, 181), both Lancashire vulgarities for ' girls,' *wanion* (II, 1, 17) a Northern curse, and *yon*, frequently found in I and II. As in the *Tempest* and elsewhere (pp. 76, 77) such intimate acquaintance of the sea is disclosed (shipping, sailors and sea hazards) that *first hand* knowledge must be inferred (see for example Chorus III, 44-50, III, 1, 43-45 or IV, 1, 59-64). So also as in the *Tempest*, the allusion to good government in *Pericles* (II, 1, 111-113) similarly recalls the enlighted Stanley rule of the Isle of Man (p. 62). All this conduces to the view that William Stanley began to construct his Play about 1585, during his visit to the scenes of classical mythology in the Eastern Mediterranean. Beyond the glowing imagination which transformed Appollinius' story to a shining romance, we observe the continual shift of locality between Tyre, Antioch or Tarsus in the East and, in the West, Mitylene in Lesbos (Pentapolis) or Ephesus, the sailor's superstition during the violent storm of III, 1, the allusion to " an Egyptian " (III, 2, 85) and many other realistic touches, even the infamy of the brothel scenes of Act IV ; all of which present a picture of such vivid life transcending

" sources," that *Pericles* would be a sheer miracle, had it been written by anyone possessing only book-knowledge of the sea-squalls and maritime life of the Middle-east.

Titus Andronicus.

That so great an artist as Shakespeare could have chosen to dramatise the horrible as distinct from the terrible has disturbed many commentators, but it must be remembered that in spite of its revolting cruelty *Titus Andronicus* has lovely passages of genuine stamp, also that Elizabethan audiences were not squeamish , while in any case some rectification of sensitive 19th century perspective is called for in view of recent war horrors. Malone, followed by other commentators, rejected its complete authenticity, despite Meres' assertion in 1598 and the Folio ascription, in 1623, to Shakespeare, but Knight and others have accepted the Play unreservedly. Space forbids an account of their various opinions, and it must suffice to give the results of the present writer's examination.

The low end-rhyme fraction (·27) supports Malone's theory that some predecessor's Play had (as Ravencroft asserted in 1687) been merely " worked over " by Shakespeare. On this most plausible theory the only conceivable author, who could so have rivalled him in the blank verse of *Tit. And.*, is Marlowe at his later and more restrained level, and his end-rhyme fraction as noted (p. 170) is low (·19 average). On the other hand this test by no means excludes Shakespeare for, though his fraction is nearly always high, it is low in *Julius Caesar* (·21) and *Coriolanus* (·22). Further if undeniably genuine passages or scenes (e.g. I, 1, 80-131, II, 3, 122-191, III, 1, 60-150, all III, 2, IV, 2, 52-73) are picked out from the rest, which has been questioned, and examined for the distribution of *y*-spellings (in the 1600 Quarto or Folio) and for *R*-lines, no essential differences are discoverable between the two portions ; the only exception being III, 2 which, missing from the Quartos, has an abnormally high proportion of *y*-spellings in the Folio. (The overall I_p of the Folio is about 2, and that of the Quartos about 3.)

The same homogeneity holds for the repeat index (overall obs. $\rho = 22{\cdot}5$), alliteration number (overall $a_p = 136$) and distribution of Northern *s*-plurals, of which there are 9* in the 1600 Quarto, with one N.W. 2nd pers. sing. (*makes*, II, 1, 82) ; so too the numerous Shakespearian spellings (*braules, ceaze, hether, Roabe, sowre, wayd* etc.) are found everywhere, as well as many words of the Northern dialect such as (Q spellings) : *blowse* (wench), *brabble, brat, catterwaling, chaps, codding, egall, faire-fast, gald* (galled), *laue, leere* (complexion), *luls, ruffle, slonke, square* (quarrel), *tawny, trull, welkin* and numerous others ; also occasional Northern idiom e.g. " What, man," " no matter man," " Thy counsell lad," " young lad," " What is your will "—all without distinction between the two imaginary portions. The vocabulary throughout teems with Shakespearian peculiarities such as : *blabd, churle, compassion* [verb], *intreates* [noun] *lessond*, [verb], *Patient* [verb], *reverent* (respected), *sounded* (swooned), *subscribe* (submit), *unrecuring*, and so on ; also despite general inferiority the rhythmic periods and dramatic technique are consistently Shakespearian all through.

Other typically genuine features are : the handling of the Clown in IV, 3 and IV, 4 ; of astrology or astronomy in II, 3, 30-31 (word-play), II, 4, 14 and IV, 3, 70-71 ; of horses, hounds and the chase in II, 1, 93, II, 2 etc. ; musical allusions in II, 1, 70 and II, 4, 48, also law in III, 1, 118 and IV, 4, 8. Imagery of Shakespeare's peculiar brand is scattered indiscriminately through the Play ; so are the many parallels with Plays and Poems, all much too numerous to quote, the following being a few examples :—

Besides the general parallel of Titus and Lucius with Timon and Coriolanus, numerous verbal parallels with the early Sonnets appear, mainly " water to the Sea " (III, 1, 68), " Sweare vnto my soule " (III, 1, 279) and " vexe thy soule " (V, 1, 62 ; cf. Sonnets 135 and 136), " stain'd with mud " (V, 2, 171 ; Sonnet 35), " honnie breath " (II, 4, 25 ; Sonnet

* Viz : *speakes* (I, 1, 358), *wants* (II, 1, 26), *runnes* (II, 2, 24), *lies* (II, 3, 13), *was* (II, 3, 63), *is* (IV, 1, 9), *begins* (IV, 4, 72), *signifies* (V, 1, 3) and *was* (V, 1, 137).

65) ; with the Plays : " babling Ecchoe " (II, 3, 17) and " babling Gossip " (IV, 2, 150 ; cf. *12th Night* I, 5, 294), " hast hit it " (II, 1, 97-98 ; *L.L.L.* IV, 1, 129), " Gallops the Zodiacke " (II, 1, 7 ; *Romeo and Juliet* III, 2, 1). So also " Vn-couple heere " (II, 2, 3), " well tun'd hornes " (II, 3, 18), " feede on berries " etc. (IV, 2, 177-179) and " Moone on Piramus " (II, 3, 231) recall various scenes of *M.N.D.* ; " Tarquin " and " Lucrece " (IV, 1, 63, 64 and 91) recall *Lucrece* ; " fatall Rauen " (II, 3, 97) recalls *Macbeth* etc. ; " Lavinias treasurie " (II, 1, 131) recalls Isabel's in *Measure for Measure* (II, 4, 96) ; and even the repeated " come come " or " come goe " or " content thee " are typical, as indeed is the idiom, quite uniformly through the Play.

These ubiquitous idiosyncrasies bear out the statistical evidence of homogeneity ; and there is absolutely nothing to substantiate Ravenscroft's assertion, which with other superficial considerations has misled various commentators. Even the Marlowesque portions (e.g. II, 1, 1-24, II, 3, 91-115, IV, 3, 42-60, V, 1, 124-144) have a consistently higher alliteration number ($a_p = 150$), higher Q spelling deviation (22·3%) and lower *R* (125) than Marlowe's figures (pp. 170-6), so that however much his hyperbole may have influenced the greater poet, or whatever the " source " (if any) of the Play may have been, unquestionably *Titus Andronicus* was solely Shakespeare's. Immaturity accounts for inferiority, and as to early date there cannot be the least doubt. First there is the spelling evidence, with the unusually high deviation of the 1600 Quarto (overall 22·3% ; $D_{calc.} = 18·3$) and high proportion of obsolescent spellings (' advenged,' ' ewgh,' ' cuenuke,' ' marter,' ' thys,' ' theyr '—repeatedly and rarely ' their '—' ware ' i.e. ' wore,' and many others). Most of these archaisms have disappeared in the Folio but even here the deviation (18·6%) is no less than 7% higher than $D_{calc.}$. Next there is Ben Jonson's well known sneer in *Bartholemew Fair* (1614), which would make the date lie between 1584 and 1589. Finally there is the *R*-value (125) from which the date calculates out as about 1586. We know from Henslowe's diary that the Play was acted in 1593 by the Earl of Sussex' company, and from the Quartos that it was also performed by men of the " Earle of Pembrooke " and " the Earle of Darbie " [5th Earl, previously Lord Strange] ; also that there was an earlier Quarto of 1594 issued by Danter (discovered in 1905) but the Play was composed much earlier, in its first draft at any rate, though probably revised about 1593. The reference to " popish tricks " (V, 1, 76) and the words " Shee is a woman " etc. (II, 1, 82-83) both furnish interesting links with *T.R.* (p. 225), with (1) *Henry VI* (e.g. V, 3, 78) and with *Richard III* (I, 2, 229), each of which indirectly shows strong marks of Stanley's hand.

Early Comedies of the Canon.

When Spenser in *The teares of the muses* (1591) poetically deplored the decay of the " Comick Stage," in stanzas associated with a brilliant poet who chose to " sit in idle Cell " and whom he called ' Willy,' it is as certain as anything can be, having regard to his actual words, that he was speaking only of Shakespeare ; and this ' Willy ' is identifiable with William Stanley, as will appear, through his sister-in-law (p. 237). The context shows plainly enough that Spenser blamed Willy for the deplored intermission of Comedy that used to " fill with pleasure " but, as propounded in the previous pages, he was not idle ; having about then switched over to History with his *Contention* Plays.

Love's labour's lost. What then were the Comedies that had so charmed Spenser while he was in London between the Autumn of 1589 and Spring of 1591 ? According to the present writer they were probably *Faire Em, Mucedorus* (Chap. XI), *Love's labour's lost* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, because

despite immaturity all show unequivocal marks of genuineness, including frequencies (as for example repeat index, the mean for the four being 24·6). The original date of *L.L.L.* cannot be fixed by its *R*-value, which is 53, because the blank verse in the 1598 Quarto had been altered to an unknown extent (in 1597) when, as the Q title page says, it was " Newly corrected and augmented " for presentation before the Queen " this last Christmas." Attempts have been made to date the original draft as 1594 because of the fancied resemblance between two lines in Chapman's *Shadow of Night* (1594) and IV, 3, 346-7, but even if the semblance is real Chapman could just as well have borrowed in 1594 as Shakespeare ; so also linkages with Florio's works are equally unconvincing on date. That it was certainly not later than 1589 is proved, independently of immature style, (1) by the very low frequency (1 in 95) of *S*-lines (analogous to *R*-lines) in the 506 available lines of rhyme, which were not so much changed as the blank verse, and the *S*-formula (p. 234) gives 1589 as their date ; (2) by the relative paucity of *R*-lines in scattered bits of blank verse (mainly in IV, 3 and V, 2) representing the original text imperfectly cancelled by the new, and inadvertently left standing ; (3) by an abnormally high I_p in the 1598 Quarto (6·4) despite revision.

The 1597 alterations went far beyond the *dramatis personae* and were very extensive (see Chap. IV) ; and it is possible to follow some of those that are not obvious, by the remarkable variation of *y*-spelling distribution in the Quarto ; where patches of local high frequency show that the author had made verbal changes or interpolations in his own hand-writing of high Index i.e. on the copy from which Q was printed, more particularly in :—

I, 1, approximately the first 100 lines,
III, 1, lines 176 to 190,
IV, 3, lines 3 to 20, 257 to 265, 299 to 308, 337 to 345,
V, 2, lines 754 to 761, 787 to 794, 851 to 859.

When allowance is made for the high I_p of these passages, the net I_p of the remaining text is about 5, from which, using the standard equations, the date of the original transcript works out at 1589 if copied by a young scrivener (of about 20), thus confirming the *S*-formula. These wide oscillations of *y*-spelling frequency in Q are smoothed out in the Folio Play, whose overall I_p is very much less (1·6), but neither this nor the Northern *s*-plurals, of which there are 10 in the Folio, throw any further light on the transformations. What may have happened is this :—In 1597 the Earl of Derby was requested presumably by the Lord Chamberlain, his brother-in-law (Lord Hunsdon) to cut out the indiscreet matter relating to Henri of Navarre and Queen Marguerite i.e. prior to its performance at Court. To give effect to this " command " he made the necessary alterations (substituting his brother's name for Henri) and improved the text generally ; which changes made in autograph on his old 1589 copy would explain the *y*-spelling fluctuations and account for the increased frequency of *R*-lines. By some means unknown Cuthbert Burby secured this much altered copy, had it printed by ' W. W.,' and so in this way the 1598 Quarto came into being with its high I_p, its variable *R*-frequency and the numerous revisional slips, including occasional failure to change ' Queen ' to ' Princess.'

Two gentlemen of Verona. This Comedy, rich in Northern dialectical words but containing only 4 Northern *s*-plurals (i.e. in the 1623 Folio) is, like *L.L.L.* of the Folio, a Play whose modernised spelling (p. 160) renders the I_p (1·3) a deceptive criterion of date. The latter however can be fixed

with some confidence from the high value of *R*, 84, for which the *R*-formula gives a calculated date 1589·5, which should be fairly reliable with 730 available lines of blank verse uncomplicated by subsequent revision. As no " source " is known for this delightful romance (hardly Montemayor's *Diana* and Sidney's *Arcadia*, which have been suggested) the author no doubt contrived it mainly if not solely from his own imagination founded on personal experience of Northern Italy, as if fresh in his recollections of Milan, Verona and the wooded country near Mantua, with tender reminiscences of a happy sojourn among the people. Uncertain indications of Stanley authorship appear in the emphasis in *T.G.V.* on the educative value of travel (p. 81) and in the apparent Pentecost allusion (p. 81) to the pageants, which were such a notable feature in the boyish life of William at Chester.

Comedy of Errors. As in the case of *T.G.V.*, the modernised spelling and low I_p (1·5) of *C. of E.* in its first (Folio) version give no indication of date, which however probably lies between 1590 and 1594 for several reasons, mainly (1) Dromio's allusion to the civil wars in France (III, 2, 125) and (2) the *R*-value, 47·6, which gives a (calculated) date 1594·5. The Play was therefore not one of those Comedies which so delighted Spenser about 1590, but it was no doubt produced at Gray's Inn (p. 148), and apparently also at Court at the end of 1594. This date has a bearing on the (absurdly) disputed question of Shakespeare's knowledge of Latin ; for the plot of the Comedy is derived (with much complication) from the then untranslated *Menæchmi* of Plautus, a simple fact which has proved disturbing to certain Shaksperian scholars. W.W.'s translation *Menæchmi* did not appear till 1595, apart from which the allusion to Antipholus of Ephesus in the Folio (Act II) as ' Sereptus ' (' surreptitii " in Plautus) shows quite plainly that the poet went to the Latin source. Ritson, puzzled and unable to believe that Shakspere could read Latin, decided that he must have " re-furbished " an earlier Play, which Malone, followed by later critics, believed to be *The Historie of Error*, a lost Play which was produced at Hampton Court on New Year's day 1577, but as nothing is known about it, the supposition is pure conjecture.

A number of words in W.W.'s translation are identical for similar situations with those in the Play, and as W.W.'s printer said that he had made other translations of Plautus's Comedies " for the use and delight of his private friends " unable to read Latin, Shakespeare is accordingly construed as one of these " friends." Such are the *a priori* deductions requisite to bolster up the fatuous case of an uncultured actor, as author of this brilliant and rollicking farce ; and this in the face of Shakespeare's astounding erudition, when a simple survey of " what he hath left us " makes his perfect command of Latin truly " another glimpse of the obvious." The common-sense explanation surely is that since the Play preceded the translation, verbal parallels in the latter were inspired by the Play, which W.W. could have seen for instance at Gray's Inn, and not *vice-versa* ; indeed the general talk about *Comedy of errors*, after the fiasco there, may have prompted him to publish his translation, seeing that no Quarto was available. The Play, which contains many Northern words and 9 Northern *s*-plurals in the Folio, affords no direct evidence of Stanley authorship, but like *Pericles* it seems to give glimpses of his wanderings among the relics of a past civilisation, at Ephesus in particular, which must have been very familiar to him, and in the Aegean Islands.

Hamlet.

Meres did not include this Play in his rather artificially divided list of six Shakespearian Tragedies and six Comedies, in 1598, but this is no proof that it did not exist prior to then, seeing that Meres omitted other Plays. Much of the difficulty associated with the dates of Shakespeare's Plays is due to the facile actor-inspired assumption that he put out each Play in a regular

sequence under contract for the theatre, while it is now demonstrable, particularly from the date formulae, that he often had several in hand at once to which, like a true artist in love with his creations, he sometimes returned for improvement. To suppose that *Hamlet* was achieved at a single sitting, for what is erroneously called " Shakespeare's company " (p. 205) is to ignore plain evidence of repeated revision ; which itself throws suspicion on the belief that the first Quarto (1603) was merely a corrupt version of one great Play, as represented by Q2 (1604). It is true that Q1 is very corrupt, many passages or lines appearing to have been torn out of their (Q2) setting ; yet the position of these passages is quite normal to Q1, which though very inferior to Q2 is perfectly self-contained and obviously genuine, with no sensible difference from Q2 in either repeat index (ρ about 27) or alliteration number a_p (about 130).

The question then is : is Q1 independent of Q2, and Q2 a later revision ? If so the author re-modelled an earlier Play by a tremendous overhauling, which involved not only interpolations and transposition of passages in the general expansion, but deep enhancement of its psychological subtlety. That such expansion did occur seems *primâ facie* to be implicit in the assertion on the title page of Q2, which was printed " by I.R. for N.L." [Landure], for there it is stated that the Play was " Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie." Q1, made up of only 2100 lines and certainly not from a " perfect Coppie," would then have been the Play referred to by Lodge (1596) and Gabriel Harvey (apparently in 1598), as well as in Henslowe's diary which shows that a *Hamlet* was acted on 9th June 1594 and Newington Butts. Further, on the title page of Q1 it is stated that the Play had been acted " in the Cittie of London : as also in the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and elsewhere." This external evidence, suggesting that Q1 represented an earlier draft, is borne out not only by spelling deviation (p. 176) but by a careful comparison of the *R*-lines in Q1 and Q2. Owing to the barbarous way in which most of the text of Q1 has been handled many of its lines cast as blank verse were either prose or lines arbitrarily truncated, so that these spurious verses are useless for the count ; but it is not difficult to pick out some 620 available lines in Q1, which may be reasonably accepted as genuine blank verse and these only contain nine *R*-lines. This means that *R* is about 70, corresponding to a (calculated) date about 1591. On the other hand the overall *R*-figure for Q2 (on a total of 1600 available lines) is 30, with considerable variation between the different Acts, due no doubt to different dates at which the revision was carried out, but on the total available 790 lines of the first two Acts $R = 26{\cdot}5$, which corresponds to a (calculated) date of about 1600, so that the remodelling might have been effected in stages between 1599 and 1603.

This conclusion is confirmed in several ways. If Q1 had been merely a corrupt version of the great Play, it is incredible that the character names Polonius and Reynaldo (Q2) would have been changed to Corambis and Montano (Q1), while the reverse change could have been made by Shakespeare during revision, just as " Bragart Gentleman " (Q1) was changed to " Courtier " i.e. Osric (Q2). Also the absence in Q1 of the reasons given in Q2 (II, 2, 350-384 in the Folio version) for the players travelling i.e. the " innovation " [no doubt the Essex rising of February 1601] and the ' war of the theatres,' acute about 1601, is of course explicable if the Q1 version had been written earlier. But perhaps the most powerful evidence of the completely independent origin of Q1 and Q2 is the difference in their Northern *s*-plurals ; there are 12 in Q1 evenly distributed, sufficient in themselves to show that it was mainly printed from a copy of Shakespeare's autograph, and 15 in Q2 (excluding several permissive solecisms by the Clown in V, 1) also fairly evenly distributed. But of all these *only two* are identical in Q1 and Q2 viz ' usurps ' (III, 2, 275) and ' is ' (IV, 3, 55), thus plainly signifying the same author in independent versions. There are also 2 N.W. 2nd pers. singulars in each Quarto, but only one is common to both viz ' Revisites ' (I, 4, 53).

Seeing that the two Quartos were printed by different publishers, the above facts can only mean that the author himself wrote two partly different texts, and that the one was his expansion of the other is proved by the existence all through Q1 of many *genuine* Shakespearian lines and passages, which could never have been invented by any bribed actor or stenographer, but which nevertheless have disappeared from Q2, or whose wording has been entirely changed ; consequently by the author himself. There are so many of them that it is only possible here to give one or two instances, by way of illustration :—

Q1 My lord, ti's not the sable sute I weare :
Q2 Tis not alone my incky cloake coold [good] mother — I, 2

Q1 O that this too much griev'd and sallied flesh
Would melt to nothing, or that the universall
Globe of heaven would turne al to a Chaos !
Q2 O that this too too sallied flesh would melt,
Thaw and resolve it selfe into a dewe, — I, 2

Q1 From that unto a fast, then unto distraction
Q2 Fell into a sadnes, then into a fast — II, 2

Other similar cases are to be found in the precepts of Polonius (Corambis) in I, 3, the " Doubt etc." doggerel (p. 145) of II, 2 and in many other places, all purely Shakespearian in both Q1 and Q2, but quite different textually. The following is an example of a passage in Q1 (in what is now III, 2) which has disappeared altogether from Q2 :—

Q1 Let flattery sit on those time-pleasing tongs, [tongues]
To glose with them that loves to heare their praise,
And not with such as thou *Horatio.*

There are scores of similar cases, all showing that Q1 had nothing to do with the Q2 Play, but was a corrupt version of an independent earlier draft, written probably in 1593, abridged and frequently acted in various places, including the Universities. Although Q2 is so nearly perfect, and in some ways superior to the F Play, it is full of minor errors and bad misprints. Both it and the F Play have roughly the same *y*-spelling Index (I_p about 3) consistent with printing from a straight transcript of the autograph, but the lower I_p of Q1 (1·5) shows that much if not all of its text had been copied and re-copied. Though the textual differences between Q2 and F are much fewer than in the expansion from Q1, they also indicate how far the author's deep love for his creation soared beyond stage requirements ; so far indeed as to necessitate extensive theatre cuts, reflected in F by the omission of several fine passages, principally in I, 1, I, 4, III, 4, IV, 1, IV, 3, IV, 4 (the whole scene following the entry of Hamlet), IV, 7 and V, 2. Beyond all this histrionic surplus, so obviously for love not " gain," a number of minor textual differences from Q2, found only in F, show that after 1604 the author had introduced further small amendments, as for example in inserting : " O vengeance " and " ay sure " in Hamlet's famous soliloquy at the end of II, 2, or his cry of " Mother, mother, mother " at the beginning of III, 4, or his words " Let me see " before "Alas poor Yorick " in V, 1, etc.

The curious discrepancies, in respect of time intervals, between Q1 and the later texts are confusing but point to an earlier Play. According to Q1, Yorick's skull had lain in the ground 12 years, his burial having been at the time when Hamlet's father slew Fortinbras, which according to Q2 and F was the day Hamlet was born (30 years previously if the Clown's rambling words can be accepted), while Yorick had been buried 23 years—neither 30 nor 12. It is difficult to see why any change was made, but the alteration in the length

of the sexton's service (12 years in Q1) to 30 years "man and boy" in Q2 (or say 23 years as man) confirms the difference of 11 years for the skull. This would seem to mean that if Q2 is dated as 1604 (with Hamlet then 23 years of age) Q1 was written about 1593, so that if the date of Yorick's burial refers to some actual event, that event would be 1581 (i.e. 1604 — 23). Having regard to the autobiographical nature of the Play, it may be not too fanciful to visualise a scene in young William Stanley's boyhood, say about 1570, when he played familiarly with his father's "fool," who on this computation would have died in 1581 and would therefore be a predecessor of "Henry ye ffoole" officiating in 1587 (ffarrington's diary).

A *Hamlet* Play apparently existed in 1589, for in that year Nashe's well known sneer was uttered in Greene's *Menaphon*, against those leaving "the trade of Noverint, whereto they were born" [modern spelling], who could get "many good sentences" from a translation of Seneca, which would "afford you whole *Hamlets*, I should say, handfuls of tragical speeches." There are reasonable grounds for believing that the author of this *ur-Hamlet* was Thomas Kyd, as first proposed by Malone who, having fixed the date of Nashe's stinging satire, was unable to reconcile it with an actor newly arrived from Stratford-on-Avon. Kyd's father was a notary or noverint (law scrivener) and Kyd drew freely on Seneca, so that as Lord Strange's secretary* he could be described as a 'noverint' engaged in legal practice connected with writs; but it *may* be that the culprit was not Kyd at all but Lord Strange's brother working at Gray's Inn. Be this as it may, Nashe's criticism, however unkind, is not specific and he may have only got information at second hand from vague rumours; at least it is not likely that he would have attacked Stanley even covertly, considering that Lord Strange was his and Greene's *beau ideal* of literary virtue (p. 20). Whatever may be the truth, this Kyd-theory furnishes yet another example of orthodox attempts to accommodate an actor's ignorance to Shakespeare's erudition, by discovery of convenient "sources" for him to "re-furbish." All that can be extracted from Nashe's words amounts to this, that the author of the original *Hamlet* was neglecting his proper profession of handling writs, for "the endeavours of Art" and burning the midnight oil to filch passages from (presumably) Newton's "tenne tragedies" (1581) for his "tragical speeches." There is no factual evidence that Shakspere ever had anything to do with writs, while Shakespeare's mind was simply steeped in the Law, as well as in Seneca, Plautus, Ovid and other Latin authors (some of whom had not been translated).

Romeo and Juliet.

Another example of the limitations of purely literary criticism is the insolubility of the question whether the short first Quarto of 1597 gives substantially the text of an early version, or whether it is the incomplete vestige of the full Play as we know it from Q2 (1599) and the Folio. The former view was supported by Knight, Halliwell and Spedding, the latter by Collier, Daniel, Dowden and others; but Daniel himself proved that there had been at least some revision in the evolution of Q2, showing itself through printer's carelessness in omitting to cancel lines that had been struck out by the author (as for instance where the four lines at the end of what is now called II, 2, have crept into the beginning of II, 3). Theories that the text of Q1 was derived from bribed actors reciting their lines, or from the notes of a shorthand reporter witnessing the Q2 Play, are consistent with some but not all the facts. First, as in the parallel case of *Hamlet*, there is the evidence furnished by Northern *s*-plurals of which there are 6 in Q1, showing that it was partly if not wholly printed from a copy of Shakespeare's autograph, when the I_p (below) is taken into account. Next, in Q2 there are 13, but only 2 of these are the same as those in Q1, viz *is* (Prologue, 12) and *lies* (II, 3, 53), which most striking observations are only intelligible if the imperfect Q1 and the full Q2 were derived from the same author through quite different script. Next, as in the

* Satisfactory proof that Kyd was Lord Strange's secretary between 1587 and 1593 is given by Tannenbaum (*The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*, 1927).

analogous case of the *Hamlet* Quartos, there are many genuine lines in Q1, absent from Q2 or very differently worded, the alliteration number ($a_p = 118$) and repeat index ($\rho = 24{\cdot}7$) of these lines being perfectly normal and similar to the figures for passages found only in Q2.

These lines of Q1, not in Q2, could never have been invented by either actor, reporter or editor, and they are so numerous that they could never have been omitted from Q2 by compositor's carelessness or editorial excision; many dozens of them all through the Play, they are absolutely congruous to the context in Q1 while their omission from Q2 does not impair the latter in the least. Indeed their elimination falls in so naturally with the different Q2 text, that such complete harmony could not have arisen unless the author himself had expunged them. The same is true of the verbal modification of those lines of Q1 which have been more or less retained in Q2. There are hundreds of them, all quite un-corrupt and genuine in Q1 but so skilfully re-worded or expanded in Q2, that it is impossible to interpret these Q1 lines as a garbled version of Q2, but quite natural to suppose that they were later re-modelled by the author. Q1 is certainly corrupt* in general but not in the lines and passages discussed here; as for instance in Mercutio's Queen Mab speech (I, 4) attributed to Benvolio in Q1, greatly altered and cast into prose in Q2 (and F), or in the changed dialogue of II, 4 (lines 153 to 165 of Q2) which could not possibly be due to faulty reporting for Q1. So also it is with many other alterations clearly due to the author, e.g. II, 5, lines 17, 18 of Q2; the duel scene dialogue of III, 1, and the various textual transpositions in its sequel; III 5 lines 63-74 of Q2; the great changes all through IV, 4 and 5; the extensive alterations in the vault scene of V, 3 and the succeeding speech of the Friar. In all these cases, and indeed numerous others, the Q1 text is as Shakespearian, though not so fine, as that of Q2; but it is noticeable that these manifest expansions, which making Q2 more deeply tragic than Q1 emphasise the astrologically sinister rôle of destiny, are mainly subsequent to II, 3. On the other hand the first part (Act I and II, 1-3), all of which is in larger print in Danter's Q1 issue, mainly involves verbal changes rather than interpolations of new passages.

This first part of Q1 in large print also has a much lower capital frequency (9) and I_p (1·1) than the rest of the Quarto (22 and 7 respectively), without a notable difference in spelling deviation, which however is higher overall than that of Q2. This certainly points to an earlier date of copying for Q1, and Danter probably had two distinct sources for his piracy at different dates, but what matters is the date of writing. No serious notice need be taken of the Nurse's confused speech in I, 3 in relation to the 1580 earthquake, which would point to 1591 or 1593, but real importance attaches to the *R*-value. In Q1 there are 600 available lines of genuine blank verse, giving $R = 45$, while in Q2 there are 1146 lines available with $R = 31{\cdot}6$, from which the two dates calculate out at 1595 and 1598 respectively, figures however which cannot be reliable since the calculations would be partly falsified by revisionary changes. But as the first part of the Play, up to II, 3, shows few such changes it is possible to fix, approximately at least, the date of this portion, with some uncertainty owing to comparative paucity of available lines; only 167 in Q1 when the rhymed verse is omitted. Calling for help on Q2 up to II, 3, it is necessary to cast the prose rendering of Queen Mab's speech into blank verse; thus we get 383 available lines in Q2, with no appreciable difference from Q1

* So is Q2, as for example in the much discussed word 'runnawayes' (III, 2, 6) not found in Q1, a mistake probably for 'roving.'

in *R*-line frequency, so that it is fair to take the average on 550 lines, which gives $R = 71{\cdot}7$, from which the date works out at 1590·9. This is of course only for the first portion, but it seems reasonable on the complete analysis of both Quartos to conclude that Burby's assertion in Q2 about the Play having been " augmented and amended " is literally true and that : (1) the first part of *R. and J.* was written somewhere about 1591 and partly revised later, (2) the second (i.e. main) part was written (or revised) later, perhaps about 1593, an abridged partly corrupt version of parts (1) and (2) representing Q1, and that a final revision with expansion, mainly of part (2), was made still later, perhaps about 1598, this giving the text of Q2. Even this final version, i.e. Q2 whose $I_p = 4$, shows minor amendments in addition to those noted by Daniel, for there are certain local accumulations of *y*-spellings, especially in IV, 3 (Juliet's terror), V, 1 (apothecary scene) and V, 3 (Romeo's lines in the tomb) showing probable changes in the author's handwriting on the copy. This revision in stages, as in the case of *Hamlet*, reveals an artist who revelling in his growing powers was not satisfied till he had infused a deeper, more spiritually subtle, feeling into his supreme love-drama.

Now that the date of the first portion of *R. and J.* can be reasonably fixed as about 1591 a linkage with William Stanley as W.S. of *Willobie his Avisa* (pp. 56, 57) is conceivable, at least on the writer's interpretation of the Sonnets which supposes that after casting off his " dark lady " mistress early in 1591 he transferred his affections to the chaste Avisa, who repulsed him as Rosaline rejected Romeo. If in dramatising this affair, Stanley made Romeo's desperation in I, 1, and I, 2 any measure of his own feelings, he must have been ' badly bitten ' ; but when presumably on 20th September 1591, among the crowd at Elvetham (p. 71), he caught a glimpse of Elizabeth de Vere, the Queen's fascinating Maid of Honour then only 16, it can well be imagined that, forgetting his recent love torments, he now asked like Romeo in I, 5 (Q1) " What Ladie is that " etc., and soon found an opportunity of speaking to her in words not unlike the dialogue, commencing " If I prophane . . . ." Stanley's destiny hung on that meeting, and however lyrically fantastical the conjecture might be, Romeo's ardent wooing of Juliet in II, 2 may nevertheless afford some indication of the first rapturous passages between Stanley and Elizabeth ; how in the fairy-haunted groves to the West of the lake after the couple had eluded the sharp vigilance of the Queen, he might have sworn his eternal love by the (then full) moon, on that " blessed blessed night " ; and so on and so on.

Henry V.

The text of the first Quarto of 1600 (and its re-issues in 1602 and 1608), being only a pale shadow of that of the Folio Play, has raised exactly the same kind of questions as those concerning *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet*, i.e. whether Q1 was, as Malone and Steevens first suggested, merely the garbled and incomplete version of the full F Play or whether it was the corrupt text of an earlier draft. The former alternative, generally adopted, is founded essentially on Daniel's observations viz (1) that the context of Q1 in relation to certain omissions in what is now called I, 2 proves that they must have been cuts from the full Play, and (2) that the inconsistency of the last two lines of scene 11 of Q1 (not inconsistent with IV, 3, of F) proves that there had been a similar cut i.e. with omission of IV, 2 of F. The arguments are of course sound, but not decisive since the observations can be alternatively explained as being due to barbarous abridgment by Millington and Burby of a fuller but different version existing prior to that of the F Play. The question therefore cannot be

regarded as finally settled, the more so because Knight, a very shrewd critic, was strongly of opinion that Q1 represented an earlier draft, later remodelled with consummate skill into the F Play. If Q1 had been a corrupt version of the F Play, greatly curtailed for acting purposes, it follows that the F Play was in existence before the date of entry at the Stationers' Hall, 4th August 1600, and that Q1 omitted not only the Choruses but nearly half the Play, to give only about 1800 lines out of 3500. This is quite reasonable because it has long been believed that this F Play was first performed in the Summer of 1599, as the opening Play of the Globe theatre ; yet as already pointed out (p. 88) it is by no means certain that the Play was the F version because its Chorus (Act V) applies better to Lord Mountjoy in 1601. Moreover a date about 1601 is consistent with a careful computation of the *R*-lines of F, giving $R = 23{\cdot}5$, which corresponds to a (calculated) date of writing 1600·6. The margin is small, but as the 1600 Quarto said explicitly that the Play " hath bene sundry times playd " by the Chamberlain company, it could hardly have been later than 1599 and was probably earlier ; so that if Q were merely garbled F, of this date, its *R* would have been nearer that of the *Henry IV* pair (31·5) instead of the observed 23·5 of F. Conversely, if the F text had been a subsequent revision of an earlier draft, its observed *R*-value would be rather higher than normal for the date of expansion which would therefore be later than that calculated (1600·6). The foregoing evidence is therefore indecisive.

But proof that Q1 was really founded on a script which was independent of F follows from a few key observations now submitted. First, the α_p is high (147) and there is sufficient un-corrupt matter in Q1 to prove that its text was derived, at least partly, from a genuine copy of Shakespeare's autograph, i.e. not only by the high spelling deviation (19%) and the even distribution of unusual spellings, sometimes often repeated, typical of other Shakespearian Quartos, such as : *aboord*, *bace*, *cloathes*, *durtie*, *foortl.*, *herauld* (8 times, and 'herald' twice), *lowsie*, *prise*, *sommers*, *toonglesse*, *wayes* (weighs), etc., but by the presence of 9 Northern *s*-plurals.* It is true that some of the typographical corruptions, like : *cophetua* (*caveto*), *frase* (phrase), *knite* (knight) and a few others, together with all the atrocious mistakes in French, suggest an oral or shorthand source for some of the text, but most if not all must have been printed from a copy or more probably a copy of a copy, as indicated by the low I_p (2·8) of Q1.

Next, there are some significant differences in the *dramatis personae* between Q1 and F ; thus Gebon who speaks in Q1 (sc. 11) appears as Lord Rambures in F (III, 7) and another speaking character, Clarence (i.e. Thomas, Duke of Clarence, *d.* 1421) of Q1 (sc. 13) is missing altogether from F (IV, 3). In fact " brother Clarence " (F, V, 2, 84) is merely a silent lay-figure in F, but not in Q, where moreover he and Yorke find mention in the " Cryspin " speech (Q1, sc. 13) while both are replaced by Salisbury and Talbot in F (IV, 3, 54). No less significant in showing that Q1 was a different Play is the abundance of other textual differences, where truly genuine matter in Q1 is either missing from F or expressed differently. There are many hundreds of such cases, mostly as scattered lines or short passages, but it must suffice here to give only one example as illustration of each type of dissimilarity, proving that there were two distinct versions :—

Q1 (10, 56) " I say the fig within thy bowels and thy durty maw "

This and the two succeeding lines are absent from F.

Q1 (9, lines 12, 13) " Can barley broath, a drench for swolne Iades
Their sodden water decockt such lively blood ? "

F (III, 5, 18-20) " Can sodden Water,
A Drench for fur-reyn'd Iades, their Barly broth,
Decoct their cold blood to such valiant heat ? "

Finally there is the contrast between Q1 and F in Northern *s*-plurals. None of the 9 of Q1 appear in F ; they are either changed to normal plurals (viz *are*, *Breake* and *were*)

* They are : *is* (sc. 2, line 3), *is* (12, 49), *stayes* (12, 134), *is* (13, 2), *is* (13, 4), *is* (13, 50), *Breakes* (13, 77), *was* (17, 117), and *lyes* (18, 60), not counting 5 permissive plural solecisms by " Flewellen." There are also, one N.W. 2nd pers. sing. viz ' Trailes ' (12, 6) and one Southern plural viz ' doth ' (13, 11).

or the wording is different, but the crucial fact is that there are 8 newly appearing *s*-plurals* in F, while many of the typical spellings of Q1 are preserved such as *aboord, durtie herauld, lowsie, rowse, tel* etc., others being different. When all these observations are taken into account, especially the two sets of different *s*-plurals, it becomes certain that the text of Q1 was independent of F and, despite Mere's omission of *Henry V* from his 1598 list, that it was an abridged version of a much longer earlier Play. Further a critical *R*-count of Q1, shows that its date was well prior to 1600 ; thus after cancelling out all the corrupt passages and scenes containing spurious blank-verse, easily detected, there remain 540 available genuine lines in scenes which in F are called I, 2, II, 2, 3, 4, III, 6, IV, 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, and for these the *R*-figure is 37 i.e. very much higher than that of F (23·5). The (calculated) date for this residue of the Q Play works out as 1596·6 which is probably not far out ; and since *Henry V* was promised in the Epilogue of (2) *Henry IV*, it is possible that the draft was in hand about 1597. This earlier draft was no doubt a fine Play, perhaps with Choruses, but one with which the author was not satisfied till he had expanded and recast it, in the form we know from F, probably in 1601. That he made further alterations on the final F copy may be deduced from the patchiness in distribution of *y*-spellings ; this is not found with Q1 but with F, whose I_p is 6·8 (showing that it was printed from singly copied autograph) several passages present unduly high concentrations of *y*-spellings within a few lines, as for instance in the Chorus of III (F " actus secundus "), suggesting minor autograph changes, after the Play had been copied for the Stage.

Henry V does not directly betray the hand of the Earl of Derby, but first-hand knowledge of the kind he had is clearly revealed in various places, as for instance of horses (III, 7), of the sea (e.g. III, 1, 14 and IV, 1, 101) and especially of military tactics ; the latter being the more striking by comparison with the source-Play (*Famous Victories of Henry the fifth*) from which, as well as from Holinshed, the author borrowed. This source Play, also slightly used in the construction of the *Henry IV* pair, including the name-part Oldcastle (Falstaff—see p. 42), displays poor military knowledge, but it is of interest because of the prominence given to the 17th Earl of Oxford's ancestors (lacking in *Henry V*) which has induced Ward to postulate him as its author, with date 1574 ; but various other authors have been suggested for this anonymous Play (entered in 1594 and published in 1598) including Rowley, Birde, Greene, Kyd and Peele.

Troilus and Cressida.

Before the (avowed) piracy in 1609, when Bonian and Walley issued two Quartos of the Play in the same year, John Roberts had entered for publication " The booke of Troilus and Cresseda, as yt is acted by my Lo. Chamberlens men," in February 1603, but the " booke " never appeared. In what is believed to be the second Q of *T. and C.* there is a remarkable preface, which while calling the Play a " Commedie " bestows great praise on the author, and incidentally mentions :—(1) that the Play had never been acted on the public stage, in spite not only of Robert's statement in 1603 but a declaration in the (reputed) first edition of 1609 that it had been acted at the Globe, (2) that the public would never have been favoured with the Quarto " by the grand possessors wills " if prayed for.

The contradiction in assertion (1) was once explained by assuming, as Knight did, that the second Q was the first and that till 1609 the Play had only been acted in private, but recent bibliographic evidence reverses his order and shows that the preface was not contained in the first Q edition, so that his reason that it was withdrawn after the Play had been acted publicly in 1609†

* They are : *gives* (I, 2, 27), *Runs* (I, 2, 119), *is* (I, 2, 164), *longs* (II, 4, 80), *Fills* (Chorus IV, 3), *There's* (IV, 3, 4), *speakes* (IV, 3, 66) and *sits* (IV, 5, 5), not counting 14 permissive solecisms by Fluellen and one by Macmorris. There are also 3 Southern plurals viz ' hath ' (Chorus I, 9) and ' doth ' twice (III, 5, 52 and V, 2, 46).

† It is likely all the same that the Prologue (found only in the F Play) was written about then for a public performance, because it has a much higher proportion of *R*-lines than the body of the Play (except in some passages in II, 2 and IV, 5).

is not valid and the contradiction remains. The " grand possessors " of assertion (2) had probably exercised their veto on Roberts in 1603, as on other pirate publishers between 1604 and 1608 (p. 121), but failed in 1609, though who they were can only be surmised ; perhaps the Earl of Derby, associated with the King and theatre managers. [A similar but successful intervention later in 1619 seems to have checked Pavier in his collective piracy of ten Plays.]

As the pirated Q Play has an Index I_p of only 2·65, as against 4 for the F Play (neglecting in both cases the name ' Troylus ' which occurs about 70 times) it would seem that Bonian and Walley somehow secured a copy of the " grand possessors " copy, from which latter the F Play was printed. Occupying an anomalous position in the Folio, without pagination and un-listed in the " Catalogve," as a belated inclusion, a comparison of its text with that of Q shows that many words in the latter spelt with an *i* are spelt with a *y* in F, while the reverse is rare, as for example in the long scene I, 3 where out of a total of 27 *y*-spellings in F eleven are spelt with *i* in Q. Altogether there are about 4000 differences between Q and F in spelling, punctuation and phraseology (F being superior in most respects) but the *y*-spelling differences could not have arisen in 1623 if F had been printed from an exemplar of Q.

As to the composition-date of the Play, some very interesting light is thrown by a count of its *R*-lines, whose distribution is very patchy and this must mean that it was not all written at the same time. Although true frequencies are un-attainable with individual scenes,the Acts are long enough for the purpose and these fall into two distinct groups of quite different values. Acts I, III and V must be earlier than the others ; comprising a total of 740 available lines they give an *R*-value of 34, and this by the *R*-formula gives a date of 1597, while on the other hand II and IV, with 450 available lines, give $R = 17$, corresponding to 1603. Although the separation by Acts is arbitrary, the difference can hardly be accidental, so that clearly the part of the Play where the shallow falsity of Cressida's nature comes out most vividly was written before II and IV.

The date 1597 is significant, for it was in that year that the Earl of Derby, after the Essex slander (p. 28), suspecting the fidelity of a flirtatious young wife, broke out into the most violent paroxysms of jealousy. His bitterness at the time (also reflected in several Sonnets—Appendix III) may well have prompted him to dramatise Chaucer's Trojan story in his own way ; and Troilus' disillusionment in V, 2, which cannot be definitely traced to any literary source, might give some idea of the Earl's own suffocating anguish. A few years later as a Knight of the Garter (1601) he was probably aimed at in Marston's satire (p. 54) on ' W . . shakes . . Speare,' put into the mouth of Troilus. [*Othello*, the great Tragedy of unfounded jealousy is generally dated 1604, but a careful count of its *R*-lines shows unambiguously that it was written earlier ; there are 1170 available lines and as the distribution of its *R*-lines is even there should be no doubt about the reliability of its *R*-value (22·8) which calculates to a date, 1600·8, that is to say probably 1601-2, when the Earl, for long not satisfied as to his wife's innocence, must have at last realised the monstrous injustice he had done her.]

Henry VIII.

Pericles has been proved to be wholly genuine, and it now remains to consider whether the evidence for collaboration is better founded in the case of *Henry VIII* and *Timon of Athens*, which are vaguely regarded as joint productions. To suppose that John Fletcher was responsible for about half of *Henry VIII*, that is to say I, 3 and 4, II, 1 and 2, III, 1 and 2 (part), IV, 1, and 2, and V, 2, 3 and 4, seems to violate common-sense judgment ; yet this was the opinion of Elze, Spedding, Fleay, Ingram and Furnivall, although these scenes include some thoroughly typical drama—the fall of Buckingham and Wolsey, the struggle of Queen Katherine with the wily Cardinals, the sorrow of her seclusion at Kimbolton, the humiliation and subsequent triumph of Cranmer, and even the vulgar porter scene, reminiscent of that in *Macbeth*.

As this wholesale exclusion rests principally upon versification tests (double or weak endings and end-stopt lines) it seems more reasonable to suspect some fallacy in deduction, rather than real genuineness.

The metrical style in places, is admittedly unusual, where indeed the *R*-lines are so numerous as to verge on prose, while in other places, as in III, 1 and V, 2, 3 and 4 they are so (relatively) few as to suggest a different hand by contrast. If in the interests of brevity we call the supposed Fletcherian portions **A**, the admittedly Shakespearian parts **B** and the supposed joint scene (III, 2) **C**, the first thing to observe is that there is no essential difference between the repeat index of these three parts (mean $\rho = 23$) while Fletcher's is ρ below 20 ; next the alliteration number of **A** ($\alpha_p = 121$) is much higher than Fletcher's normal figure, but Shakespearian, like that of **B** and **C** (mean $\alpha_p = 104$). Next there is no appreciable difference either in the overall frequency or distribution of *y*-spellings as found in the Folio text (I_p for **A** = 2·7, for **B** and **C**, 2·33) and though differences would be partly smoothed out by copying before printing, they would nevertheless have been revealed by the great gap between Shakespeare's I_a and Fletcher's, whose (theoretical) figure is only about a half. The only marked deviation from the even distribution of *y*-spellings is in IV, 1, where the frequency is higher, and in the 24 lines of V, 4, 40-63 (V, 5, some editions) i.e. Cranmer's spech, between " Nor shall . . . . " and " mourn her " ; these latter being perhaps later interpolations, whose genuineness is indicated, among other things, by the high α_p (170) and ρ (30).

There are 5 Northern *s*-plurals in the Folio Play viz : *compels* (I, 2, 57), *comes* (I, 2, 107) *makes* (I, 4, 21), *drives* (II, 4, 223) and *is* (III, 1, 156), the last being in Section **A**. As neither the statistical evidence nor literary criteria support the Flecherian origin of **A**, this theory should be dropped, while admitting spurious interpolations only here and there, as for instance in some of the dialogue between first and second " gentleman " in II, 1 and IV, 1 as well as in the long stage directions ; but substantial authenticity of these scenes is confirmed by their alliteration numbers which are even higher than the average for **A**.

It is in *R*-value that **A** differs so markedly from **B** and **C**. The two latter, comprising I, 1 and 2, II, 3 and 4, III, 2 and V, 1, contain over 1000 available lines of blank verse, with $R = 6$ or taking **B** alone (716 available lines) *R* is only 5·45, a figure lower than that of any other Shakespeare Play and corresponding to a calculated date 1613. Section **A** gives very different results ; here however the Folio has cast several passages which are really prose into false blank verse, notably in I, 3 and 4, II, 1 and V, 3, but when these are eliminated there remain still over 500 available lines of genuine verse, for which $R = 22$, with calculated date 1601, assuming as is necessary on all grounds that these lines are genuine. From all these considerations the first inference is that Shakespeare originally wrote *Henry VIII* (or at least the part here called **A**) somewhere about 1601, and the above interpolation in V, 4, suiting James I, which contains only one *R*-line like the preceding 24 lines, perhaps in 1604. Secondly it is inferred that **B** (at least its blank verse) was written about 1613, possibly for the Globe performance in June when the theatre was burnt down, while part of **C** (mainly that portion of III, 2 where Wolsey is baited by Suffolk, Surrey and Norfolk) seems to be of date 1601 (because of relative paucity of *R*-lines) and the rest (where they are rich) 1613. It may have been 1613 or even later that Fletcher or someone else attempting to bring the Play up to date, introduced a number of minor interpolations without seriously damaging it, but he *was not* coadjutor.

No student of this Play can fail to be struck by the personal details of the Court of Henry VIII, and by the complete ease, even daring, with which the author handles the domestic affairs of the Royal household, including the frailties of the monarch and courtiers. This intimacy is especially noticeable in the midnight scene (V, 1) in the Palace, where the King has been playing cards with, and lost to, the Duke of Suffolk, his bluff brother-in-law whom he familiarly calls Charles* [i.e. Brandon] ; a scene in which the atmosphere is laden with treachery (towards Cranmer) and with anxiety not only for Queen Anne (then in the pangs of child-labour) but concerning the sex of the baby, which Henry passionately desires should be a boy. At this point Fate itself seems to brood over the future history of England, at least in so far as religious

* His dainty and gracious wife Mary (p. 46), great grandmother of the 6th Earl of Derby, was in sympathy with Katherine and when young had been her bosom companion. She detested Anne Boleyn, who was with her in France when Mary married Louis XII and when as widow she married Charles. Before the trial in 1529 Cardinal Campeggio stayed at her house near London Bridge (Surrey).

reform, adumbrated by Cranmer and the baby Elizabeth, is symbolised by a single domestic crisis. But here and all through the Play what seems to stare the reader in the face is private knowledge of the King's activities. It is true that there is historical confusion, not in respect of the " old Duchess of Norfolk " (Agnes Tilney, the 6th Earl of Derby's great grandmother) but because her husband the 2nd Duke of Norfolk and his son, the Earl of Surrey, of Act I, appear later as such in the Play when the former was dead (1524), Surrey having then become the 3rd Duke. This (typical) inaccuracy and the Cranmer anachronism of V, 1 suggest that the vivid realism was founded on personal impression rather than on History Chronicles. The 3rd Earl of Derby, brother-in-law to " Surrey " (i.e. the 3rd Duke of Norfolk) and Uncle to Anne Boleyn, was then very young. He does not appear in the Play but having been pillaged by Wolsey he probably shared Surrey's animosity, and from him his grandson William as a boy no doubt heard a lot about the ' goings on ' at Henry's Court ; also from his mother Margaret, Stanley must have heard of many personal incidents about Charles, her grandfather (who died when she was five), and all this goes a long way to account for the pervading semblance of intimacy that puts the Play far beyond the " measure " of any commoner playwright.

Timon of Athens.

Local inferiority and abnormality in versification, with some dramatic inconsistencies have led commentators to suspect the genuineness of much in this puzzling Play ; to explain which various contradictory theories have been put forward, principally by Knight, Fleay and Wright, Ulrici, Delius, Elze, Spedding, Robertson and Dugdale Sykes. Fleay and Wright for instance supposed that a partly finished Shakespearian Play was completed by someone else (which is conceivable), while some of the later critics thought that Shakespeare " worked over " a Play by Chapman or by Day and Middleton. Threadbare theories of this kind are easier to propound than refute, but they fitly illumine Shaksperian logic which ever seeks to supplement Shakespeare's genius, even at its zenith, by external help from inferior dramatists, whether by collaboration, or by ' re-furbishing.' In the writer's submission, no valid evidence for anything of the sort has been adduced, one theory for example resting on the assumption that there were three *autographs* involved, being discredited by the *y*-spelling Index I_y (overall 3·8) of the Folio Play ; for this figure shows clearly that it was printed from a *copy*, and this is true even where the frequency is highest (pages 88 and 92 of the Folio, in scenes wholly genuine). As to the thorny question of non-Shakespearian portions, Knight discarded as largely foreign the long scene 1, 2, and most of Acts II, III and V ; an opinion that seems to be generally shared. Such immoderate rejection however overlooks many ubiquitous marks of the most unequivocal kind betraying Shakespeare's hand in these parts, by characteristic idiom, dramatic technique and even (Folio) orthography ; all calling for a measure of rehabilitation.

If for purposes of brevity in the discussion we group the admittedly genuine parts I, 1, IV, 1 and 3 and V, 5 (V, 4 in some editions) as **A** and the rest which has been questioned, as **B** i.e. I, 2, II, 1 and 2, all III, IV, 2 and V, 1, 2, 3 and 4, it is found that there is no essential difference between **A** and **B** in the repeat index ρ, the overall mean being Shakespeare's figure 24. Also typically unusual spellings in **B** (*affoords, bace, behooved, foorth, Pezants, phang, sildome* etc.) are just as numerous as those in **A**. The alliteration number of **B** (a_p = 113) is actually higher than that of **A**, and by an ironical chance there are 6 Northern *s*-plurals* in **B** and only two in **A** viz *is* (IV, 3, 5) and *Ha's* (IV, 3, 450) i.e. ' Has.' This

* They are : *eats* (I, 2, 41), *there's* (I, 2, 62), *keepes* (I, 2, 104), *needes* (I, 2, 251), *owes* (III, 3, 5) and *is* (V, 2, 110). One N.W. 2nd pers. sing. is found in ' comforts ' (V, 2, 16).

total of 8 is about the average for Folio Plays, so that with the spelling evidence and other criteria there are good grounds for believing that **B** is substantially genuine, though not wholly so. One reason for suspecting **B** is lack of metrical smoothness in numerous places, but this is partly accounted for by the fact that in the Folio a number of lines which are really prose have been cast into woefully false blank verse which of course does not scan (e.g. III, 1, 55-69 or III, 3, 1-26), but if out of the total 1425 lines in **B** the true blank verse is picked out for an *R*-count, it is found that 471 lines are available with $R = 10{\cdot}7$. This is not very different from the results with **A**, where there is a total of 966 lines, of which 440 are available lines of verse, giving $R = 8{\cdot}7$, corresponding to a calculated date 1609, while that for **B** is 1607·4.

That **A** and **B** groups had a different history is evident, and furthermore borne out by a count both of *y*-spellings and of redundant capitals ; thus for **A**, $I_p = 4{\cdot}97$ and for **B** $I_p = 3{\cdot}09$, while the capital frequency for **A** is 60% and for **B** only 41%. These figures, point to two different scribes, one (probably older) who appears to have copied also III, 5 and 6 (which are rich in *y*-spellings and capitals) having a high copying coefficient *fc* (pp. 152-3) and high capital frequency, the other low in both ; indeed if III, 5 and 6 are taken from the **B** group and put with **A**, this supposedly older scribe must have had an I_c more than double that of the other.

If then *Timon of Athens* had been composed at different times between about 1607 and 1609, copied by different scriveners and never properly finished, lack of effective subsequent co-ordination might well explain some of the incoherencies and stylistic differences, also possibly the change (noted by Dugdale Sykes) of the spelling 'Apemanthus ' (frequent in I, 1, always in IV, 3) to 'Apermanthus ' in I, 2 (always) ; but it would not explain the existence of spurious matter, found to a relatively small extent in scattered passages, as for instance in III, 4, 1-80 and V, 1, 1-19. Four alternative explanations offer themselves : (1) collaboration, for which there is no evidence, (2) re-furbishing, equally inconsistent with the observations, (3) editorial substitution in 1623 of lost parts, by fragments of some unknown dramatist's Play (Ulrici's theory) and (4) later modification of Shakespeare's original text by an unknown playwright, some time prior to 1623. Ulrici's theory (3) has much to recommend it, and the error in the F pagination (pages 81 and 82 being repeated) seems to suggest that the editors had difficulty in piecing the fragments together ; but the present writer, impressed by the tampering with Shakespeare's blank verse here and in *Henry VIII*, as well as by the " improvements " or other gross acts of philistinism in later times, favours (4), because it seems to be more consistent with the literary and statistical evidence.

In the new perspective of Derby authorship the long debated question, how far the great Tragedies between 1603 and 1609 reflect some conflict in the soul of their creator, offers an easy solution. The psychology of Timon at least gives food for serious thought, for his passion of hatred, born of disillusionment, transcends the bitterness of Plutarch's and even Lucian's Timon, who more closely resembles Shakespeare's (Skottowe) ; and however much the author's personal emotions may have been dramatised we seem to catch a glimpse of them in the despair of Lear, the insane jealousy of Othello, the vacillations of Hamlet and even the earlier cynicism of Jaques. During this period Shakspere enjoyed the retired life of a prosperous farmer-dealer in Stratford-on-Avon, actively engaged in the very money-lending transactions that Timon abhorred ; the Earl of Derby was then involved in the protracted struggle to save his inheritance, *relying* on money lenders to meet the princely sums (p. 149) with which he had to satisfy his three nieces. Like Timon, his generosity exceeded the bounds of prudence ; criticised by those near to him for general mis-management of his financial affairs, perhaps disappointed because he was not called to the throne in 1603, he virtually became a recluse, like Timon, and in 1608 suffered the culminating loss of his 8-year old daughter

Elizabeth (p. 30). The great Tragedies, born in an unhappy period of mental torment, on this psychological interpretation take on a new, a distressingly pathetic meaning : how striking the contrast after the final settlement in 1609 of his inheritance-dispute when no more Tragedies were composed. Instead *Pericles* was completed, followed later by *Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline* and *Tempest*, all breathing a new spirit of romance, each ending serenely with the triumph of justice over wrong, and in the case of *The Tempest* with the restoration of a long forfeited birth-right. This was the last Play, apart from the revision of *Henry VIII* in 1613 ; but others (lost) may have been written for the 6th Earl's company.

The following Table summarises the overall observed *R*-values and calculated dates of Plays after 1600 which have not been discussed in this Chapter :—

	R obs.	Date calc.		*R* obs.	Date calc.
As you like it -	24·0	1600·4	*Macbeth* - -	12 63	1606·0
Twelfth Night -	24 0	1600 4	*Antony and Cleopatra* -	9·76	1608·2
Othello - -	22·8	1600 8	*Coriolanus* -	9·5	1608·5
Julius Caesar -	21·66	1601 3	*Winter's Tale* -	7·27	1610·8
All's well that ends well	18 8	1602 6	*Cymbeline* -	6·9	1611·2
Measure for Measure	17·0	1603·4	*Tempest* - -	6·2	1612·1
King Lear - -	15 85	1604·0			

It is noteworthy that the first three scenes of *Antony and Cleopatra* have a much lower proportion of *R*-lines than the steady figure for the rest of the Play, as if these scenes had been written about the time of *Julius Caesar*, which (as Lefranc pointed out in 1923) followed the visit of the Earl of Derby to Rome in 1600 when he stayed at " l'Hospice du Saint-Esprit." Calculated dates for the earlier Plays are :—

	R obs.	Date calc.		*R* obs.	Date calc.
Faire Em -	231	1581	*Romeo and Juliet* Q1 to II,3	71·7	1590·9
Mucedorus -	135·6	1585·4	*Juliet* Q1 -	45	1595
(1) *Troublesome raigne*	141	1585	*Juliet* Q2 -	31·6	1598
(2) " "	130	1585·7	*Comedy of errors* -	47·6	1594·5
Titus Andronicus	125	1586	*Midsummer night's dream* - -	50 7	1593·9
Edward III -	112 6	1587	*Merchant of Venice*	50	1594
(1) *Contention** -	91	1589	*Richard II* -	46·2	1594·7
(2) " * -	82·4	1589·7	*Richard III** -	49	1594·2
(1) *Henry VI** inferior, **I**	136	1585	*King John* -	41·7	1595·6
*Henry VI** superior, **S**	66 3	1591	*Taming of the shrew*	39·34	1596·1
(2) *Henry VI* -	78 7	1590·1	(1) *Henry IV* -	32	1597·9
(3) " -	61 2	1592 3	(2) " -	31	1598·2
*Love's labour's lost**	53 ($S = 95$)	1593·5 (1589)	*Much ado about nothing** -	28·3	1599
Two gentlemen of Verona -	84	1589·5	*Merry wives of Windsor** -	25·7	1599·8
*Pericles** I, II	85·5	1589·4			
*Pericles** III, IV, V	10·3	1607·7			

* *R*-values uncertain because of re-handling or insufficient blank verse. None of the calculated figures must be taken as strictly real dates.

CHAPTER XI

PLAYS OUTSIDE THE CANON

HOW low the social grade of actors was in the 16th century is shown among other things by the Act of Parliament in 1571 which classed them among "Rogues, vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars" unless "belonging to any Baron of this Realme"—but the profession continued to thrive owing to the protective encouraging patronage of the Queen and certain Noblemen. Among these, and long before 1571, were the successive Earls of Derby; but in the '80,s the leading companies were those of the Queen and Earl of Leicester, performing mostly in James Burbage's newly-built 'Theater,' while the companies of the Earls of Oxford, Pembroke and Sussex acted in the near-by 'Curtain' theatre; both in Shoreditch. From the information given by Murray (*English Dramatic Companies*, 1588 - 1642) and Fleay (*A chronicle history of the London Stage*, 1559 - 1642), it seems that after the death of the Earl of Leicester in 1588 the leading companies were those of Ferdinando Stanley, i.e. Lord Strange, and the Lord Admiral (Lord Charles Howard of Effingham, later Earl of Nottingham), these two companies acting in frequent association during the early '90,s. The former was really the second Strange company; the first, patronised by Ferdinando's father Henry having acted mainly in the provinces between 1564 and 1583, when it ceased to perform, though it was later (1592) reconstituted; but after 1572 (when Henry became 4th Earl) it was known as a Derby company (the second), and later after re-constitution, the third Derby company. The second Derby company gave a performance at Stratford-on-Avon in 1580, as well as at Court in 1580, 1581 and 1582; and between 1568 and 1587 Stratford had witnessed twelve other Plays performed by various companies (Queen's, Worcester's, Warwick's, Essex's, Stafford's and Leicester's—see p. 118 for the 1587 visit of the latter)—all of which would of course give the lad Shakspere an interest in acting.

Lord Strange's company. Patronised by Ferdinando since 1576, this company only became famous after 1588 by the incorporation of the best of the late Earl of Leicester's actors; and thus reinforced, it included such well-known players as Edward Alleyn (who was also a Lord Admiral's man), Kempe, Pope, Bryan, Phillips, Heminge, Condell and Richard Burbage, all of whom for years performed in the Shakespeare Plays. This Strange company became the (fourth) Derby company in 1593 when Ferdinando became 5th Earl of Derby, but after his premature death the following year its patronage was in a fluid condition for a short time, being run for about two months in the name of his widow Alice, Countess of Derby, after which it was taken over in June 1594 by Lord Hunsdon (Henry Carey) who shortly afterwards became Lord Chamberlain. When he died in July 1596, his son succeeded in its patronage as well as in the title, Lord Hunsdon. This was George Carey, who having married Elizabeth Spencer, sister of Alice, was the 6th Earl of Derby's brother-in-law by marriage. So the company was again called Lord Hunsdon's, for seven months till 17th March 1597, when he was appointed Lord Chamberlain like his father. Thenceforward it was known as the Lord Chamberlain's

company again until 1603, when James I became its patron, after which the actors were called the King's men.

To this distinguished company, originally Lord Strange's, the actor Shakspere always belonged, after (as believed) he had been transferred from the Leicester company on its dissolution, a man of enterprise and organising ability rather than a capable actor ; but to call this famous body of players to which he was attached " Shakespeare's Company " is distinctly misleading. It was nothing of the sort and as the correct nomenclature is clumsy considering the successive titles, Strange—Hunsdon—Chamberlain—Hunsdon—Chamberlain—King, by which it was known, Murray for brevity called it the Strange - Chamberlain company, i.e. prior to 1603. Consisting as it always did of a compact body of men, who possessed a virtual monopoly of the Shakespeare Plays, it acted in London at the Cross Keys, at the Rose, Theater and Curtain, at Newington Butts and later at the Globe (after 1599), also in many provincial towns till 1597, though curiously never at Stratford-on-Avon.

As to its earlier career under the patronage of Lord Strange before he became 5th Earl of Derby there are records between 1576 and 1593 showing that it visited Exeter, Nottingham, Ipswich, Plymouth, Barnstaple, Cambridge, Gloucester, Canterbury, Chelmsford, Leicester, Shrewsbury, Chester and York, but most often Bath, Bristol and Coventry. In London there are no records till 1589 when the Strange men defied the Mayor's general inhibition against Plays (owing to the Marprelate troubles) by performing at the Cross Keys (5th November). It is possible that they also acted occasionally at the Theater and Curtain about this time and, as Henslowe's diary shows, they performed regularly at the Rose during the first half of 1592 and the early part of 1593, where however only one Shakespeare Play or group (*Henry VI*, acted several times) is recorded. When in June 1592 they were driven into the Country by the plague, they acted at Canterbury, Bath, Gloucester and Coventry ; being now a large and important body, as we know from their petition to the Council in 1592.

There is a record (Murray) showing that Strange's men were at Coventry on 14th November 1587, which may be linked with one by ffarrington, stating that on 30th December 1587 the " Players went awaie " from Knowsley ; for since ffarrington generally mentioned the players' patrons (Queen, Leicester or Essex) his omission here no doubt signifies that the " Players " were those of Lord Strange, his employer's son, i.e. players who had recently arrived from Coventry. An exactly similar ffarrington omission, and connection, applies to the following Christmas season, for Murray notes that Lord Strange's company was again at Coventry on 4th December 1588 while ffarrington records a " Playe " in the " Halle " at Lathom on 31st December, also the fact that " Plaiers plaied " on Sunday night 5th January 1589, without specifying the company, which must have been Lord Strange's. A certain piquancy is added to these records of the two Christmas seasons by the reflection that young William Stanley must have been present to watch and supervise the Plays, because in ffarrington's diary it is noted that he arrived at Knowsley on 10th December 1587 and at New Park (near Lathom) on 21st November 1588, no doubt for the winter festivities in each case ; and it would be interesting to know what were the Plays performed on these occasions or what were the three Plays performed at Knowsley on 6th and 7th September 1589 by the Queen's and Essex's men, or that produced at Lathom by [Strange's] " Players " on 21st February 1590, because ffarrington's records* show that Stanley was there at each of these dates. But neither here nor at Court nor in the provincial

* Between December 1587 and June 1590 the Queen's company performed on six occasions, once at New Park, twice at Lathom and three times at Knowsley, Essex's company once (Knowsley) and " Players " [Lord Strange's company] four times (Lathom and Knowsley).

visits are the titles of Plays given, which no doubt included the early Shakespeare Dramas presently considered ; for we know definitely from the title pages of the Quartos that at least *Faire Em* and *Titus Andronicus* were acted by Lord Strange's men. By 1591 the Strange company had become sufficiently prominent to supplant the Queen's at Court ; it acted on five occasions at Whitehall during the Christmas season between 27th December 1591 and 8th February 1592, and on three occasions the following Christmas (26th and 31st Dec. and Jan. 1st) at Hampton Court, so that its earlier post-Christmas performances at Knowsley and Lathom may be looked on as a sort of prelude to its *début* before the Queen.

6th Earl of Derby's company. Plays at Lathom and Knowsley no doubt continued actively after 1590, when ffarrington's diary ceases, for there is one letter of the 6th Earl (11th December 1606) which has survived (p. 70) showing that Lord Hereford's players had just been at Lathom and were due to return for the Christmas season. But having regard to William Stanley's passionate love of drama and his thoughtful solicitude for the " commoun players," it is remarkable that when his brother died (16th April 1594) he did not take over the patronage of the Strange company, as would have been natural considering the sustained encouragement given to players by himself, his grandfather, father and brother, not only in their Houses but externally to the amateurs at Chester. Perhaps, during the abortive betrothal, the Queen stoutly objected to William's stage proclivities (see p. 45), as suggested by Sonnet **61**, insisting on the appointment of her cousin Lord Hunsdon to succeed the 5th Earl of Derby. At all events the 6th Earl very shortly afterwards became patron of his own independent company (now the fifth Derby company) which gave its first (recorded) performance at Norwich on 15th September 1594.

Records show (E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*) that the 6th Earl's company acted before the Queen on 5th February 1600 and on the 1st and 6th of January 1601, while title pages show that it acted *Edward IV* (probably Heywood's) and *Trial of Chivalry* (anonymous), but its main performances were in Country towns. Thus according to Murray, in 1596 it acted at Bath (twice), Bristol, Canterbury, Coventry, Gloucester and York ; between then and 1616 it acted at Coventry (eleven times), Leicester (four times), Norwich (twice) and once each at Bath, Bristol, Ipswich, Leicester and Louth. It also acted at Gawthorpe Hall in N.E. Lancashire in 1609, 1612 (twice), 1613 and 1617, from which it may be supposed that it often gave performances at Lathom and Knowsley, but no records have survived nor are the Plays anywhere specified. But it is highly probable that this company acted several of the 6th Earl's own [Shakespeare] Plays, e.g. those of which no records have been discovered anywhere prior to their appearance in the 1623 Folio (*T. of S., All's Well, Coriolanus* and *Timon of A.*).

Shakespeare Apocrypha. The 6th Earl's love of drama was no doubt primarily engendered by his early home surroundings, but it would be further stimulated by the keen dramatic atmosphere of St. John's College Oxford, and Gray's Inn ; indeed nurtured amid such surroundings, histrionic amusement by way of leisure must have come to young William ' like mother's milk.' It is not to be imagined, when Play writing was already fashionable, that such a gifted youth would be content merely to witness indifferent productions, and if he began writing Plays himself in the '80,s the question is : have any survived ? Or putting it another way, can it be seriously contended that Shakespeare's Art sprang suddenly into existence about 1592 at the time of Shake-scene (p. 113) ? How completely at fault such an *a priori* misconception is, is fitly demonstrated by the critical analysis of certain canonical Plays in Chapter X, no less than five of which as first drafts must be dated as prior

to 1590. This is now indisputable ; and that there are early authentic Plays outside the Canon also admits of no doubt, though commentators tied to Shaksperian date-limitations have never been able to agree on the subject or decide which if any of the Apocryphal Plays are genuine. As such questions, involving both date and allowance for immaturity, can never be settled by purely literary criticism, they demand appeal also to less fallible criteria, like those laid down in Chapter X (pp. 168-178) among which none are more reliable than the acid test of fundamental frequencies.

Among the anonymous or doubtfully ascribed Plays, about which so much has been written without agreement, are six which, with *Pericles*, were (newly) inserted in the 3rd Shakespeare Folio (1664) and these together with eight other doubtful Plays have been conveniently collected together by Tucker Brooke (*The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, 1918) ; but of the total fourteen, seven (p. 172) of which five were in the 3rd Folio, may be dismissed as not conforming to any rigorous collective test of genuineness. The seven others include part of *Sir Thomas More* and six full Plays which demand serious attention as works of immaturity. Three of these may be taken as certain and in the following pages they are briefly analysed, Brooke's arrangement being used for scene and line references , also two other Plays (the *Troublesome Raigne* pair) which he did not include in his *Apocrypha* are reviewed, but the conflicting views of previous commentators about all these are not discussed for lack of space.

Faire Em.

Such a weak, indeed puerile, Play as this could never be accepted as genuine if judged by normal mature standards but it has, notwithstanding, qualities which have long been recognised as singularly Shakespearian ; opinion on authenticity however being divided (mostly against) and of course tacitly influenced by Shaksperian biography. As will be seen, the new procedure establishes quite unequivocally the genuine but juvenile nature of this Drama. The date of *Faire Em* is therefore crucial. The original anonymous Quarto is not dated (it was probably issued between 1594 and 1597) but it states on the frontispiece that this " Pleasant Commodie " was acted in London " by the right honourable the Lord Strange his seruaunts," so that the performance-date must lie between 1576 and 1593, while the date of composition must be before 1590 when Sir Edmund Trafford (p. 211), who appears as if alive in *Faire Em*, died ; further, the Play was attacked by Robert Greene in his *Farewell to Folly* (p. 212) and this was entered in 1587 (though published later). Part of its plot, that relating to William the Conqueror, was based according to Schick, on Henry Wotton's translation* *Courtlie controversie of Cupids Cautels* (1578), and an original draft date not much later is demonstrable.

First in spite of a vocabulary surprisingly rich in modern words there are many spontaneous archaisms, that is words obsolete or obsolescent in the '90's, like : *conster, iwis, nill, testies* or *force* (meaning ' reck '—see p. 214), also a still greater number of old spellings whose frequency betokens early date, spellings like : *yll* [three times], *woonted* [three times], *strayght* [twice], *scoulding* [twice], *frindship* [twice], *yf, yle* (Isle), *ydoll, seace, atchuement, myracle, traveile, ielozie, disgest, vildest, perce, toung, ritch, achyding* and numerous others. The deviation is not abnormal (21%) but the high Index I_D, 7·1, is a sure indication of early date, which calculation by the standard equations shows might lie between 1582 and 1587. The earlier date is confirmed by the unusually high R-value ; the only certain R-line in the

* The original *Prin-Temps d' Yver* by Jaques Yver is sheer fiction, which being taken over by the author of *Faire Em* makes the Conqueror an absurdly un-realistic figure Speed's denigration of Shakespeare (p. 43) was malicious but true, for he ever subordinated historical accuracy to dramatic exigencies ; but the sublime indifference in *Faire Em* certainly surpasses any inaccuracy of the Canon. *As fiction* however William I is no less plausible than the pleasant romance of Em, and for this there is no known source.

whole Play is that ending ' did ' (III, 2, 12) and in the total 540 available lines there are four optional cases, making $R = 231 \cdot 5$, with calculated date 1581, which must be roughly true if the blank verse is genuinely Shakespeare's, but not otherwise.

The Play however was apparently never acted in public till about 1587, i.e. by Lord Strange's company, but it was sufficiently popular to justify the first Quarto publication some few years later, and even a second Quarto in 1631. This Q2 was simply printed from Q1, increasing its corruptions and ironing out most of the *y*-spellings ($I_p = 2 \cdot 6$), but in both Quartos many of the prose passages were clumsily cast into blank verse, and altogether they give a poor idea of what the uncorrupt Play must have been. The style, end-rhyme fraction (·43) and much else make Marlowe quite inadmissible as author, and if an unknown dramatist had written *Faire Em* he must have adopted Shakespeare's manifold idiosyncrasies to an unbelievable degree ; also since the Play is very early, either such an imitator must have anticipated certain striking parallels with *later* canonical Plays or Shakespeare himself in the latter must have copied them from this shadowy early writer. The other alternative is that they were Shakespeare's own inventions in *Faire Em*, which conclusion in any case is the only one inductively consistent with *all* the observations below. It follows accordingly that a very early date such as is given approximately by the *R*-formula, and confirmed by the I_p must be accepted ; so that the Play, passing as it does every critical test, must be referred to Shakespeare's early youth. Indeed juvenility, though not indicated by any ostentatious display of recently acquired knowledge, is borne out in the Play by inexperience almost verging on boyishness, as for instance in Lubeck's easy surrender of Mariana to William, in William's arrival in England (pp. 211-2), in indiscretion (pp. 211-2), in the most absurd violations of history, such as when William " Duke of Saxon[s] " marries Blanche of Denmark, and so on.

Space permits only the briefest epitome of the essential hall-marks. First the vocabulary, notable for the repeated use of prefixes, is thoroughly Shakespearian ; with such words as *discourteously, ingeniously, injuriously, intollerable, irrevocable, proportioned, redound* etc., or Shakespeare's favourites, frequently repeated, such as : *content* (very often), *counterfeit, dissemble, eclipst, envious, impeachment, jarre, soule, sute, thrald* etc. Other words have a typical connotation, like : *bounden* [noun], *renowne* [verb], *affectes* (desires), *shadow* (image), *sooth* [verb = assent to], *remorse* (pity), *sorts* (agrees), *state* (condition), *unust* (unfaithful), etc. ; and Shakespearian spellings are very numerous, like : *hould, hether* (hither), *sence, the* (thee), *upp*, etc. Word repetition is very marked, often within a few lines, as for instance ' content ' five times in II, 2, 42-49 and twice in III, 1, 65-66 or V, 1, 219-277, ' coniecture[d] ' three times in III, 2, 35-41, ' misdemeanour ' twice in III, 6, 26-35, or ' misconster ' (I, 1, 9) twice further in III, 1, 19-21 ; and the overall repeat index ρ on random samples is 22.

The alliteration number ($a_p = 120$) is normally Shakespearian ; legal terms typically used are found in ' indenture ' (II, 1, 21), in ' put case ' (II, 1, 180, III, 1, 133 and V, 1, 195) and in ' witnesse ' (V, 1, 156) ; astrological allusions in ' eclipst ' (I, 4, 38), in ' Planets ' and ' retrogard ' (III, 1, 52) and ' coniun[c]tion ' (V, 1, 127) ; word play in ' trot ' (I, 2, 106) and ' counterfeit ' (I, 3, 64-66) ; antithetical conceits in various places (e.g. I, 1, 30-31, I, 2, 64, II, 1, 121, IV, 3, 39, V, 1, 124) ; military dispositions are found in III, 6, IV, 2 and V, 1, 4-22 ; allusion to music in II, 2, 8 ; allusion to a horse in IV, 1, 4 and 60 ; and so on. Finally there are no less than 19 Northern *s*-plurals,* which in view of the other evidence are absolutely decisive.

The metre, for the most part pedestrian, is yet not without sweetness and the syntactical periods, rudimentary though they be, characteristically overflow the verses with familiar rhythm, which like the general charm and indeed the whole idiom is *sui generis*. Illustrative short phrases from some of the scenes are quoted below :—

I, 3, 51 A bodie were it framed of wax (cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, I, 3, 76)
I, 3, 59 The little boy hath played the wagg with you

* They are : *Deserves* (I, 1, 55), *lets* (I, 3, 32), *workes* (I, 3, 45), *becomes* (I, 3, 74), *sits* (I, 4, 5), *is* (I, 4, 6), *holdes* (I, 4, 20), *joyes* (II, 1, 83), *Gives* (II, 1, 100), *goes* (II, 1, 104), *reapes* (II, 1, 124), *gives* (II, 1, 133), *was* (II, 2, 6), *afflictes* (III, 6, 9), *is* (IV, 3, 3), *thers* (V, 1, 143), *Thers* (V, 1, 145), *makes* (V, 1, 146), *falles* (V, 1, 196).

I, 3, 80 Nor stands it with the honor of my state (also V, 1, 44)
I, 4, 19 her eyes do dart such golden beames
II, 1, 88 thy cunning and defraudfull toung
II, 1, 112 vnconstant as thou art ; cf. III, 2, 10 and V, 1, 192, also *Macbeth* III, 5, 2
II, 1, 148 base affects of loose lasciuious love
II, 1, 163 Oh, hell without compare
III, 2, 17 to cancell all those bands [bonds] (cf. *Richard III*, IV, 4, 77)
III, 5, 35 Away with him
III, 5, 39 Heres stuffe in deede (cf. *M.N.D.* V, 1, 214)
III, 6, 45 Whose setled malice aymeth at my life
IV, 3, 64 such monstrous vngentleness
IV, 3, 96 my true intent (cf. *M.N.D.* V, 1, 114)
IV, 3, 100 Tell me, sweet Em
V, 1, 49 Is this the colour of your quarrell
V, 1, 130 Let Maistres nice goe Saint it where she list (cf. *P.P.*—see p. 255)
V, 1, 157 Thy conscience Manuile is a hundred witnesses (cf. *Richard III*, V, 2, 17 ; V, 3, 194)
V, 1, 174 I did shrine an ydoll in mine heart
V, 1, 244 this is the proprest wench

Philosophic depth and imagery in the full Shakespearian sense are not to be expected in such an immature Play, but many of the repeated personifications and figures of speech amount to embryonic imagery ; typically astrological in the case of ' Sunne ' and ' Planets ' (III, 1, 51-53) or ' coniun[c]tion ' (V, 1, 127), and equally typical in the case of numerous other words which conceal an image, such for example as : *dimme* (I, 1, 8), *wings* (I, 1, 45), *sits* (I, 4, 4), *bound* (I, 4, 18), *seege* (III, 1, 119), *spoyle* (III, 3, 11) or *banquet* (IV, 2, 19).

The primitive dramatic technique nevertheless presents numerous histrionic niceties, adumbrating the later Shakespeare's favourite devices, so furnishing parallels with the canonical Plays long before the latter existed for imitation. Such for instance are : the rhyming couplets for tender dialogue in III, 1 ; the humour and verbal distortions of Trotter, so like the later clowns ; the shrewd characters of the women, Blanche, Mariana and even the docile Em ; the tricks of disguise ; the use of asides (not shown in the margin) ; the clever subterfuge of Em ; the acuteness of cross purposes in love ; the fiery sharpness of quarrel (between Mountney and Valingford in III, 2 and between Zweno and William in V, 1) ; William's treatment of the " Embassador " in IV, 2 ; the Miller's advice in I, 2, 54-68 (reminiscent of that in *Hamlet* I, 3) ; Blanche's destruction of the letter in II, 2 (like Julia's in *T.G.V.*, I, 2) and generally the highly tangled situations, particularly that in V, 1 with its typical dénouement.

No other known dramatist possessed *all* the attributes implicit in the preceding brief exegesis, and the only discordant note in the evidential harmony (i.e. lack of Shakespeare's supreme talent) is on the contrary an important contribution to the cumulative induction, in so far as the latter refers the weakness and *naïveté* to callow inexperience, conformable with the date ; *Faire Em*, as a first amateurish effort full of promise, being indeed just what would be expected of a budding genius in the springtide of his youth.

William Stanley as author.

When *Faire Em* was written no one had ever heard of Shakespeare ; nevertheless it is now clear on purely Shakespearian criteria that an anonymous young writer had arisen whose drama transcended, in spiritual delicacy at least, that of Greene and Peele, and whose technique differed fundamentally from theirs and from Marlowe's. Reasoning *de novo* on the identity of this ' dark horse ' later known as Shakespeare, first we notice that the boy Shakspere, then in Stratford-on-Avon, is excluded from consideration by date apart from more serious reasons. Next, the free use of law terms, like ' motion,' ' title,'

' indenture,' ' impeachment ' and the legal jargon (of II, 1, 20, V, 1, 147 and 157) suggest strongly that the author was or had recently been a student of one of the Inns of Court ; indeed his use of the phrase " put case " (suppose) no less than three times indicates a mind that was steeped in the Law, these words signifying of course a legal case " put " to the Court by one of the parties to a suit. Then the author who brings in a horse in IV, 1 and a wager in V, 1, 239, also employs planetary (astrological) images, as seen ; and all this points to some sporting law-student lover of astrological lore, like Stanley. This suspicion is raised to virtual certainty by Stanley's special knowledge of the North, which is such a remarkable feature of *Faire Em* ; indeed the Play might have been and probably was written exclusively for a Lancashire and Cheshire audience. The English scenes revolve around Chester, Liverpool and Manchester (except the first at Windsor) in a terrain obviously very familiar to the author ; and the unspecified locality of IV, 2 and V, 1 must have been Lancashire, because William I had landed at Liverpool and was shortly afterwards at Manchester.

A dramatist of Northern affinities is the more certain because of the very numerous Northern *s*-plurals, and it is confirmed by a large number of dialectical words such as : *betake, disgest, slut, wagg* (trick), etc., but more particularly ' misconster ' no less than three times (I, 1, 9, III, 1, 19 and 21), this, incidentally, a word that is found in the Folio text of *A.Y.L.* (I, 2, 277), *M.V.* (II, 2, 203), (1) *Henry VI* (II, 3, 73), *Richard III* (III, 5, 61), (1) *Henry IV* (V, 2, 68) and elsewhere, but usually rendered ' misconstrue ' in modern texts which is of course unjustified by the scansion. This significant word of the N. Eastern Lancashire dialect was occasionally used by other writers but it was rare, and for instance is never found elsewhere among any of the Apocryphal Plays except significantly in *Mucedorus* (p. 216) and *Edward III* (p. 218), both demonstrably by the same Northern writer, and once (as ' misconsterd ') in the doubtful *Lord Cromwell* (II, 2, 66—see p. 230).

Having regard to the known dramatists of the period, no reasonable choice of author for *Faire Em* remains open but William Stanley or his brother Lord Strange, for whom there is no evidence that he was a dramatic writer like William, and who in any case could not be identified with Shakespeare seeing that he died in 1594. The fact that characteristic words and spellings in the Play, such as : *sute, tyme, inforced, yf, jarre, warrant, retorne, beholding* (beholden), *impeachment*, etc., were used by the 6th Earl of Derby is of interest ; but perhaps the most telling words are " farewell frost " (V, 1, 208) because this disdainful expression is also found in a fragment of genuine handwriting in *Sir Thomas More* (Hand E—see Plate IV) which has been identified as in Stanley's Hand (Appendix I). The expression, though derived from the proverb " Farewell frost, nothing got is nothing lost," is nevertheless significant because, like " farewell life " (II, 1, 166), it is in *Faire Em* an ironical address of farewell to a personification that with two exceptions is unparalleled in the Apocryphal Plays. The exceptions are Hand E, as noted, and [Stanley's] *Mucedorus* (III, 3, 35—see p. 214) ; and a similar expression is found in " farewell heat and welcome frost " of *Merchant of Venice* (II, 7, 75).

All these dialectical and verbal peculiarities when linked up with E's handwriting and with the legal, astrological, sporting and geographical features of *Faire Em*, inductively lead to a unique conclusion, which moreover is confirmed by the author's youthful indiscretion in two ways. In the first place, with almost boyish irresponsibility, he made William I actually land " at Lirpoole " (III, 4, 89) in his journey from Denmark, after having said " We

quickly shall attaine the English shore " (III, 3, 4), speed being requisite in his elopement with the supposed Mariana and demanding that he should make for the East not West coast ; an incongruity which is intelligible enough in terms of Stanley, who no doubt had himself landed at Liverpool more than once. Secondly the author sympathetically mentions a well-known person actually living, namely Sir Edmund Trafford who is referred to twice in the Play, once (I, 2, 14) as " Sir Edmund Trofferd " and once (V, 1, 263) as " Sir Edmund Treford." Sir Edmund, a personal friend of William's father the 4th Earl of Derby, was a frequent visitor to Lathom and Knowsley (ffarrington), one indeed whom the Earl included among his " very loving ffrends." He was of an old and distinguished family, of which a later tradition (Hearne, 1771) made out that his ancestor disguised himself as a miller to escape being taken in arms by William I. This tradition was apparently known to and utilised by Stanley, though the name of this ancestor was not Edmund but Randolphus de Trafford, while that of the disguised miller in *Faire Em* is Sir Thomas Goddard. The Sir Edmund of the Play, who died in 1590, married as his first wife Mary, sister of Henry VIII's unfortunate young Queen Catherine Howard, and as his second Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Ralph Leycester ; her son Edmund Trafford (knighted in 1603) was a close friend of William Stanley, who saw both father and son repeatedly at Lathom or Knowsley, and on one occasion (21st November 1588) ffarrington records that young Edmund Trafford accompanied William back to Lathom with several other people, after a visit to Halsoll. All these linkages are binding.

As for Sir Thomas Goddard, the disguised miller and father of *Faire Em*, it cannot be said that he represents any person then living. For several centuries the Goddard family have been settled in Wiltshire, not Lancashire, but the name figures conspicuously in the early history of the Isle of Man. From the full account given by Seacome (p. 89) it appears that a line of Kings which about 1066 sprang from Goddard, son of Syrric, constituted what was virtually a dynasty, including several Kings of this name, lasting till about 1260, when the Island came under the rule of the Scotch King Alexander, and later of English magnates. One of these Kings of Man, Goddard son of Olave, was educated at the Court of Norway as a youth ; he was defeated by Summerled in a naval battle in 1158 but regained the throne in 1164 after defeating his enemies at Ramsay, and after ruling well died in 1187. Ultimately the Island came under English suzerainty, ruled first by William Montacute in 1305, later by Lord Scroop (beheaded by Henry IV) and the Earl of Northumberland whom, by confiscation, the Stanleys succeeded in the hereditary Lordship (1407). All this early history must have been familiar to William Stanley who later greatly treasured this particular birthright, and it is even possible that some descendant of the Manx Kings, named Sir Thomas Goddard, was known to him in Lancashire.

Though the later Shakespeare studiously avoided mention of private persons he was certainly not so discreet earlier, for as will be seen (Chap. XII), he mentions Breton, Dowland and Spenser ; so also *Faire Em* was without the least doubt written by Stanley before he had learnt discretion ; probably however only for the private delectation of his family at Knowsley* or Lathom. His brother's company nevertheless must have been enchanted, for they produced it in London apparently about 1587 and the Play, despite its restricted provincial interest, proved sufficiently popular there to induce the Quarto publishers ' T.N.' and ' I.W.' to procure an acting copy somehow ; a piracy for which we may be grateful since otherwise the Play would have been lost.

* Since this was written the writer has seen Prof. Alwin Thaler's recent scholarly critique on *Faire Em* which anticipated the conjecture (p. 205) that " the players " of ffarrington were Lord Strange's company. On the evidence Thaler thinks that this company performed the Play at Knowsley and that Sir Edmund Trafford may have been present.

Faire Em and Greene.

When *Faire Em* appeared on the London stage it attracted Greene's hostile attention, as noted, about 1587. Richard Simpson (*The School of Shakspere*, 1878) in a discussion of Greene's relations with Shakspere (i.e. Shakespeare to Simpson) submitted evidence from various utterances of Greene and his henchman Nashe, that the bitter attack of 1592 was really the culmination of a contemptuous hostility that had been brewing for a long time—since 1587. There can be no doubt about this, as already urged (pp. 112-4). Although Greene's dark hints mostly refer to actors in general, whom he detested, Shakspere (i.e. the ' Shake-scene ' of 1592) seems to have been singled out more especially, as for example when in *Never too late* (1590) Greene refers to Roscius as " Aesop's crow, being pranked with the glory of others feathers." Simpson justified his view that Shakspere was intended in this (and other covert attacks) because Greene used similar words in his 1592 diatribe (" an upstart crow beautified with our feathers "). Simpson rightly contended that by " feathers " Greene did not accuse Shake-scene of re-furbishing his (Greene's) Plays, but meant simply that he was one of the hateful crew of players, who could only live by dressing themselves in the feathers, which playwrights provided, i.e. Plays. But it should be noticed that while his splenetic attack in 1592 was on an impostor, his earlier attack on *Faire Em* was a criticism of the hidden *author* and was manifestly born of jealousy, though Greene clearly did not know who the anonymous author was. He would never have said what he did if he had known, for he revered the Stanleys, having indeed in 1584 dedicated *The Myrrour of Modestie* to William's mother, and in 1589 *Ciceronis Amor or Tullies love* to his brother, Lord Strange ; while previously he had dedicated *Mourning Garment* and *Pandosto* to his Uncle, the Earl of Cumberland. Greene thought enviously but erroneously (this is clear from the words he used) that the author of *Faire Em* was some ballad-maker or one of the theological poets, in the background, who " being loth to have any prophane pamphlets pass under their hand, get some other Batillus to set his name to their verses." The Batillus here might have been the boasting procurer of Plays, i.e. Shakspere of Lord Strange's company, which " sundrie times publiquely acted " *Faire Em* in London ; but Greene does not actually mention him or even the name of the Play. We only know that he is talking about it in his *Farewell to Folly* because he quotes (or rather misquotes) two lines from it (V, 1, 121, 157), incidentally giving a garbled construction of part of the plot in support of his criticism, which is ' all at sea.'

Greene was envious probably because he regarded himself as the first among playwrights ; he read into the Play what was not there—scriptural hypocrisy, which " I tell you is no small piece of cunning," and as for the author, " he that cannot write true English without the help of clerks of parish churches will needs make himself the father of interludes." Greene failed to perceive the intrinsic beauty and sincerity of the verse and he did not legitimately criticise the Play, as he might have done, on the grounds of its dramatic weakness or immaturity. From all this Simpson and others have quite unnecessarily imported into *Faire Em* a symbolic meaning, making it out to have been written as a satirical attack on Greene himself (in the character of Manvile) in response to his earlier bickerings. This basic misunderstanding of the Play is simply a theory *a priori* founded on the unwarranted assumption that the author (i.e. the future Shakespeare) was the " crow " or " Johannes factotum " of 1592 at whom Greene had been girding, for which there is no evidence at all, and any critical unprejudiced reader will certainly look in vain for satire in *Faire Em*. It is pure romance.

Mucedorus.

Though the first Quarto (also anonymous) issued by William Jones in 1598 did not name the company that had acted the Play, the later Q3 in 1610 said that it had been played before the King by his " seruants usually playing at the Globe," from which it is evident that the rights were in the King's company, which had succeeded the Chamberlain's and therefore Lord Strange's company. Q1 however is incomplete by several scenes which first appeared in Q3, and the complete Play as arranged by Tucker Brooke is derived from the two Quartos. It must have been written long before 1598 because in spite of the fact that the Play had been copied before printing (apparently more* than once, from the low I_p, 1·8) the spelling deviation (22·6%) is abnormally high ($D_{calc.}$ = 19·5, for 1598) ; and the nature of the archaisms shows that they were not author's affectations or dialectical words put into the mouths of acting characters, but spontaneous spellings. They were of course not the exclusive property of any playwright but their great frequency certainly points to a date prior to 1590, spellings for example such as : *arrant* (errand), *comtrowle*, *grutce*, *deaw*, *houldest*, *breedes* and *parle* |both dissyllables|, *lat*, *mayster* (repeatedly), *tofore* (repeatedly), *throw* (thorough), *shipstickes*, *waying* and *way* (weigh), and many others. As similar unusual spellings occur in canonical Quartos, and as the Play shows the clearest marks of Shakespeare's juvenile hand, confirmed by high repeat index (ρ = 26) and high alliteration number (a_p = 148), as moreover Marlowe and other well known dramatists are wholly excluded by style, Marlowe also by end-rhyme fraction (·5), while there is nothing to indicate a joint hand or any style-copyist, the date can be reached approximately by *R*-formula, i.e. if authenticity is accepted. Of the 497 available lines of blank verse, only three are *R*-lines, viz. II, 1, 3, III, 1, 47 and V, 1, 8, but there are two optional cases (Induction, line 27, and III, 3, 42) making R = 135·6, which gives a calculated date 1585·4, a figure that might be in error by two or three years either way.

Mucedorus, which furnishes a most remarkable forecast of Shakespeare's future technique, was very popular. No less than 16 subsequent editions followed Q1 and this interest to the reading public, lasting over 70 years, is not surprising in view of its naive charm ; the old old story of the eternal triangle, of innocent girlhood in imminent peril, of rescue by Prince Charming in disguise, who turns out to be a real Prince, and a story withal interspersed with such uproarious humour as to put to shame any modern pantomime, of which indeed it is the real prototype. The Clown (Mouse) is one of Shakespeare's unrecognised but great creations ; the whole Play was written round him and if, as we may suppose, it was acted by Kempe he must have put the audience into convulsions of laughter. The Clown and the Play are set in Spain, but they are thoroughly English and thoroughly Shakespearian, even the coarse knockabout stuff with the old woman (III, 5). The Princess Amadine is just a lovable girl, singularly reminiscent of some of Shakespeare's heroines, such as Imogen or Rosalind, not only by her sweet disposition but by her romantic relations with Mucedorus ; and in the clutches of the half-human Neanderthal, Bremo (who foreshadows Caliban), the suspense is sustained in quite typical manner during the scenes that follow. In the absurd contrast between the two when Bremo becomes lyrical, we get a foretaste of the relations between Titania and Bottom, and a parallel with the Lyric " Come live with me . . . . " (p. 260), a lovely Shakespearian fragment like Marlowe's.

* This might account for the very numerous textual corruptions, e.g. the double error ' Bellonas ' in the Induction, probably a mistake for 'Apollos.'

There are numerous clear parallels with the Canon, such as : (in situations) solace in music (IV, 1) with *Twelfth Night* (I, 1) ; banishment and death (III, 1, 72) with *Romeo and Juliet* (III, 3) ; Amadine's ironical asides (IV, 3) with Rosalind's in *As you like it* (V, 2) ; also some striking verbal parallels. Parallels are notoriously treacherous criteria unless the date is known, but here they often relate to canonical Plays subsequent even to the date (1598) of the Quarto, that is before imitation of Shakespeare was possible, while the only logical alternative that later he might have copied some unknown author of *Mucedorus* is inconsistent with its quality from beginning to end. For it is outside the bounds of reality that so many idiosyncrasies, incapable of wholesale imitation, should appear if not genuine—apart from the general idiom, rhythm and sweetness of style which are palpably Shakespeare's own.

An exceptionally rich vocabulary teems with his favourite words such as : *eclips, minion, lowsie, tedious, blab, cloy,* and hundreds of others, some of specialised meaning like: *bat* (club), *bottle* [of hay], *entertain* (engage), *say* (try), *carefull* (anxious), *leveld* (aimed), *meere* (absolute), *stick* (stop), *tempt* (attempt), etc., and particularly the word ' force ' (meaning reck or reckon) as found in the Induction, line 68, just as it is in *Faire Em* (III, 3, 3), *L.L.L.* (V, 2, 441) and *Lucrece* (1021). The significance of all these characteristic words, which were of course in general but scattered use, lies solely in their aggregation as coming from the pen of a single writer. Many familiar tricks of syntax appear such as " or . . . . or," " not . . . . neither " ; and grammatical irregularities such as the southern plural ' doth ' (II, 3, 11), " haue droue " (III, 2, 54), ' glad ' thrice used as a verb (I, 3, 25 and V, 1, 72 and 180), also ' bench ' (Prologue, 6) and ' boosome ' (I, 1, 4) used as verbs, and ' pursues ' as a noun (I, 3, 9). Typical verbal repetition is also frequent as for instance in ' gad ' and ' gadding ' (V, 1, 117-118) or ' break ' and ' breakes ' (V, 2, 1 and 5).

The fact that 8 Northern *s*-plurals* have survived more than once-copying is in itself virtually decisive ; but characteristic figures of speech also abound, often recognisably Shakespearian and bordering on real imagery as in the words : *Winged* (I, 1, 21), *grafted* (I, 1, 48), *thread* (II, 4, 77), *sleepe* (IV, 1, 5), *eye* (IV, 1, 38), *shoulders* (IV, 1, 39), *card* (V, 1, 110), *leueld* (V, 1, 174)—and numerous others.

Also though there are no legal images and only slight references to magic or astrology (p. 216), music, which appears in the Induction 2, 10, and 30, is a very strong feature of IV, 1. Shakespearian word play or quibbles appear in : *bit* (I, 2, 10), *beare* (I, 4, 27), *Kin* (II, 4, 14), *arrant* (III, 2, 31-32), *maiden head, reare* and *priuie* (III, 5, lines 6, 58 and 72), *emmet* (IV, 2, 25), *like* (III, 1, 82) and elsewhere. All sorts of typical expressions abound which, in their setting and totality, no one but Shakespeare could have contrived, as for example those below, including parallels :—

Induction, 74 maugre all thy spite (cf. 12*th Night* III, 1, 165)
I, 1, 21 Wingd with Desire
I, 1, 35 Loues strong Magicke charme
I, 3, 41 downe a steepe fall hil (cf. *L.L.L.* IV, 1, 2)
I, 4, 39 Thou talkest of wonders (cf. *Henry VIII* V, 5, 56)
II, 4, 77 cut in twaine the twisted thread of life (cf. *Edward III*, V, 122)
III, 1, 6 All hayle (cf. *Macbeth* I, 3, 48-50)
III, 1, 19 Ah, lucklesse fortune, worse then Phaetons tale
III, 1, 89 Amen say I (cf. *M.N.D.* II, 2, 62)
III, 3, 35 farewell life, and welcome present death (cf. *M.V.* II, 7, 75 and *Faire Em* II, 1, 166)
III, 3, 53 altered natures course (cf. *Macbeth* II, 2, 40)
III, 5, 25 Thou liest, thou knave (cf. 12*th Night* II, 3, 69)
IV, 1, 20 surfet me with that (cf. 12*th Night* I, 1, 2)
IV, 1, 38 The christall eye of Heaven
IV, 2, 45 now, sir, comes me a shepheard
IV, 3, 12 Come kisse me, swete (cf. *T. of S.* V, 2, 181)
V, 1, 110 Ile cal a cooling card for you (cf. (1) *Henry VI*, V, 3, 84)
V, 1, 174 but yet you leueld at the crowne (cf. (3) *Henry VI*, II, 2, 19)
V, 2, 1 Break, heart, and end my paled woes.

* Namely: *coms* (Induction, 4), *treats* (Induction 51), *dares* (II, 3, 8), *hastes* (II, 3, 9), *claps* (II, 3, 12), *greetes* (III, 1, 10), *bids* (III, 1, 11) and *makes* (IV, 1, 25).

Some of the above expressions are crucial, that of III, 3, 35 for instance because 'farewell,' addressed to an abstraction, is as noted found nowhere else among the Apocryphal Plays except in *Faire Em* and in *Sir Thomas More* (Hand E); also significant are the tell-tale phrases in lines V, 1, 110 and V, 1, 174 repeated in the *Henry VI* Plays (p. 224), and the words "It is a world to see" (III, 4, 4, meaning 'it's a marvel') repeated verbatim in *Much ado* (III, 5, 38).

The Drama, whose inferiority is accentuated by textual corruption, includes several of Shakespeare's favourite devices: in disguises; in subterfuges; in the Clown's humour and repeated malapropisms; in Bremo's grim welcome (IV, 3, 57); in the Mucedorus-Amadine relationship (IV, 3 and V, 1) recalling the Posthumus-Imogen or Orlando-Rosalind relationships; in Mucedorus' disclosure in V, 1 and his final declaration of Royal status; as well as in all sorts of minor ways. All these are certainly primitive, but they are *sui generis*; and the inexperience of juvenility is manifest: in Amadine's premature admissions and Mucedorus' exaggerations (I, 3); in the slaying of Tremelio (II, 2); in the relations between Amadine and Bremo; in the hermit's disguise being so conveniently to hand (IV, 2); in the failure of Amadine to recognise Mucedorus; in Segasto's tame surrender of his claims on Amadine; and so on all through.

The collective force of such numerous idiocrasies and statistical tests can lead to only one induction; and it is idle to deny authenticity on the grounds of inferiority, as some commentators have done, believing that the date was about 1610 for the supposed later portions of the Play, i.e. the "Additions" found in Q3. If this were so, rejection would be perfectly justified, but such a date for the "Additions" is completely falsified by their old spellings, by *y*-spellings, by percentage deviation and by *R*-formula; so that these supposed late revisions, first appearing in 1610, were certainly written at or about the same early date as the rest of the Play. They consist of the Prologue together with scenes I, 1, I, 2, and IV, 1, with a new version of part of the last scene V, 2, including Epilogue, all of which were absent from Q1 (1598) and Q2 (1606). As there is not the slightest sign of a different hand in any of this newly appearing matter (except the new Epilogue—see below) and no other difference between the texts of Q1, Q2 and Q3, it is reasonably certain that, far from being a subsequent revisal, these newly appearing scenes were simply part of the original Play that had been omitted from Q1 and Q2 for some unknown reason. One reason may be that since these scenes, relating to the King of Valencia, are not vital to the plot and since the Prologue (Q3) is most certainly addressed to Queen Elizabeth *as present* (i.e. for private performance) they were 'cut' for acting on the public stage. Such a cut necessitated the replacement of 8 lines of V, 2 (found in Q3, bringing in the King of Valencia conformably with the plot of the full Play), by 13 lines (found in Q1) when preparing the abridged version without the King. It is noticeable that the Epilogue of Q1 was also addressed to the Queen *as present*, exactly like the Prologue (Q3); so both were clearly written at the same time, and by the same (Shakespearian) hand, as is abundantly confirmed not only by complete similarity in style but by their repeat index (mean $\rho = 24$). On the other hand the new substitute-Epilogue of Q3 (obviously later, consisting of 67 new lines replacing 33 of Q1) addressed to the King [James I] *as present* is manifestly spurious; satirical and florid, its invective as well as its fulsome flattery are utterly alien to Shakespeare, and its repeat index is much lower ($\rho = 13$) than that of the genuine Q1 Epilogue ($\rho = 26 \cdot 5$). There are thus

no grounds whatever for supposing that *any* part of the Drama proper was written about 1610, so that in Q3, for the first time we have a full version of the original Play of date about 1587.

William Stanley as author.

The absence of known " sources " indicates that the author himself invented the plot or founded it on some unknown Spanish source, in which connection the coincidence should be noted between the Prince's hermit disguise in Aragon and Stanley's disguise in Spain, about 1583, as a mendicant Friar (p. 91). In the Play it was adopted by Mucedorus to avoid the peril he was incurring by defying banishment ; Stanley's disguise was to avoid the peril of arrest during his flight to France, which would take him through Aragon, and the coincidence is the more striking because the Friar's disguise in *Measure for Measure* (III, 2 and V, 1), linked with Lucio's remark (III, 2, 95-97) about the Emperor of Russia and Rome, so strongly recalls Stanley's movements abroad. [The name Adrostus of the King of Aragon in *Mucedorus* is probably fictitious, perhaps taken from Homer's Adrastus, King of Argos.] Other features, music for instance (Induction, IV, 1 and IV, 3) or magic (I, 1, 35) and astrology (V, 2, 99-100), reflect Stanley's interests, but more significant is the author's familiarity with Court and Queen, before whom the Play was performed. This is unmistakeable in both the Epilogue (Q1) addressed to her and the Prologue (Q3), which though not so unambiguous (and, except for the tests mentioned, could in 1610 apply to James I after the Gunpowder Plot) was nevertheless also addressed to the Queen ; which anyway is obvious from a comparison with the words uttered in the Q1 Epilogue and which is confirmed by virtual identity in spelling deviation.* The Shakespearian sincerity of the Prologue and genuine Epilogue (Q1), contrasting strongly with the flattery of the spurious Q3 Epilogue, which addresses King James as "Arch-Caesar," is illuminating for it shows that the Prologue and (genuine) Epilogue were written at a time of national peril, almost certainly 1587-8, with " treason to deface." In their most informing lines we find unconscious self-revealment of the author's exalted rank by the liberty taken of giving advice to the Queen, liberty that would have been impertinent on the part of any commoner in those days ; for in denouncing " blemisht Traytors " he added " Embrace your Counsell " (Prologue) and with Statesman-like wisdom (otherwise presumptuous) he uttered a prayer (Epilogue) for the guidance of " Counsell, Nobles " and " Commons," adding " Long maie she raine," etc.

The Play was therefore written for her " Contentment " plainly by someone who could temper his praise of the Queen with sound advice ; but as in the case of *Faire Em* this author was also familiar with the Northern dialect and idiom, as for instance put into the mouth of Mouse. Apart from the Northern *s*-plurals, numerous such dialectical words are found in the text, e.g. *bots* (twice), *dankish*, *grutce*, *ply* (self-exert), *say* (try), *trul*[*l*], *weede* (i.e. clothes, twice), *waying* and *way* (weigh), *welt* (blow), also ' misconsture ' (I, 1, 12) which though used by Greene in *Pandosto* (1588) and as noted by the author of *Lord Cromwell* (p. 230) was rare except in Lancashire. All these circumstances strongly suggest that this hitherto unidentified aristocratic young author, writing like the future Shakespeare, was truly William Stanley, and certain spelling peculiarities in the Play confirm this supposition, such as ' mak ' and

* Mean 23%, i.e. about the same as for the whole Play, while D_{calc} for 1610 is only 15. The spurious Epilogue has a mean deviation of 19%.

' com[s] ' (three times) like Derby's ' tak ' and ' cum,' and a number of *ould* spellings, e.g. ' behould ' (V, 2, 31) like Derby's ' behouldinge.' More important are the parallels with *Faire Em*, already identified as Stanley's Play, as for example the peculiar words ' force ' and ' misconsture ' or ' misconster.' Further, the spelling ' aleauen ' (*Mucedorus* III, 2, 11) which appears as ' a leven ' in *M.V.* (Folio, II, 2, 177) and in *R. and J.* (Q2, I, 3, 30), is found in the genuine manuscript fragment of *Sir Thomas More* (' a leven,' Hand D) unequivocally identified as Stanley's (Appendix I). Also the ' farewell ' personification (in both *Mucedorus* and *Faire Em*) appears in Hand E of *Sir Thomas More*, also identified as Stanley's, where moreover we find the word ' thred ' which has the same meaning as in " twisted thread of life " (*Mucedorus* II, 4, 77). All these, and the various phrase parallels cited, link *Faire Em* and *Mucedorus* with several canonical Plays by a tie of common authorship, which unless the hand-writing and other evidence can be invalidated is thus uniquely fixed on William Stanley.

Hypothetically reconstructing the history of *Mucedorus*, let us suppose that Stanley, having drafted it out abroad, completed it soon after his return home in 1587, and had it tried out among the Plays performed that Christmas season at Knowsley (p. 205). We know from ffarrington's diary that Stanley came there from Chester on 10th December, so that it may be presumed (with his passion for drama) that he then supervised the first performance of the Play. He now *ex hypothesi* passed a copy over to the Queen's company who acted it at Court about 1588, but just before its production he wrote the Prologue which was therefore in his own handwriting, and this would explain its abnormally high proportion of *y*-spellings. The copy of the Play, with one bit in Stanley's Hand, would be retained, say by his brother's company, until years afterwards when it was brought out for James I. A clean copy was no doubt made for this production and a new Epilogue spuriously introduced to bring it up to date, but the author (now Earl of Derby) had long ceased to have any interest in his early effort, and so as usual did nothing in the matter. But when, as a novice, he *was* interested in it, about the time that Lord Strange's company was re-constituted (p. 204) he had probably provided this company with an abridged version for the London stage, where it became immensely popular. This version was itself a copy and it was presumably an acting copy prepared from it, which was used 10 years later (1598) in printing Q1. This hypothesis seems to fit all the facts disclosed by the analysis, including the (low) I_p and other frequencies as well as the numerous corruptions and omissions, which badly mar this fine but immature Comedy.

Edward III.

As the first anonymous Quarto (printed in 1596 by Cuthbert Burby) has a high Index I_p (7·6) corresponding to a date about 1588 if genuine, and the spelling deviation (22·6%) is higher than normal for 1596 ($D_{calc.} = 20·4$) it is reasonably certain that, like *Mucedorus*, the Play was early ; a conclusion confirmed by the frequency of obsolescent spellings, such as : *alowd*, *anchredge*, *fructless*, *perst* and *persing* (piercing), *peise* (weigh), *obraid* and *obraidst*, *sower* (sour), *ure* (inure), *unsevill* (uncivil), etc. But compared with *Faire Em*, the smoother verse, the richer overflowing periods and the bolder imagery denote a considerable advance towards maturity ; for as will be seen it is certainly a genuine Play. It is in no way inferior to the *Contention* Plays, and though the repeat index ($\rho = 21$) is lower than Shakespeare's mean, such a figure is

sometimes found in the Canon ; the alliteration number ($a_p = 117$) is normal and the rich vocabulary, strictly subordinated to dramatic exigencies, includes many favourite words such as : *agrevate* (increase weight), *date* (period), *outscolde*, *packing* (shuffling), *resty* (restive), *reverent* (respected), *starvelings*, *sticks* (stops), etc., and all sorts of idiosyncratic spellings typical of canonical Quartos. Taking all these features and those below into consideration, it becomes legitimate to apply the *R*-formula for some decisive indication of date : there are only 11 certain and 10 optional *R*-lines in a total of 1614 available lines of blank verse, from which *R* works out at 112·6 giving a calculated date 1587, that is about the time of *Titus Andronicus* and before the *Contention* pair dated as 1589 - 1590 (p. 182).

The marks of Shakespeare's hand in *Edward III* are so clear and ubiquitous that only a selection can be cited here. First we have simple but typical figures of speech in : *plaiefellow* (II, 2, 121), *mansion* (II, 2, 97), *breakfast* (III, 1, 2), *byt* (III, 3, 146), *map* (III, 3, 218), *kisse* (IV, 4, 22), *harvest* (IV, 8, 10), *thred* (V, 122), and many similar metaphors ; or full Shakespearian imagery, such for instance as surrounds the words : *moone* (Diana imagery II, 1, 154), *ransomed* (II, 2, 106), *bloud* (II, 2, 155-160), *sickles* (III, 3, 112), " *yron pens* " (IV, 4, 128), *Falcon* (III, 5, 46), *bud* (IV, 4, 137-139), " *crimson braverie* " (IV, 8, 7), *armes* (IV, 9, 29), *Castle* (IV, 9, 41), *wreath* (V, 193) etc. which are altogether *sui generis*, as is the style and general idiom. Numerous grammatical irregularities are equally typical as for instance : in the double comparative " more fairer " (II, 1, 25) and " more nimbler far " (II, 2, 180) ; in nouns used as verbs (*texted*, IV, 4, 129, and *quittance* V, 124 cf., *Richard III*, III, 7, 231) ; in the intransitive verb *convertest* (II, 1, 456 cf. Sonnet **14**) ; and in the southern plural, *hath* (IV, 7, 21). Still more decisive are the ten Northern *s*-plurals,* the two Northern 1st person singulars in *s*, viz. *obserues* (II, 2, 43) and *approues* (III, 3, 118), and the N.W. 2nd pers. sing. in *wants* (I, 2, 3). Northern dialectical words are conspicuous, notably : *bonnie* (I, 2, 70), *bonnier* (III, 1, 179), *bonnet* (V, 78), *disgests* (III, 1, 124, cf. *Faire Em* III, 2, 1), *ken* (III, 1, 65), *mickle* (V, 194), *misconster* (V, 215 cf. *Faire Em* p. 208 and *Mucedorus* p. 216), also *chines*, *fraught* (freight), *giggs*, and several others ; while it is easy to detect the Northern idiom in a few places (e.g. " bag and baggage," III, 2, 4, and " Thy ransome, man," IV, 3, 6). Characteristic repetition is frequent, as in II, 1, 14-20, 155-163, IV, 4, 115-120, 141-143, etc. Legal allusions are found in II, 2, 146, III, 1, 110, IV, 3, 33-40 and V, 72 ; music typically appears in II, 1, 76, II, 1, 106, 107, 121 (' descant '), III, 1, 38 and 124 (" sweet hermonie ") ; magical superstition, about the ' black out ' and ravens appears in IV, 5 ; and Shakespearian word play is found in : *chast* (II, 1, 153), *Quarter* (III, 2, 5), *guild* (IV, 4, 98, cf. *Macbeth* II, 2, 57), *ravenous* (IV, 5, 47), *praier* (IV, 4, 115-120) etc. Occasional rhyme marks the tender dialogue between the King and Lodowick in II, 1 ; and antithetical conceits are frequent, e.g. " That is most false, should most of all be true," " Wisdome is foolishnes in her tongue," " vertue sin, synne vertue deemd " etc. Phrases of Shakespearian stamp, like " scarlet ornaments " (II, 1, 10, cf. Sonnet **142**), " Poets pen," " mirror of pale death," " weepe out bloody teares," etc., are so numerous that only a few examples need be quoted from the first two Acts :—

I, 2, 129	shoots infected poyson in my heart
I, 2, 150	vndeckt with natures tapestrie
II, 1, 284	a poison sucking enuious spider
II, 1, 318	This rash disgorged vomit of thy word
II, 1, 338-9	cancell all the bondes/Of love and duetie
II, 1, 381	an atturnie from the Court of hell
II, 1, 422	giue sinne a pasport to offend.

The Play is adorned by much wisdom and philosophic thought, some of which forecasts the deeper abstractions of the Canon, as for instance : honour in the fulfilment of a pledge conflicting with patriotism (IV, 3), or the nobility of Villiers (IV, 5) and of Charles (IV, 5) tempted to break an oath, or the dialogue on life and death between the Audley and the Black Prince (IV, 4) when facing the fearful odds at Poictiers, especially Audley's lines, IV, 4, 133-148. The Drama, like Shakespeare's early Histories un-relieved by any

* They are : *Prouokes* (I, 1, 35), *steales* (I, 2, 134), *emulats* (II, 1, 157), *cals* (II, 2, 166), *tends* (II, 2, 193), *Requires* (III, 1, 41), *Adornes* (III, 1, 70), *Breakes* (III, 1, 129), *is* (III, 2, 12) and *Struggles* (IV, 4, 22).

comic scenes, plays upon the feelings of the audience by its fluctuations between pathos and painful suspense, as for example in the King's refusal to aid his young son, only 16, when outnumbered at Crecy (III, 5); while the pathos of the Prince's grief for his old friend Audley, sorely wounded at Poictiers (IV, 9) is worthy of the later Shakespeare, as indeed are some other situations such as the conflict between the Countess and the King (II, 1 and II, 2) or Warwick's dilemma (II, 1).

High lights like these were beyond the dramatic reach of any other playwright except Marlowe, who perhaps could have achieved the lyrical beauty of the seduction scenes, their passion and the eventual grim triumph of the Countess, no less than the occasional Marlowesque hyperbola, as for instance in the Hero-Leander passage of II, 2, 153-157. The theory however that Marlowe had a hand in the Play is untenable on several grounds, mainly: (1) the uniform restraint in treatment, which contrasts visibly with Marlowe's sub-ordination of drama to poetic beauty, (2) the uniformity in design and style betokening singularity, (3) the philosophy, dramatic technique and consistent idiom, which collectively are not Marlowe's, (4) the relatively low *R*-value (112·6), Marlowe's figure being consistently high and 195 in *Edward II*, (5) the high end-rhyme fraction (·7, see p. 170) and (6) the high spelling deviation (22·6%), Marlowe's average in Quartos between 1590 and 1594 being only 18·4%, a very significant difference. Despite the wavering opinion of commentators influenced by maturity standards there can be thus no doubt about either authorship or homogeneity, for scarcely a passage or even line can be found that does not betray Shakespeare's way of saying or doing things, apart from the multifarious idiosyncrasies recorded. The approximate date given independently by I_p and *R*-formula must therefore be accepted, say 1588 or years prior to *Henry V* and later canonical Plays, so that the remarkable parallels enumerated below could not possibly have been the imitations of any playwright copyist. They are in any case too wholesale for imitation but they prove that Shakespeare, in spite of Marlowe's influence, remained true to himself in handling history; for he certainly used *Edward III* later as his model for *Henry V*, in which we find the same structural design, the same delineation of military strategy, the same repeated appearances of heralds, the same kind of patriotic sentiments and various other parallels. Some of these are now given :—

Edward III.		*Henry V*	
I, 1	Quarrel with France; insult by French Ambassador; claim to Dukedoms in France, etc.	I, 2	Tennis ball insult; claim to Dukedoms in France, etc.
III, 1	Debate by French King, his sons and Duke of Lorraine, interruptions by messenger, etc.	II, 4	Debate by French King, Dauphin and Duke of Burgundy, interruptions, etc.
III, 3	Claim of Edward III to French crown by pedigree.	II, 4	Similar claim of Henry V.
IV, 4 and 5	French disdain of English forces.	III, 6 and IV, 3	Similar disdain.
IV, 9	English outnumbered 20 to 1 at Poictiers. Prince attributes victory to heaven.	IV, 3	Outnumbered at Agincourt. In IV, 8 Henry attributes victory to God.
V	War damage and ruin deplored by Edward III, at Calais.	V, 2	Ruin of war deplored by Duke of Burgundy, at Troyes. (1) *Henry IV*, I, 3. Refusal of Hotspur to surrender his prisoners to the King.
V	Refusal of Sir John Copland to surrender his prisoner to the Queen.		

The possibility that Shakespeare himself might have copied some unknown author of *Edward III* instead of himself, may be dismissed as fantastic in view of all the preceding evidence ; while various other parallels with Plays, also after the date (1596) of the Quarto, simply prove that they were author's own forecast, as for example :—

Edward III	*Canon*
III, 1, 140-180. Mariner's narrative - - -	*Macbeth* I, 2, 8-23
III, 2, 49 and IV, 5, 29-49 Raven, a bird of ill omen -	„ I, 5, 39
IV, 3, 65-73 ; V, 214-215 Equivocating prophecy -	„ IV, 1, 80-100 ; V, 7, 46-50.
IV, 4, 98 " guild my spurs " (blood image) - -	„ II, 2, 57
II, 1, 82 " abstract or a breefe " - - -	*Hamlet* II, 2, 555.
II, 1, 439 " carrion that it seemes to kisse " - -	„ II, 2, 184.
II, 1, 255 " counterfeit your stamp " - - -	*M.M.* II, 4, 46-47.
IV, 4, 147 " ripe or rotten, drop we shall " - -	*A.Y.L.* II, 7, 26-27
III, 2, 4 " bag and baggage " - - -	*A.Y.L.* III, 2, 170 ; *Winter's Tale* I, 2, 206
II, 1, 10 " their scarlet ornaments " - - -	Sonnet **142.**
II, 1, 451 " Lillies that fester smel far worse then weeds "	Sonnet **94.**

Similar parallels link *Edward III* with (1) *Henry VI*, which makes allusions to Edward III (also to Froissart, I, 2, 31) and shows similar design, similar historical inaccuracy, similar handling of battles, similar absence of humour, similar word repetition, similar word-play, similar verbal compression, similar philosophic reflection, similar frequency of Northern dialectical words, similar treatment of law, magic and even horses. Both Dramas display similar imagery, idiom and grammatical irregularities, also numerous identical verbal peculiarities,. such as *shadow* (image), *mere* (absolute), *subscribe* (submit), *patronage* [verb], *obstacle* [adj.], *quittance* [verb] etc., some of which however were shared by Marlowe.

Verbal peculiarities also furnish links between *Edward III* and other Plays of this early period including *Faire Em* and *Mucedorus*. Thus the Northern ' misconster ' or ' misconsture ' is not only common to the two latter but to *Edward III* and (1) *Henry VI* ; the Northern ' disgests ' is common to *Edward III*, *Faire Em* and *Sir Thomas More* (p. 229) ; the spelling ' cost[s] ' i.e. coast, to *Edward III* and the *More* fragment in Hand D ; the spelling* ' braules,' to the same fragment and *Edward III* ; the spelling ' arrant ' i.e. errand, to *Edward III* and *Mucedorus* (several times) ; the spelling ' watrie,' to *Edward III* and *More* Hand D ; while the spellings ' shipskin ' (*Edward III*) and ' shipstickes ' (*Mucedorus*) are reminiscent of Shakespeare's play on the similarity in pronunciation between ship and sheep in *L.L.L.* (II, 1, 217) ; and so on.

Characteristic phrase parallels also link *Edward III* with these early Plays, as for instance: " thred of life " (V, 122) with *Mucedorus* (II, 4, 77), (1) *Henry VI* (I, 1, 34), *Pericles* (I, 2, 108) and *More* Hand E ; " hare braind Nation " (*Ed. III*, III, 1, 51) with (1) *Henry VI* (I, 2, 37) ; or " bag and baggage " (*Ed. III*, III, 2, 4) with *More* Hand E ; " what the prophet told " (*Ed. III* V, 215) with " fatal prophecy " of (1) *Henry VI* (III, 1, 194). And just as *Faire Em*, *Mucedorus* and *More* Hand E are linked by " farewell frost " or " farewell life," so other phrases such as " stands upon the honour " or " ten to one " appear in *Faire Em*, *Mucedorus*, (1) *Henry VI* and (1) *Contention ;* also " as who should say " is found in *Faire Em* and (1) *Henry VI* ; and other striking parallels are found as between some of the foregoing Plays and the *T.R.* pair (p. 224).

This multiple cross linkage, through peculiar words, spellings, phrases and general idiom including Northern, so pervades *all* these Plays that common authorship cannot be seriously doubted ; and as they are shot through and through with other Shakespearian idiosyncrasies of the most varied kind without indication of any foreign hand, authorship in each case was manifestly homogeneous. *Edward III* was merely one of a group of Plays about this

* Nearly always spelt ' brawle ' by other writers. As ' braule,' ' braules,' or ' brauld,' it is found in the Folio text of *Titus Andronicus* (I, 1, 353), *L.L.L.* (III, 1, 18), (2) *Henry IV* (I, 3, 70), *M.N.D.* (II, 1, 87) and *King John* (II, 1, 383) ; also in *Arden of Feversham* (II, 2, 88—see p. 230).

period, produced during the height of the war-fever, as anyway is confirmed in *Edward III* by the words " proud Armado " (III, 1, 64) and by the allusion to Spain and " hereafter ages " (V, 216-235) where the Black Prince seems to appeal to the patriotism of the audience—similarly to, though with less fervour than, Henry in *Henry V* (IV, 3).

William Stanley as author.

The fact that, despite changes due to copying, many of Stanley's peculiar spellings or spelling types (*bould, condicion, ould, recompenc, uttred, wandring, watrie, yf, yt,* etc.) have survived means little in itself though it is significant when the Northern affinities of the Play are taken into account, i.e. as betrayed by the prevalence of dialectical words, by the *s*-inflections of verbs, especially the 10 surviving Northern *s*-plurals and even by occasional Northern idiom. The peculiar spellings of *Edward III* noted (*braule, cost* |coast|, *thred, watrie,* etc.) and the Scottish phrase " bag and baggage," found also in the *More* Hand E identified as in Stanley's handwriting have significance only in view of the general evidence as to common authorship of the whole inter-related group of Plays, but beyond this is the indisputable fact that the author of *Edward III*, like Stanley, was deeply conversant with law, music, superstition, horses and falconry, as well as with military and naval affairs, the realism of which utterly transcends any second-hand knowledge derived from History Chronicles.

His history of Edward III was derived partly no doubt from Holinshed and Froissart, but the mariner's narrative in III, 1, which names two of the ships, ' Nonpareille ' and ' Snake of Bullen,' is so realistic as to suggest that the author had fought in the Armada battle ; but generally he ' made hay ' with historical fact by telescoping events and by building freely on his own experience. By what looks like an anachronism, he made the Earl of Derby (Edward's ambassador) one of the characters of the Play, together with Lord Audley, an elder kinsman of " Derby." It is historically true that Audley was wounded at Poictiers and it is conceivable that " Derby " might have been Henry, the newly created Earl (of the first Derby line, p. 11), great grandson of Henry III, because Froissart mentions him as having been present (as in V) at the siege of Calais, though not during the campaign. But as Audley and Derby are closely associated in the Play, and the historian Seacome records that Sir John Stanley fought under his kinsman Audley at Poictiers on 19th September 1357, there can be little doubt that the author's original of " Derby " was the great ($\times$ 9) grandfather of William Stanley ; this also being confirmed by the long ambassadorial record of his ancestors—see p. 9.

" Derby," who is variously referred to in the text as ' Lord of Derby,' ' Derby ' and ' Darby ' (and in the stage directions as ' Erle of Darby,' ' Der,' ' Dar,' etc.) first appears in II, 1 as ambassador to the Emperor, but on his return home is not welcome because the King is absorbed in his illicit wooing of the Countess of Salisbury, and " Derby " discusses the matter with Audley. In the following Act both men appear before and during the Battle of Crecy, preparing the young Prince for his baptism of fire, and repeatedly urging his father to rescue the boy from almost certain death. Later " Derby " is with the King at Calais (IV, 2), and Audley is with the Black Prince (IV, 4), hemmed in at Poictiers where the former is grievously wounded. After the victory (IV, 9) Audley is rewarded by the Prince, and in the last Act (V) " Derby " introduces John Copland to the King still before Calais, with the prisoner King David, who is surrendered.

All through therefore the same kind of prominence is given to William Stanley's two ancestors that Shakespeare bestows on his other ancestors in his history Plays, and so striking is the parallel between the author's Derby anachronism and Shakespeare's in *Richard III* (p. 185) that it seems

incredible that this unique type of error in *Richard III* should have been forestalled in *Edward III* by some other writer ; whereas it is easy to understand with Stanley, as historically-careless author of both Plays, for to him alone the names Derby and Stanley would be virtually synonymous.

The troublesome Raigne of John King of England.

The pair of Plays (*T.R.*) under this title is commonly regarded as the " source " of *King John*, most commentators being unable to conceive them as apprentice attempts by Shakespeare himself. Difficulty certainly arises from the mixed quality of *T.R.*, some parts of which are insipidly inferior, and opinion has wavered between all sorts of contradictory theories ; Steevens for instance having first accepted the Plays as genuine and later rejected them (like Knight) while Coleridge accepted them. Malone and later critics such as Fleay have ascribed *T.R.* variously to Marlowe or jointly to Greene, Peele and Lodge. None of these alternatives however will pass really critical tests, and all this vacillation is an inevitable consequence of Shaksperian premises, which ossify thought by closing the mind to consideration of Shakespearian dates independently of Shakspere.

The two Quartos, in black letter type unusually free from misprints, were published anonymously in 1591, but later editions in 1611 and 1622 named the author respectively as " W. Sh." and " William Shakespeare," an ascription which of course might have been mistaken or fraudulent. The Prologue of Part (1),* addressed like that of Part (2) " To the Gentlemen Readers " (they were really addressed by the author to theatre audiences), alludes to " Scythian Tamberlaine," so that it is probable that *T.R.* was acted in public soon after the Marlowe Plays of about 1587, but parts of *T.R.* must have been written before then. The overall spelling deviation (20%) is below normal (22%) for 1591, but a very early date, at least for the original draft, if genuine, is indicated by the high *R*-values of the two Plays, viz. 141 for Part (1) and 130 for (2), corresponding to a mean calculated date about 1585 ; and though a re-handled text makes this date very uncertain, it or an even earlier date is consistent with the Index I_p (7·5) of Part (2) if once copied before printing. For Part (1) however the observed Index is only 4·34, but this is attributable to extensive re-copying during later revision, which is evident from the fact that the whole of the long scene (1), 1, of 421 lines, contains only 5 *y*-spellings. The standard equations therefore cannot apply to Part (1) but for (2) the date of writing (ignoring for simplicity subsequent revisional changes) calculates out as about 1583 if it is assumed that a scribe of 28 copied the autograph in 1588 ; and the results would not be very different with other reasonable assumptions.

All these calculations are subject to the proof, which is found in the following condensed analysis, that the two Plays were solely Shakespeare's. In the first place though many features (even the frequent appearance of interspersed Latin lines) indicate the tyro hand, the vocabulary abounds with hundreds of typical words, such as : *affects* (inclinations), *amisse* (fault), *beholding* (beholden), " *by gis*," *diadem* (crown), " *dudgeon dagger*," *fancie* (love), *fearing* (frightening), *lozell* (rascal), *outrovde*, *passe* (surpass), *recure* (cure), *regiment* (rule), *say* (try), *shadow* (image), *sorts* (suits), *store* (abundance), *unrev*[*er*]*ent* etc. Next, though there are many archaisms, both verbal and orthographic, a master of language is indicated by the extra-ordinary number of modern (then unusual) words at his command, such as (taking them in the order in which they appear) : *irrevocable*, *frivolous*, *counterpoise*, *debilitie*, *puissant*, *coverture*, *imminent*, *averre*, *prodigious*, *apparitions*, *superficies*, *loyalties*, *calculatst*, *repleate*, *cyphering*, *divination*, *meridian*, *prescience*, *instigates*, *prescribed*, *inspiration*, *eloquence*, *predominant*, *prosecute*, *infuse*, *conventickle*, *extirpate*, *reprehending*, *dispossesse*, *oppugne*, *substanciall*, *impute*, *sequel*, *proviso*, *remunerated*, *excessive*, *harbingers*, *imbowell*, *contritions*, *redresse*, *ignominious*, *captivated*, *inexorable*, *beneficiall*, *meritorious*, *munition*, *environed*, *magnanimitie*, *fortitude*, *infringd*, *notorious*, etc.

There is no sign of a second hand either in dramatic technique, design or general idiom. The latter is manifestly either Marlowe's or Shakespeare's, as the following examples serve to show (also in the order they appear) :—

* All scene and line references in the analysis which follows are based on the arrangement of Praetorius in his facsimiles of the 1591 Quartos.

in Part (1) : " will not sticke to bring," " by heavens eternall lampes I sweare," " Good Mother resolve me," " loathsome dunghill swad," " black-spotted Perjurie," "A dismall tale fit for a furies tongue," " Satan chieftaine of thy soule," " To blinde those lampes [eyes] that Nature pollisht so," " Ensignes of his wrath," " against the battlements of heaven," " a Register of all the Destinies," " hells damned secretarie," " Unkindly rage more rough than Northern winde," " To clip the beautie of so sweet a flower " ; in Part (2) : " that sweet unguilty childe / Untimely butcherd " [Arthur], " My eyes should conduit foorth a sea of teares," "A proper jest," " no brainsick idle fit," " glut the world with tragick elegies," " Me thinkes I see a cattalogue of sinne," " I see I see a thousand thousand men," " thats a gall indeed," " Shamelesse my life and shamefully it ends," " O piercing sight."

But the imagery is Shakespeare's, not Marlowe's ; the following being typical examples :—

(1) 1, 136 the teares distilling from mine eyes
(1) 1, 329 This grose atteint so tilteth in my thoughts
(1) 2, 10 To coole the fet-locks of his wearie teame
(1) 3, 12 The first freehold that Richard left his sonne
(1) 4, 230 the fountaine of thy youth
(2) 2, 124 The multitude (a beast of many heads)
(2) 3, 252 Tis policie (my Lord) to bait our hookes / With merry smiles
(2) 4, 84 fortune hangs / Upon the plume of warlike Philips helme
(2) 5, 11 Bids me give Phisicke to a sickly soule
(2) 5, 26 That longs to leave this mansion free from guilt.

Many other distinguishing marks of genuineness appear ubiquitously distributed, of which the following are the chief —

(i) Typical word play e.g. on ' mad ' and ' marde ' in (1) 1, 150, on ' Will ' in (1) 2, 98-103, on ' Philip ' in (1) 4, 30-31, on ' moodie ' (muddy) in (1) 4, 231.

(ii) Typical antithesis e.g. in (1) 11, 38 (' lesse ' and ' more '), (2) 6, 12 (' death ' and ' life ') and (2) 8, 97 (' curse ' and ' blisse ').

(iii) Typical rhyming couplets in tender situations e.g. between Philip and his mother in lines (1) 381-389, 412-421 ; or between Arthur and Hubert in scene (1) 12.

(iv) Typical dramatic use of astrology or magic e.g. in (1) 4, 114 (" dismall Plannet "), in (1) 13, 252 (" What Planet governde my nativitie ") as well as in numerous scattered words in the text such as : *enchaunt, heavens, conjure, spells, witch* etc. Lines (1) 13, 70-77 and 131-150 (superstition of the " five Moones ") and the first five lines of Prologue (2) are pure specimens of Shakespeare's handling of Fate.

(v) Typical exposition of the Law as for instance in (1) 1 which simply bristles with legal niceties concerning title and Wills ; also legal phraseology, as for example in (1) 12, 30 (" plead the case "), (1) 2, 102 (" sole Executresse "), (2) 9, 10 (" in fine ") etc. ; or allusions to the law as in (1) 1, 78, 104, 106, 130, 134, (1) 2, 106, 205-210, 220, (1) 5, 68, (1) 9, 22, (1) 12, 82-95, (2) 3, 89, (2) 4, 52, (2) 9, 8 etc. All these show great familiarity with various branches of the Law—civil, military, ecclesiastical and State.

(vi) Typical handling of War (strategy, alliances, battles, sieges, disputes of leaders etc.), *passim* ; purely Shakespearian.

(vii) Though music, humour and sport are not strong features of the Plays, music is mentioned incidentally in (1) 1, 252 and (1) 5, 143, and a falconry image is implicit in (2) 2, 29 (' buzzard ').

(viii) Grammatical peculiarities of Shakespeare's type are very frequent, notably in the use of ' which ' for who, ' of ' for by, and other prepositional interchanges ; also myselfe and thyselfe as nouns. The syntax is occasionally faulty (not from corruption), nouns are used as verbs, e.g. in ' Cotton ' (1) 11, 74, and ' pastime ' (2) 6, 103) ; verbs are used as nouns in ' suppose,' (1) 2, 96, ' resist,' (2) 8, 58, ' invade,' (2) 8, 59, etc. ; intransitive verbs are used as transitive in ' ensue ' (1) 4, 234, ' throbbeth ' (1) 10, 21, ' aboundeth ' (1) 13,72, etc. ; and ' drove ' as p. participle in (1) 1, 368. Old Southern plurals appear in ' doth ' (1) 4, 202, ' woundeth ' (1) 4, 228, ' effecteth ' (1) 10, 37 and ' threateneth ' (1), 12, 6.

(ix) Typical word repetition is very marked (index $\rho = 24$) often within a few lines as for instance with ' flatly ' (1) 5, 51-54 or ' sowles ' (1) 13, 4-23, generally deliberately as with ' griefe ' four times in (2) 6, 54-55, ' power ' three times in (2) 8, 57 or ' have ' four times in (2) 8, 76-79 ; and overall despite the extraordinarily rich vocabulary some repeat words are very frequent e.g. ' soule ' or ' sowle ' which appears at least 10 times, and ' lordings ' at least 8 times (cf. *Mucedorus* II, 1, 14 and (2) *Henry VI*, I, 1, 146). Other less common words often repeated are : *agen, attaynt, averre, brawles, choyce, clayme, commaund, demaund, dissemble, dye, fell* [adj.], *forwardnes, geere, hell, impeach, inferre, level* (aim), *obsequies, scorne, sute, sworn, traytor, wrack* etc., all Shakespeare's favourites.

(x) Typical words of the Northern dialect are fairly frequent e.g. *ban, belike, beseems, betide* [often], *blab, books* [verb], *brat* [often], *broils, carpe* (talk), *coystrell* (cf. Yorke's speech in (1) *Contention* III, 1), *dallyde, dint, fell* [adj.], *fumble, lozell, mar, mickle, pheere* (companion), *sith, tarrie, whit, wist* etc. ; also occasional Northern idiom, as in " spare not man " (1) 1, 28, " bestirre thee man " (1) 5, 136, " buggs words " (1) 13, 232 [i.e. boasting, as in *Winter's Tale*, ' bug,' III, 2, 93], " I tell the [thee] man " (2) 8, 94, " at gaze " (2) 8, 151, or " dead and gone " (2) 9, 4. A N.W. 2nd pers. sing. is found in ' assists ' (2) 2, 104 ; and the Northern *s*-plurals are : in Part (1) *was*, 2, 105, *helpes*, 2, 204, *Hangs*, 12, 67, *heares*, 13, 262 ; in Part (2) *whats*, 2, 58, *wheres*, 2, 60, *Thinks*, 2, 80, *makes*, 2, 131, *is*, 3, 60, *wants*, 3, 112, *depends*, 3, 191, *Bids*, 5, 11, *makes*, 5, 24 and *dwells*, 5, 92.

(xi) Typical alliteration ($\alpha_p = 110$).

Though the low end-rhyme fraction (·15) and occasional hyperbole might at first suggest Marlowe, the above synopsis reveals so many non-Marlovian purely Shakespearian idiosyncrasies as, collectively, to be decisive. Not only qualitatively but quantitatively, by the test of *R*-values, *s*-plurals, alliteration and spelling deviation (see pp. 175-6), Marlowe is excluded, and on the evidence *in toto*, no other dramatist is permissible but Shakespeare, far though the *T.R.* Plays fall short of his mature Art. This conclusion is confirmed by typical historical anachronisms (e.g. confusion of the Archduke of Austria with Lymoges), and by many phrase-parallels with his other early Plays, a few of which only need be cited viz. :—

T.R.	*Play*
(1) 13, 240 " His life a foe that leveld at my crowne."	(3) *Henry VI* (II, 2, 19, Folio) also (2) *Contention* (Praetorius, 6, 18) "Ambitious Yorke did Levell at thy Crowne." (1) *Contention* (P, 9, 80) " Yorke that levels at the Moone." *Mucedorus* (V, 1, 174) " but yet you leueld at the Crowne." *Pericles* (II, 3, 114) " the mark I know you level at."
(2) 5, 49 " What cooling card is this."	(1) *Henry VI* (V, 3, 84) " there lies a cooling card." *Mucedorus* (V, 1, 110) " Ile cal a cooling card for you."
(2) 6, 1 " Set downe, set downe the load."	*Richard III* (I, 2, 1) " Set down, set down your honourable load."
(2) 8, 136 " Lift up your hand in token you forgive." (2) 8, 146 " Lift up thy hand that we may witnes here."	(2) *Henry VI* (III, 3, 28) cf. (1) *Contention* (III, 3) " Hold up thy hand, make signal of thy hope."
(2) 9, 45 " Let England live but true within it selfe."	(2) *Contention* (IV, 1) " Let England be true within it selfe." (3) *Henry VI* (IV, 1, 40) " England is safe, if true within itself."

Among numerous other parallels we may note " standeth at a gaze " in (2) 8, 151 (cf. ' *Lucrece*, line 1149), and lines (2) 3, 116-128 strongly recalling More's speech (Hand D). It is of course true that these various expressions were not exclusively Shakespeare's (the *cliché* " cooling card " for instance

was used by Harington in 1591 and " leveld at " by Marlowe and others), but the fact that such typical idiom was used for dramatically similar situations, in Plays otherwise associated, gives these phrases collectively a quite unique value ; for they are not mere verbal parallels which any copyist might have picked up, but indicators of insistent images in the author's thought. For example Salisbury's " cooling card " in *T.R.*, which deals so much with "Angiers " in Part (1), is strictly homologous with Suffolk's words above in (1) *Henry VI*, V, 3, 84 (written about the same time) because his words are also spoken outside the walls of Angiers ; and similar homology marks most of the parallels.

The fact is, the *T.R.* pair presents a strong analogy to (1) *Henry VI*, in its French setting, general technique and anti-clerical (anti-papist in *T.R.*) pro-English bias. Also there is exactly the same kind of patchiness in quality. This at once raises the question of a possible second hand in *T.R.*, but neither Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Lodge or any of the known dramatists is admissible, having regard to statistical frequencies, design and homogeneity in idiom ; where even in the inferior scenes, such as the baiting of Friars and Nuns in (1) 11, the same indelible seal is found as in the superior parts : so that such local inferiorities like those of (1) *Henry VI* (pp. 181-2) probably represent unrevised portions of an original very early draft.

William Stanley as author.

In 1937 Lucas (*S.V.S.*) suggested that Stanley might have begun on the first draft of *King John* when he was spending the Autumn of 1582 at Angers ("Angiers "). The present writer goes further in supposing that the historical associations of the town and neighbouring country stimulated him to compose the first drafts of both *T.R.* and (1) *Henry VI*. At any rate all three Plays reveal unmistakeable Northern affinities, besides those other elements (legal, magical, astrological, geographical, military, etc.) which collectively are truly distinctive of Stanley ; and even his orthographic habits are often reflected in the Quarto spellings of *T.R.* despite scrivener (*accompted*, *commaund*, *coms*, *fornace*, *geve* and *geving*, *hether* (hither), *jarres*, *offred*, *sute*, *uppon*, *wrack*, etc.). At that time he was probably under the influence of his strongly protestant father ; so if, imperfectly revising his 1582 drafts, he wrote some parts of *T.R.* in 1588 during the war-fever, and did the same thing with his early draft of (1) *Henry VI* about 1591 we should get the patchy texts such as are found in all three Plays. In *T.R.* it is not difficult to pick out the older bits [mainly scenes 9, 10, 11 and parts of 1, 4, 7 in Part (1), and scenes 6, 7 and parts of 5, in Part (2)] not only by metrical monotony (including archaic 14-syllable lines) and relative lack of imagery or other marks of immaturity, but by obsolete yet spontaneous spellings such as *ceaze*, *cervd*, *fausen*, *pheere*, *ybent*, *yclad*, *ymixt*, *yspilt*, *ywrapt*, etc. These things, even the word ' wont ' in (2) 5, 62 instead of ' were wont,' as in (1) *Henry VI* (p. 182), go to confirm the mean calculated date 1585 (p. 222). This mixed quality helps us to understand why the whole Drama, which is too diffuse, too callow and too prejudiced, could not be improved by still further revision. It had to be entirely re-written when it was transformed with such immense improvement into *King John* (about 1595), but as a result of the compression some fine poetry was ruthlessly sacrificed and some intelligibility as well ; for there are two things, clear enough in *T.R.*, unexplained in *King John*, viz. the reason for the Bastard's bitter hostility to Lymoges (who had stolen his father's lion-skin), and the motive of the Swinstead monk in poisoning the King.

The above indirect evidence of Stanley authorship prompts the conjecture that copies of the *T.R.* Plays were passed on to his newly-appointed agent Shakspere for performance by the Queen's company, which as we know from the Quartos acted the Plays in London. But, as ffarrington records, the Queen's company also performed a pair of Plays at Knowsley on Saturday, 6th September, 1589 and Sunday, the 7th (in the afternoon) when Stanley was there or at least at home : a significant fact of deep relevant interest.

Sir Thomas More.

This Play, the joint work of several dramatists, has been most fortunately preserved in manuscript (B. M. Harleian 7368), written in Hands which W. W. Greg labelled S, A, B, C, D and E (*Malone Society's Reprints*, 1911). Since it was first transcribed in 1844 by Dyce the Play has been a subject of perennial interest because of the problems it has raised ; and its date has been variously conjectured on internal and other evidence as 1587-8 (Simpson), 1590 (Dyce), 1591 (the present writer), 1593 (Pollard, and Tannenbaum) and even later by others, but as there is strong reason to believe (Tannenbaum) that it was written for, or passed over to, the company of Lord Strange, who died in 1594 and whose subordinate actor Thomas Goodale appears in the M.S. as messenger (' T. Goedal '), some early date seems *primâ facie* likely. It is confirmed not only by the style in general of the portion which must be assigned to Shakespeare, and in particular the handling of the mob incidents showing unmistakeable affinities with the Jack Cade riot of (1) *Contention*, but now by the new *R*-formula (p. 229).

Six so-called Additions were written in different Hands, evidently by way of amendments to the main Play as originally copied by Hand S ; and one of these (II) in Hand D (the insurrection scene, here simply called the "Addition ") naturally claims the greatest attention, as Shakespeare's contribution to the Play. This "Addition " is found on folios 8^a, 8^b and 9^a, two long sheets of paper the first being written on both sides, but not the second (9^a), so that the whole comprises three pages of writing of which 8^b and 9^a are reproduced (without margins) in Plate III. The "Addition " constitutes rather more than the first half of Greg's sixth scene, or in Tucker Brooke's arrangement, II, 4, 1-172. It was apparently written on the invitation of the author, or authors, of the rest of the Play to help them out of a difficulty with the Censor, who banned the original insurrection scene (mostly missing) ; and it was first recognised as genuinely Shakespearian by Richard Simpson (1871) whose verdict was confirmed by Spedding and others, though a few critics hesitate to accept Shakespearian authorship, on the flimsiest grounds in the face of the plainest evidence of genuineness, not the least of which is the scornful attitude towards mob-rule.

There may have been a propaganda-motive behind the original scene ; at least it was condemned as politically dangerous by the Censor, Edmund Tyllney, who wrote a warning on the first sheet of the Play " Leave out ye insurrection wholy and y^e Cause ther off . . . . . & nott otherwise att your own perilles." But D's substitute i.e. "Addition," far from being dangerous or tainted with subversive motives, stands out as pure dramatic Art, while condemning public disorder in typically Shakespearian fashion ; witness the heavy contrast between this vivid rehabilitation and the tame remnant of the original scene in Hand S. Apart from dramatic sincerity, typical characterisation, etc., Shakespeare's hand is confirmed by the high frequencies of repetition ($\rho = 30$), alliteration ($a_p = 130$) and spelling deviation (26·7%). Highly

distinctive is the incisive idiom of More's persuasive oratory in countering the coarse ribaldry of the mob leaders. The syntax, handled with bold carelessness, is in familiar vein and the " seal manual " appears in such tell-tale phrases as : " a plaigue on them," " basterds of dung," " topt their powre " (line 64, not as rendered " topt the peace "), " woold shark on yow," " ore the banck of their obedyenc," " frends masters Countrymen," " whose discipline is ryot," " spurne you lyke doggs," etc. ; or in unusual words like : ' braule ' (see p. 220), ' liom ' (i.e. leash, a word of the Northern dialect like ' lym ' in *King Lear*, III, 6, 67), ' shrevaltry,' ' ynnovation ' (i.e. riot, as in *Hamlet*—see p. 69) and ' adicion ' (i.e. title, as in *Coriolanus*, I, 9, 65, *King Lear*, I, 1, 136, *Hamlet*, I, 4, 20, etc.).

It has long been suspected and is now proved mathematically (p. 269) by the standard *y*-spelling equations (p. 153) that the "Addition" is not a copy but actual autograph, on which account the condition of the manuscript gives some insight into the great dramatist's *modus operandi*. There are 24 words which have been deleted, indicating where he changed his mind (quite sufficient to discredit the assertion of Heminge and Condell (p. 129) about the absence of a " blot " in his lines) while the punctuation, haphazard and scanty, often shows commas, where there should be full-stops, and other irregularities. Capitals (especially C) are distributed at random and all this *currente calamo* confusion (left no doubt for a scribe to put right) sometimes makes the meaning obscure, as for example where a comma is necessary after the word " moorne " (line 123) or a full-stop after " harber " (127).

These three folios of Shakespeare's autograph have an enormous evidential importance owing to the fact that the present writer has identified the handwriting (Hand D), hitherto an unsolved problem, as the holograph of William Stanley (Appendix I). But beyond the "Addition " and Hand E presently considered there is matter not in his handwriting, nevertheless genuine. First there is the portion, labelled by Greg 'Addition IV,' an amendment to his scene 8, which long ago Simpson ascribed to Shakespeare (found in Tucker Brooke's III, 2). It is written on the 12th and 13th folios mainly in the Hand labelled C, which was at one time confused with D because it resembles it, but at the end (T.B. III, 2, 283-322) the writing is again different and has been labelled E. The one-time calligraphic confusion of C with D and the distinction of D from E, has in the past affected the question of authenticity, so necessitating a thoroughly critical examination of the whole of this scene anew. This, while confirming the long admitted difference between the writing of C and D, nevertheless brings out some true Shakespearian portions of the scene (i.e. III, 2) ; but above all it proves that, different though the writing of D (Plate III) appears to be from E's (Plate IV) on superficial inspection, the two Hands are really identical. This identity of D and E is proved by exhaustive letter-by-letter comparison (pp. 284-7), and they should never have been given different labels.

Summarising the outcome a vitally important *y*-spelling and calligraphic analysis, it is now established that :—

(1) the 211 lines in C's Hand were not author's autograph but a second copy, of low I_c ; (2) the 31 lines (37 ·6 equivalent) in E's Hand were autograph, like D's in the "Addition " ; (3) the observed Index I_a (37 ·26) of E is similar to D's I_a (39 ·24) and to that of the Earl of Derby (40 ·7), each subject to small $\pm$ probability deviations ; (4) E's script is *not* Dekker's, but William Stanley's ; (5) the spelling deviation of D and E (av. 26 ·9%) is virtually identical with

the Earl of Derby's observed average (27·5%), again each subject to small ± corrections.

When comparison is made between Addition IV (T.B. III, 2) and the uninspiring remnants of the original scene surviving in Hand S, we see how the order of events had been changed by cutting the originally single dialogue, between More and Faulkner, in two and interpolating the Surrey-Erasmus-More portion in between, with great enhancement of the dramatic effect; but the humorous Morris-Faulkner dialogue at the end in E's Hand (i.e. Stanley's) was added *after* the earlier part of the scene (T.B. III, 2) had been copied by C; that is the last bit beginning " What ailst thou " (Plate IV). The reasons previously advanced for identifying this bit (E) with Dekker are quite unconvincing. It is true that there are some resemblances to Dekker's writing and that the dialogue includes several phrases or words found in his Plays, especially *The honest whore* (1598), such as (modern spelling) " what ailst thou," " fare you well," ' nails,' ' sheep-shearing ' and ' 'sbloud ' ; also that the realistic sincerity of E's dialogue is quite in keeping with Dekker's style. There is however nothing exclusive about this ; he was some ten years junior to William Stanley and a study of his Plays shows clearly enough that he borrowed freely from Shakespeare both in style of dialogue as well as in peculiar words or turns of expression, such as " Get you to your nunnery," " If the devil were here I care not," and so on. In E's dialogue, short as it is, there are several most characteristic ' touches ' of Shakespeare,* not merely in humour and feeling, but in word play, quibbles, imagery, vocabulary, spelling and even in the words " farewell frost " (see p. 210) ; all of a type foreign to Dekker's dramatic Art. In his younger days he probably came in contact with William Stanley in London where he would have derived much inspiration from him, unconsciously imbibing both technique and phraseology. Dekker was not only a supporter but (like Barnfield) an *imitator* of Shakespeare, and he cannot be admitted as the writer of the dialogue because, apart from the decisive handwriting evidence, his spelling deviation and other frequencies are very different from E's (p. 288). There is clear evidence that not only these 31 lines of autograph were Shakespeare's but a good deal of the preceding 211 lines as well, copied in C's Hand as noted.

Using Brooke's arrangement for all references which follow, roughly 80% of these lines (III, 2) may be reasonably accepted as genuine, viz. much of lines 23-141, 183-282 and all 283-322, for though neither alliteration nor repetition is marked we find a thoroughly characteristic technique, with Shakespeare's vivid feeling for dramatic truth ; as for instance in the sweetness and dignity of the conversation in lines 192-241, or in Faulkner's behaviour (48-141, 252-322), or in such revealing phrases as : " foole painted Barbarisme," " hugg my grave," " poets were ever thought unfitt for State," " the sweetest heraldrie of art," " heers a lowsie Jest," " So Quick sir wth me, ha ? " " the thred of hazard," etc. The words " gospell against physicke " (III, 2, 214) recall *Macbeth* (V, 3, 47), and More's invitation " I make you m^{r} of my howse " (236) recalls not only the Earl of Derby's orthography but his magnanimity to his daughter-in-law (p. 34) many years later.

Beyond all this, there are other unsuspected Shakespearian interpolations, in the present writer's opinion, though not so easy to ' spot,' viz. considerable portions of IV, 2, 3 and 5 and perhaps II, 4, 246-273 and parts of V, 4, all in Hand S. Altogether, with these, the

* For instance quite a number of typical words or expressions anticipate the future Shakespeare. Thus in *Winter's Tale* we find (modern spelling) " What ailst thou " (III, 3, 83), " fooleries " (III, 2, 185) and " bag and baggage " (I, 2, 206), which is also found in *Edward III* and *As yau like it*, while such words as *'sblood, nails, sconce, vein, coxcomb, cut* etc. are of course common enough in the Canon.

genuine parts of the Play seem to be about 700 lines, here for brevity in discussion grouped under the letter **X**, while the rest of the Play is called **Y** ; the scattered portions called **X** being sufficient to apply statistical tests by way of comparison with **Y**. First there are in **X** 350 available lines of blank verse (discarding IV, 3, 51-59 as false verse) for fixation of *R* ; this is 65·8 from which the date calculates out at 1591·6 while for **Y**, *R* is very different (*R* = 163). Next the alliteration number of **X** (mean $a_p = 107$) is close to Shakespeare's mean, while for **Y** $a_p = 95$; so also the mean repeat index of **X** ($\rho = 24{\cdot}4$) is Shakespeare's, while that of **Y** is only 19. The spelling deviation of **X** ranges between 22 and 27% according to the Hand ; considerably higher than that of **Y**, if Hand B's small contribution with its freak spellings is ignored. The Northern *s*-plurals in the 700 lines of **X** are : *begets* (II, 4, 272), *thers* (IV, 2, 8) and *brings* (IV, 2, 20) while in **Y** comprising as many as 2134 lines there are only two [and these possible interpolations viz. *knowes* (II, 3, 44) and *comes* (IV, 1, 112)] if the permissive character-solecisms are ignored viz. *paies* (III, 1, 109) and *comes* (V, 2, 22 and 33). Finally the mean *y*-spelling frequency in **X** is much greater than in **Y** because of the high proportion in Hands D and E, but as for the rest of **X** the distribution of *y*-spellings is very patchy, being very low in Hand C (III, 2) and parts of Hand S (IV, 2, 90-112 and IV, 3, 26-95) probably because of double copying, but higher in other parts (IV, 2, 14-71, IV, 3, 1-25 and IV, 5) which seem to have been copied only once.

All these frequency figures amply confirm the literary evidence ; for in **X**, whether in Shakespeare's handwriting or not, the dramatic technique and idiom are distinctively his. In addition to those already noted the following distinguishing marks may be observed in **X** : Word play is found in : *more* (III, 2, 14 and IV, 5, 179), *broacht* (III, 2, 73), *haires* and *locks* (III, 2, 266, 274), *hayre* (III, 2, 312), *courte* (IV, 5, 34) and *grave* (IV, 5, 186). Typical metaphor or full imagery is seen in such words for instance as : *physickt, thred, dress* and *cutt* (III, 2, 13, 20, 35 and 259 respectively), in *sluicde* and *parley* (IV, 2, 32 and 77), *breed* (IV, 3, 81), *mawe, fortunes* and *bones* (IV, 5, 50, 98 and 168) ; the responsibility images of IV, 5, 13-24 and 43, and the nautical image of IV, 5, 27-29 being peculiarly Shakespearian. Characteristic philosophy relates to life in II, 4, 273, food in IV, 5, 121, pleasure in IV, 3, 93 and degree in IV, 5, 70-85 ; allusions to law are too frequent to quote ; the allusions to music (III, 2, 238, IV, 3, 11-16 and IV, 5, 45), to war (IV, 2, 32-70) and sport (IV, 2, 102) are in Shakespeare's style ; and personal sea-experience seems to be implicit in IV, 3, 53. In these various passages we find familiar syntactical construction, word repetition, antithetical conceits, rhyming couplets in tender situations and stately metrical rhythm ; all truly subordinated to the drama, which itself in places forecasts Shakespeare's later procedure, e.g. the parallel between Lady More's dream in IV, 3 and that of Clarence in *Richard III* (I, 4). Finally **X** is distinguished from **Y** by several typical spellings (e.g. 'throane IV, 5, 5) and Northern dialectical words such as : *blabs, disgest[ed]* (as in *Faire Em, Edward III* and *Julius Caesar*—Folio), *hom, lowsie, mitticall, ranck, ruff, ruffles* and *shagg* ; also there is some Northern idiom, e.g. " bag and baggage " already noted and " too heavie man."

William Stanley as part author.

The identification of Stanley's handwriting in the autograph Hands D and E is so fundamental to the whole problem of Shakespeare's identity, and the repercussion so far reaching, that such a solemn asseveration plainly demands the most critical scrutiny ; " For truth can never be confirmed enough / Though doubts did ever sleep (*Pericles*, V, 1, 203). In pursuance of this wise apothegm, confirmation of calligraphic identity has been sought by the most rigorous method known to Science—quantitative appeal to frequency tests ; where we find, as between D, E and Stanley, substantial equality in the frequency of various minuscle types, in dimensions of letters and in angle of letter slope, also virtually the same frequency in *y*-spellings (I_a), the same capital frequency and the same percentage spelling deviation. These are given on p. 290 ; and it is scarcely necessary to add that such numerical agreement in several idiosyncrasies of a most distinctive kind would be mathematically forbidden by the law of probability unless D, E and Stanley were really identical.

How Stanley came to be associated with other dramatists in a joint affair must be a matter of speculation, the more uncertain because there is no really unambiguous evidence of similar co-operation in other Plays. The present

writer's opinion, for what it is worth, is that while deeply engaged on the *Henry VI* trilogy he generously consented to extricate the other playwrights from a difficulty with the Censor ; and if originally only a new insurrection scene had been requested, his aroused interest must have induced him to go much further, though to such a consummate craftsman these scattered contributions would only have been a matter of a week or two at most. Be this as it may, the last 31 lines of III, 2 (Plate IV) bear all the impression of an afterthought hurriedly squeezed into a spare bit of space ; for after having made the extensive changes already noted in III, 2, on perusing C's copy (Addition IV) he found this blank space at the back and bottom of folio 13, and this must have tempted him to cramp in the telling fragment of humorous dialogue which, never having been copied, thus remains by a great piece of good fortune as another specimen of Shakespeare's writing. The history of the other interpolations, in II, 4, IV, 2, 3, and 5, is obscured by the fact that they are in S's Hand, but as observed there is evidence that some of these bits had been copied more than once, probably because they were untidy after many alterations, like C's III 2 whose low *I* indicates twice copying.

The Earl of Surrey appearing in the "Addition " (II, 4) cannot historically be Stanley's kinsman, the poet of III, 2, for he was only born about 1517, the date (May day) of the riot scene, and the Earl should be the poet's father, later 3rd Duke of Norfolk. This also is the date when Erasmus last visited England, while the Erasmus-Surrey dialogue of III, 2, takes place in More's Chelsea house which he did not enter till about 1523. Further, since More appears in the Play as Chancellor long before 1529 (the date of his elevation) it is evident that Shakespearian telescoping of events has entailed the usual historical confusion. But his reverence for the memory of More (*exec.* 1535) was probably very real, especially if founded on stories that Stanley had heard as a boy from his grandfather the 3rd Earl of Derby, who being so familiar with Henry VIII was no doubt also intimate with Henry's one-time favourite More. The present writer has not been able to trace Stanley-connections with Chelsea then, but later the 6th Earl's son, Sir Robert Stanley, who lived in a house on the site of the Principal's house, St. Mary's college, was buried (p. 53) in the More chapel of the (recently bomb-demolished) Chelsea Old Church, rebuilt by More in 1528. This Church is mentioned in IV, 3, 38.

Three problematical Plays.

Arden of Feversham, whose *R*-value and I_p give a calculated date about 1581 if genuine, *Lord Cromwell*, similarly dated about 1584 and *Birth of Merlin*, similarly dated about 1588, though weak Plays, all conform to most of the criteria discussed in Chapter X, including Northern *s*-plurals (of which there are many) and frequency tests. The fact that *L.C.* was ascribed on the title page of the 1602 Q to " W.S." and *B. of M.* (1662) to " William Shakespear and William Rowley " is no evidence of genuineness, seeing that *London Prodigall*, *Locrine*, *Pvritaine Widdow*, *Yorkshire Tragedy* and *Two Noble Kinsmen* were spuriously ascribed wholly or in part to Shakespeare or W.S. on their Q title pages. Literary ethics in those days were decidedly loose and no title page ascription can be accepted as valid unless genuineness is established by critical tests. But as regards the first three above, which for lack of space cannot be discussed here, it must suffice to say that the present writer after very full and careful analysis accepts them as genuine early Plays discarded by the author as unworthy of revision. The best of the three, *B. of M.*, is interesting on account of the Cheshire connections implicit not only in the

fiery Earl of Chester, Edoll (really the Earl of Gloucester in legendary history) but in the mention of " Hell-bree " (III, 4, 130) i.e. Hilbre Island at the mouth of the Dee estuary N. Wales.

Summary of evidence from the early Plays.

The Plays analysed in this and the previous Chapter have for many years been the subjects of endless orthodox dissension, largely because the Shaksperian microscope has given a distorted picture of their genetic origin by perfectly logical reasoning from faulty premises. The Gordian knot of conflicting opinion is now cut by a general induction taking account of many observed data, new and old, qualitative and quantitative ; and among the latter are certain distinctive frequencies two of which (*y*-spelling and *R*-value) dependent on time enable dates to be calculated with fair approximation. The new analytical procedure has led to some far-reaching generalisations which are best summarised under the familiar name Shakespeare :—

First, the refutation of current theories as to his re-furbishing predecessors' Plays ; such theories are fallacious, for though it is true that he freely employed " sources " of the most diverse kinds and transformed some early Dramas out of recognition there is no evidence, worthy of the name, that he " touched up " Plays of Greene or anyone else. Second, the proof that he frequently remodelled his own earlier drafts, some of which have been wrongly, and therefore unjustly, assumed to be the Plays of contemporaries that he " worked over " or plagiarised. Third, the absence of any but the flimsiest evidence of late collaboration with Fletcher, Rowley, Wilkins or any coadjutor. Fourth the astonishingly large output of Plays prior to about 1590 ; and the list on p. 203 shows that, excluding the three problematical Plays, the unknown Ur-*Hamlet* and part of *Sir Thomas More*, they comprise* some 6 Histories, 4 Comedies, one Tragedy and one Romance.

Five of these 12 Plays, revised later, found their way into the Canon [(1) *Henry VI*, *Pericles*, *T. Andronicus*, *L.L.L.* and *T.G.V.*] and in regard to the other seven it is small wonder that commentators, tied to Shakspere who only began his career as actor about 1587, have been loth to admit or have rejected their authenticity. Yet, despite the gulf which separates the earliest of them [*Faire Em*] from Shakespeare's mature drama, they are all genuine and, except for some foreign matter in *Pericles*, wholly genuine. This is now demonstrable by criteria of the most diverse kinds, literary as well as statistical, the latter (being impersonal and so independent of shifting standards) having special importance in the case of those abnormally *high* frequencies which distinguish Shakespeare. Thus, lumping all 12 Plays together, the mean repeat index ρ is 24, the same as the canonical mean, and the mean alliteration number a_p is 114 (canonical mean 113) without any notable differences between the canonical and non-canonical members of the twelve or between early portions and later revision. So again, just as with other Shakespearian Quartos or the Folio, the frequency of Northern *s*-plurals though variable is always high in the early texts of all 12 Plays, much higher for instance than in the inadmissible Apocryphal Plays (p. 172) whose average ρ is also low (about 20) and whose mean a_p is only 73.

All these early Plays are mutually inter-linked by idiosyncratic verbal ties, palpably signifying common authorship, confirmed by a unique idiom and by numerous dramatic or phrase parallels, not only with each other but also with

* *Faire Em*, (1) *Henry VI*, (1) and (2) *T.R.*, *Mucedorus*, *Pericles* (first draft), *Tit. And.*, *Edward III*, (1) and (2) *Contention*, *L.L.L.* and *T.G.V.*

the canonical Plays. When in fact each of the twelve is critically dissected out for crucial idiosyncrasies, each conforms to the requirements of the composite test laid down in Chap. X (pp. 168-178) which as a virtual finger-print excludes (even as part-authors) Marlowe or any other dramatist, none of whom shared all or even most of the distinguishing peculiarities implicit in this collective criterion. Approximate dates of composition or, where revised, of their first drafts (when considerable relics survive as in (1) *Henry VI*, the *T.R.* pair and *Pericles*) have been computed by the *R*-formula (whose reliability has been proved against Plays of known or highly probable date), which calculated dates are further roughly confirmed by the *y*-spelling standard equations (i.e. for first Quartos), except in the case of *Mucedorus* (presumed to have been copied more than once during re-handling) ; also approximately by percentage spelling deviation and by the frequency of obsolete spellings. The dates, of deepest interest in showing the steady advance of Shakespeare's Art, are fundamental in so far as, being early, they prove that the ubiquitous parallels with later canonical Plays were actual author's forecasts, not imitations by any playwright copyist. These dates show that long before the published name Shakespeare had appeared in 1593 and before Greene had denounced " Shake-scene " as an " upstart crow," the poet-dramatist had not only accomplished an orderly sequence of Dramas but was already in 1590 in the very fore-front of drama, indeed showing those supreme qualities which rank him as being" not of an age, but for all time." It is probably true, in fact practically certain from what both Greene (1592) and Ben Jonson (1616) said, that Shakspere trafficked in some of these Plays even boasting to his actor colleagues that he was the author ; but the dramatist whom we call Shakespeare was as yet anonymous—not known by *that* name even to Spenser, whose praise in 1591 for contemporary poets was so lavish that he could hardly omit mentioning the name.

Returning now to the identity issue, first it is obvious that the inexorable demands of time exclude the raw " rustic " of Stratford-on-Avon ; further since the novel technique of the anonymous young dramatist was altogether *sui generis*, he was certainly not one of the recognised playwrights but manifestly a ' dark horse ' very much in the background. Gathering up the threads of a great variety of relevant observations into a general induction the essence of which is to escape inconsistency at all points, most outstanding is the group of facts surrounding *Faire Em* (especially the Cheshire-Lancashire setting and mention of Sir Edmund Trafford) all of which point unequivocally to William Stanley as author ; conformably with another set of facts (especially those connected with Nerac and Richard Lloyd) which single him out for *L.L.L.* Next must be noted the indisputable ties which so clearly link *Faire Em* with *Mucedorus* and *Edward III* ; so too, certain verbal peculiarities and the expressions " bag and baggage," " farewell frost " and " thred of life " link these three Plays with the Shakespearian fragments of *Sir Thomas More* in Stanley's handwriting. Other expressions such as " thred of life," " level at," etc., in the above also appear in *Pericles*, while other parallels (" leveld at my crowne," " cooling card," " set downe the load," etc.) link the *T.R.* pair with *Mucedorus*, the *Contention* pair, the *Henry VI* trilogy and *Richard III*. But besides characteristic idiom much other evidence that need not be recapitulated demonstrates single authorship of the twelve Plays ; and the logical implication of all this manifest inter-connection involving the holograph *More* fragments by Stanley needs no stressing with such a golden key in hand as handwriting.

The French element (particularly Angers and the Southern districts) in the *T.R.* Plays and (1) *Henry VI*, betraying acquaintance with the Lille letter

(p. 80), the prominence given to Stanley's ancestors in *Edward III* and the *Contention* Plays, the anachronisms touching the Earl of Cumberland in the latter and the Earl of Derby in the former, homologous with that in *Richard III*, the Spanish element and hermit's disguise in *Mucedorus*, with its author's advice to the Queen, the familiarity with the Eastern Mediterranean in *Pericles* and with the canal system of Northern Italy in *T.G.V.*, these and a number of similar biographical coincidences too numerous to quote fall harmoniously into line with Stanley's life-history, with his travels in foreign lands (perhaps even Russia in *L.L.L.*), with his experience of Courts, with State diplomacy, peace treaties, war strategy, sea affairs, legal niceties, hunting, horses (even wagers), falconry, music, astrology and sorcery, most of which, in one way or another, in action or images, crop up *characteristically* (often conspicuously) in *all* twelve Plays. Two (*Faire Em* and *L.L.L.*) show undeniable links with Lancashire or Cheshire and all indirectly betray strong Northern affinities, whether in abundant *s*-plurals, dialectical words uncommon in the South or occasional Northern idiom.

Finally the unusually high repeat index ρ (24) of these Plays, which is Shakespeare's mean figure, is identical with the Earl of Derby's observed average ; also as noticed the various calligraphic and other frequencies of the *More* fragments are all practically identical with his observed frequencies, thus confirming many tell-tale tricks of writing (flourishes etc.) revealed by calligraphic analysis. Such a formidable array of facts, here briefly epitomised, permits only one interpretation, because *any* alternative to this unique solution is inductively forbidden by some of the facts. These twelve Dramas were all from Stanley's pen no less than the parts discussed of *Sir Thomas More*, and the Canon itself.

CHAPTER XII

EARLIEST POEMS

SURELY no poet ever dispensed lofty verse so effortlessly as Shakespeare and it may be fairly assumed that, though nothing in the Canon indicates how the Muse guided his "new borne quill," she bestowed the divine gift of poetry when he was very young. Indeed the vigorous renascence of the '80,s, when all sorts of University youths were dabbling in it for sheer joy, or even earlier when Spenser was already experimenting with prosody at the tender age of 17, is sufficient guarantee that the greatest of all poets was not so paralysed that he too did not "catch the plague." The thought is preposterous, but conversely we may ask whether any early fragments have survived, buried among the mass of contemporary anonymous Lyrics, and if so how they may be distinguished from the effusions of other young men, principally: Greville, Kyd, Lodge, Lyly, Raleigh, Sidney, Spenser and Watson, all of whom were still in their 20,s in 1580; or Daniel, Drayton, Greene, Marlowe, Peele and Southwell of a slightly later generation. They comprise well known figures, each of whom though not perhaps surely identifiable nevertheless had very definite limitations; but in addition there were several concealed aristocratic poets about then among whom the 17th Earl of Oxford, Lord Strange and William Stanley were the most distinguished.

Concentrating on Shakespeare in the abstract irrespective of identity, the problem is to investigate Lyrics, Odes etc. that might be his, in the light of the criteria discussed in Chapter X, making allowance for immaturity which however would hardly affect the three chief quantitative indicators of genuineness; that is mean repeat index ρ (24), mean alliteration number a_r (128) and mean frequency of Northern *s*-plurals (about 1 in 370 lines). But as to qualitative pattern we may expect to find great diversity and, in any single youthful Poem, whether grave or gay, some at least of the numerous hall-marks of maturity (law, music, astrology, magic, sport, nature and philosophy, compressed thought, assonance, antithesis, word play and euphuistic quibbles, smooth overflowing rhythm, light fantasy, erotic licence, bold personification, primitive imagery, etc.), always distinctive vocabulary and captivating sincerity, but never periphrastic drivel.

Date formula.

Some indication of the composition-date of any such anonymous Poem, if short, is given by obsolete spellings and percentage deviation (p. 175), while if long *and genuine* the Index I_p is of value; but the frequency of pause-less line endings (including optional) is better because it is independent of printing history. If S is given the same meaning for rhyme as R for blank verse, and is computed exactly like R (p. 168) the S-formula for Shakespeare is :—

$$\log S = 2\cdot2 - \cdot04\, v$$

where v = date − 1580.

This S-formula however is less reliable than the R-formula for several reasons; mainly because pauseless S-lines are less sharply defined in rhyme

than *R*-lines in blank verse, but also because prosody permits occasionally some elasticity in the definition of a ' line ' or verse which was sometimes arbitrarily made a hemistich, but is unambiguous in the case of heroic couplets. Where there is no ambiguity, observations show clearly that the frequency of *S*-lines in Shakespeare's versification mostly underwent a progressive change conformably with the above mathematical expression, though not in the case of *Venus and Adonis*, whose *S*-value is 97. Since that of *Lucrece* is only 48·8 though published the next year, it must be assumed that *V. and A.*, revised in 1593, had been written years earlier and the date calculated for $S = 97$ works out at 1585·3 which of course is only approximate. But the reliability of the *S*-formula is shown by the fact that it gives results in agreement with *R*-calculated dates for Plays containing rhyme, e.g. for *M.N.D.* whose *S* is 42, the *S*-formula gives date 1594, or for *All's well* whose *S* is 19·6 and calculated date 1602. [The *S*-value (95) of the rhyme in *L.L.L.* gives a date (calc.) 1589].

Where there are insufficient lines to get a reliable frequency, the *S*-formula is useless (individual Sonnets, Lyrics etc.). The chance of finding an *S*-line for instance in a single 14-line Sonnet is determined by the probability law (p. 154), making $\mu = 14/S$; and in the case of Shakespeare's Sonnets whose overall *S*-line frequency is $\frac{1}{S} = \frac{1}{51 \cdot 7}$ the probability is only about ·2 (i.e. 20% chance) while even in a large group of Sonnets of higher frequency, where say $S = 28$, the probability of finding no *S*-line in one of them is 6. But for longer Poems or grouped Poems of similar date, long enough to give an approach to a true frequency figure, the formula may be relied upon to give at least approximate dates, and thus for example the time when *Lucrece* was written works out as 1593 and *The Lovers complaint* as 1600 (see p. 155). The dates of the Sonnets are discussed in Appendix III, from which it will be seen that among the earliest are 18, addressed to the " dark lady," whose average date works out at about 1588.

Edmund Spenser and William Stanley.

Stanley's youth coincided with Gabriel Harvey's attempt to impose a classical metre on English poetry, the revolt against which was led after some hesitation by Sidney and Spenser, to both of whom all honour is due for having restored the native versification of Wyatt and Surrey. Stanley some 9 years younger than Spenser and too young to play any part in this prosodic crisis, was then in contact with keen University wits, or was during vacations at Court, Knowsley, Lathom or Channon Row, which were steeped in literary culture. His boyish efforts at poetry in the '70,s would no doubt be thrown away ; nevertheless one has undoubtedly survived of date 1577 (p. 242) ; beyond which we seem to catch a glimpse of him in what Spenser said in 1579 about the irrepressible " Willye," below.

Spenser must have known him quite intimately ; he claimed to be a relative of Lady Strange (*née* Alice Spencer) Stanley's sister-in-law, of whom Spenser spoke in terms of warm gratitude, while referring to Lord Strange as " the very Paterne of right Nobilitie," when he dedicated to her *The teares of the Muses* in 1591. To one of her sisters, Anne Lady Compton and Mounteagle he dedicated *Mother Hubberds Tale* (1591) and to another Elizabeth, Lady Carey, his *Fate of the Butterflie* (1590), gratefully acknowledging their bounty. He also wrote a dedicatory letter (in *Fowre hymnes*, 1596) to the Countess of Warwick and the Countess of Cumberland, that is Margaret Russell wife of William Stanley's Uncle. There is thus abundant evidence of association between Spenser and William's relatives ; also after he died it was Stanley's enthusiastic cousin, Anne Clifford then Countess of Dorset, who erected the original monument (1620) to Spenser in Westminster Abbey. From early friendships and from what he wrote, it is generally believed that Spenser was in

Lancashire as a young man in 1576-7, probably with his kinsfolk at Hurstwood near Burnley, where he would easily be in touch with Lathom and Knowsley ; this about the time he is supposed to have fallen in love with " Rosalind," a year or two before Lord Strange married his (Spenser's) relative. It was then no doubt that he met the sprightly young William ; while further contact would be possible when the latter was a student at Gray's Inn, and Spenser, then 27 years old, was living in Westminster under the patronage of the Earl of Leicester (1579 - 1580). At all events when in 1579 Spenser under the pseudonym " Immerito " published *The Shepheards Calender*, he featured an exuberant youth " Willye " or " Willie " in two quaint dialogues, one for the month of March (Aegloga tertia) between ' Willye ' and ' Thomalin,' and the other for August (Aegloga octava) between ' Willie ' and ' Perigot,' with ' Cuddie ' as judge of the contest. There is no certain means of identifying individuals under the fancy names* Thomalin, Perigot and Cuddie, but there can be no reasonable doubt about the gay, spirited, effervescent boy he called Willye, whose incipient sagacity peeps out in " Willyes emblem " for March in the words : " To be wise and eke to love is graunted scarce to God above." This apophthegm, a rendering of Laberius's *Amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur*, was later adopted by Shakespeare in *Troilus and Cressida* (III, 2, 163 " to be wise, and love / Exceeds man's might ; that dwells with gods above ").

Though Spenser never anywhere mentioned the name Shakespeare, it is certain that the two poets had an intense respect for each other, as will appear. When some 11 or 12 years after the date of the *Calender*, Spenser in 1591 again referred to " Willy " he was evidently speaking of the same joyous Willye of 1579, but now as a brilliant poet with the attributes of Shakespeare himself ; and Lefranc's belief that this 1591 Willy was none other than William Stanley is fully confirmed by what follows. First we know that Spenser was once more back in London between November 1589 and Spring 1591, soon after which on his return to Kilcolman in Ireland he wrote *Colin Clouts come home againe*, containing the four lines of praise to Aetion, generally admitted to be Shakespeare, and already (p. 52) reasonably identified with Stanley. [This Aetion was one of the numerous poets eulogised whom Spenser must have met either at Court or elsewhere in London, and it was no doubt the renewal of acquaintance that induced Spenser in 1589 to beg from him the Poem-testimonials mentioned on p. 238.]

Next, about the same time (1590) Spenser wrote *The teares of the Muses* published in 1591. It is here through the mouth of Thalia that he gently scolded " Willy " for retiring into " idle Cell," holding him responsible, as the context shows, for the cessation of " the sweete delights " of graceful Comedies (see p. 189) which had hitherto given " unhurtful sport / Delight, and Laughter." Unbiassed study of Thalia's 10 stanzas makes it clear enough that these lovely Comedies prior to 1591 could only be Shakespeare's, but here it will be sufficient to quote only the 6th, 7th and 8th in order to see what Spenser thought of the poetic sweetness of " that same gentle Spirit " whom he called Willy :—

> And he, the man whom Nature selfe had made
> To mock herselfe, and Truth to imitate,
> With kindly counter under Mimick shade,
> Our pleasant Willy, Ah ! is dead of late :
> With whom all joy and jolly meriment
> Is also deaded, and in dolour drent.

* Spenser's handling of Thomalin (March and July) is suggestive of Thomas Lodge, then about 20, an Oxford graduate, " servitor " to Sir Edward Hoby (p. 88) and a Stanley *protégé* (p. 38) whilst Perigot (August) might suit Ferdinando, Lord Strange, then in love with Alice Spencer. Hobbinol was no doubt Gabriel Harvey.

In stead thereof scoffing Scurrilitie,
And scornfull Follie with Contempt is crept,
Rolling in rymes of shameles ribaudrie
Without regard, or due Decorum kept;
Each idle wit at will presumes to make,
And doth the Learneds taske upon him take.

But that same gentle Spirit, from whose pen
Large streames of honnie and sweete Nectar flowe,
Scorning the boldnes of such base-borne men,
Which dare their follies forth so rashlie throwe,
Doth rather choose to sit in idle Cell,
Than so himselfe to mockerie to sell.

The significance of these lines, as a sequel to the first five stanzas about the Comedies, lies not merely in Spenser's use of the word ' same ' as a connecting link between the 6th and 8th stanzas, with the attribute ' gentle ' (then often connoting high-born) to distinguish Willy from " base-borne men," but in the use of the crucial word ' Our ' for Willy, because this Poem with the others was dedicated to " THE LADIE STRANGE," William Stanley's sister-in-law, as already noted. This familiar term *our*, congruous to Stanley and Lady Strange, would certainly be unintelligible as applied to William Shakspere, then an obscure actor, who certainly did not move in the circles which at that time were the *milieu* of Spenser in London. Yet it is reasonably self-evident that the latter was speaking of the future Shakespeare, for surely no one else could have called forth such a tribute, nor is any other author conceivable in 1591 for the brilliant Comedies which are so specifically linked with Willy's deplored lapse into " idle Cell." This of course has been frankly recognised by some orthodox commentators, but others, unable to reconcile the circumstances and especially the early date, with the " factotum " described by Greene as an " upstart " in 1592, have burked the plain Shakespearian implication and attempted to explain away Willy by threadbare (and contradictory) theories.

Even John Lyly (*d.* 1606) and the comedian Richard Tarleton (*d.* 1588) have been proposed, despite their Christian names, as the originals of Willy, the second by Halliwell-Phillipps on the slender grounds that some one (who certainly could not have known) wrote Tarleton's name 20 years later in a 1611 edition of Spenser's *Minor Poems* opposite " Willy." This would mean that Spenser used the word " dead " in its literal sense instead of figuratively (as was the word " deaded " in the first stanza quoted), a stupid idea which overlooks the words " that same gentle spirit," where the present tense shows that Willy was very much alive; it also overlooks the implication of the previous stanzas referring to delightful early Comedies that could only be Shakespeare's. Looney rightly equated " Willy " to Shakespeare but as the Earl of Oxford, whose Christian name was Edward, thus like some other commentators gratuitously assuming that the name " Willy " was a purely fancy one, and not a real one for the poet. Similarly attempts also have been made to identify Spenser's " Willy " as Sir Philip Sidney, and at least with some justification, for there is a Poem in Francis Davison's *Poetical Rapsodie* (1602) entitled " Eclogue made long since on the death of Sir Philip Sidney " by 'A.W.,' in which the hero is lamented in the name of " Willy." The unknown 'A.W.' (see p. 260) must have written his Eclogue about 1587 after Sidney's death from wounds at Zutphen and so thought that Spenser's original ' Willye ' of 1579 meant Sidney, but without good reason. It is true that Spenser gave all sorts of fancy names in his Poems to contemporaries, though the identity of several of them was and still remains in doubt (' Cuddie ' for example, doubtfully identified with the Earl of Oxford), but 'Astrophel ' and ' Phillisides ' were always Spenser's pseudonyms for Sidney. Nowhere, in fact, except in the above Eclogue, has Sidney ever been called Willy, and A.W.'s error in doing so was partly rectified in succeeding editions of *D.P.R.* (1608 and 1611) by changing ' Willy ' to ' Sidney ' in the 13th stanza; but in any case the Willy of 1591, *who was certainly alive* and clearly took refuge " in idle Cell," could not have been Sidney who died in 1586.

Still another candidate for the honour of identification with Spenser's Willy is Richard Willey or Willies (Rollins), a man approaching 50 in 1591, as to whom there is no evidence that he was a " gentle spirit " who ever wrote Comedies or had the poetic attributes of youthful Shakespeare; his interests being essentially religious and geographical.

This conflict of opinion about Willy is another example of acute orthodox dissension due to Shaksperian premises which offer an open field to any William, Richard, Philip or Edward dead or alive according to unfettered fancy ; but when *all* the relevant circumstances are inductively taken into account there is only one answer without incompatibility at any point : William Stanley. Even Spenser's allusion to " idle Cell " reflects his habits of seclusion just as the words " Our pleasant Willy " sum up a lovable urbane disposition well known to his sister-in-law. It was the same poetic Stanley who was the subject of another allusion, so early as 1588, to ' Willy ' and " Willies Poems " by Abraham Fraunce in *The Arcadian Rhetorike* ; at least the description fits him, for Fraunce referred to the then occasional practice of fancifully casting verse into the shape of different objects and noted that " so hath *Willy* represented the figure of a sword "—a most likely thing for the heroic Stanley to do in 1588, and quite in keeping with Spenser's later Action words (p. 52) " like himselfe heroically sound."

Other literary evidence indicating intimacy about 1589 - 1590 between Spenser and the as yet un-named Shakespeare i.e. Stanley, is found in two generous testimonials, among the six prefacing the first three Books of the *Faerie Queene*, which was entered in December 1589. Both were ascribed to Stanley in *S.S.* ; one (the first) conveniently called the ' Laura Sonnet ' and the other (the last) a Lyric signed ' Ignoto.' The former which is headed "A Vision upon this conceipt of the Faery Queene " has been erroneously ascribed to Sir Walter Raleigh, partly because orthodoxy could hardly be expected to recognise Shakespeare's hand in a glowing Sonnet of 1589, and partly because the immediately following (very inferior) lines are signed " W.R." but headed* "Another of the same " as if Raleigh composed the first. Spenser, it is true, had a high opinion of Raleigh, whom he called the " sommers Nightingale " in 1589 (perhaps out of gratitude for bringing him to the notice of the Queen) and as Stanley did not initial the Laura Sonnet it might have been somehow linked with the inferior Poem when Spenser was putting his testimonials together ; but however the assumption arose the Sonnet is certainly *not* Raleigh's. Most of his poetry admittedly has been lost but sufficient is extant to show that it was heavily un-Shakespearian ; moreover though his alliteration number is generally high (mean $a_r = 140$) it is only 81 in his W.R. testimonial to F.Q., and his average repeat index ρ is barely 20. But in this Laura Sonnet $a_r = 166$ and $\rho = 24$ (Shakespeare's mean), with such tell-tale repetitions as : *Laura*[*s*], *faire*[*r*], *Queene*, *see*[*ne*], *lay* [*laid*], *to*, *where*, *all*, *that*, *buried*, and *did*. Apart from this, the quaint imagination, the idiom, stately cadence and strictly canonical structure of this beautiful Sonnet indelibly stamp it as genuine, and indeed it is a fine specimen of *known* early date.

The other testimonial, signed ' Ignoto,' commencing " To looke upon a worke of rare devise," has decidedly Shakespearian characteristics, but in different (*V. and A.*) versification, without exaggerated alliteration ($a_r = 115$). Its repeat index is high ($\rho = 27$) with such striking repetitions as : *worke*, *workmanship*, *doubt*, *prise*, *envy*, *dew* (due), *goodnes*[*s*], *looke*, *hoast*, *custome*[*s*], *such*, *man*, and others, all in 24 lines. The vocabulary, phrasing, imagination, sincerity and rhythm sharply distinguish this testimonial from other poetry of the period. Both the testimonials may be accepted without reserve.

* A similar heading twice in *Englands Helicon* fails to indicate the same *author* ; one is Shakespeare's Ode (Pandion Ode, p. 253) and the other is a Poem by Sidney headed "Another of the same" following the Prometheus Poem signed " S.E.D." (Dyer) ; " same " here meaning same *subject*, a reply.

Next, as suggesting contacts, there is the ' Dowland ' Sonnet (p. 250) praising Spenser, and finally the long Poem *Brittain's Ida*, now discussed in full.

Brittain's Ida.

Thomas Walkley who published *B.I.* in 1628 said that he was " assured " that Spenser [long since dead] must have written it, an assurance which is as untrustworthy as his belief that Shakespeare was dead when he published *Othello* in 1622. Grosart in 1869 ascribed *B.I.* to Phineas Fletcher, but as will be now shown Shakespearian authorship (first suggested by Bright) is demonstrated by all the fundamental criteria outlined on pp. 168-178. Walkley's ludicrous ascription is disproved not merely by the whole Shakespearian style but by the explicit words of the introductory proem (beneath two Latin lines headed ' Martial ') whose terms show that it was written by the author himself in presenting *B.I.* ; for this author *praises* Spenser and refers unambiguously to the " lasting numbers " of his great work [*Faerie Queene*], apologising indeed for employing " learned Spencer's Muse " in a less " serious flight," in order to " feed your eare / With love's delightsome toys." In *B.I.* he proceeds to do so with a voluptuous non-Spenserian realism which, despite his adoption of Spenser's Muse, strongly recalls the bold licence of *Venus and Adonis*. Speaking familiarly (opening line of *B.I.*) of " Ida Vale " [near Troy], the author to some extent reveals his attributes : he is young, a beginner who modestly distrusts his " new borne quill " (Canto III, 11), he is an intense admirer of Classic Art (III, 12) and of Spenser, but evidently fears to commit " The serious follies of unskilfull men " (proem) , also there is a little personal touch in the concluding three lines of the Poem reminiscent of the love sentiments in item (2) *d* of *P.P.* (p. 249).

The metrical sweetness and erotic freedom might be Marlowe's, but not the vocabulary and idiom which are Shakespeare's own ; as seen in words such as : *arected* (upright), *bounty-hood*, *breath* (life), *clozes* (closets), *disparted*, *haplesse*, *ingraved* (buried), *moult* (molten), *raps* (transports), *store* (abundance), *swarted* etc., also in nouns as verbs (*captiv'd*, *courag'd*, *prison'd*), and in many typical expressions, like : " blabbing Echo," " clearest moone," " sugred straines," " naked Love," " fickle worlds," " wanton curles," " thievish eyes," " Beauty's regiment " (rule), " heavens perfection," " map of heaven," " So sweete a lodge," " betweene their dainty hemisphaeres " [breasts], " night is Loves hollyday," and many other phrases surely coined in the Master's mint. A specimen from each Canto is shown below :—

Canto I Ah Foole ! to seeke so farre what neerer might be found
„ II For Venus hated his all-blabbing light
„ III Yet seem'd to blush at such their wanton blisses
„ IV his flitting soul, to heav'n translated
„ V Ah Foole ! faint heart faire lady ne're could win
„ VI Look as a ward, long from his lands detain'd.

Parallels with *Venus and Adonis* are quite numerous not only in the general situation but in the legal kiss-repayment quibble (Canto VI), in the words " more wounds," " The tusked boare " etc., also in the long drawn out description of Venus in her bower (10 stanzas of Canto III) which simulates the exhaustive treatment of various themes in both *V. and A.* and *Lucrece*. Further parallels are found : in the Echo imagery (Canto I, 7 ; II, 9) with *12th Night* (I, 5, 294) ; in the " Arabian onely bird " (Canto III) with *Phœnix and the Turtle* ; in " well tun'd hounds " with *M.N.D.* (IV, 1, 130) ; in " hot desire " with Sonnet **154** ; in "Ah Foole " thrice appearing (Cantos I and V) with another Sonnet (item 2 *a*, p. 249) of *P.P.*

In view of all this convincing internal evidence only two alternatives are open : either the Poem is a genuine piece by the immature Shakespeare or

it is the later work of some clever poet copyist, Phineas Fletcher for instance who is commonly accepted as author because of numerous parallels with his poetry. If so, Fletcher must have imitated Shakespeare's realistic sincerity and poetical prodigality on a wholesale scale, which while not impossible is wildly improbable—personification, imagery, word play, verbal repetition, syntactical licence, quibbling conceits, peculiar vocabulary, musical atmosphere, glowing imagination, high alliteration and rampant antithesis. But Fletcher, a later poet, never in any of his poetry approached such *diverse* Shakespearian luxuriance and it is fair to conclude that his parallelisms were inspired by *B.I.* no less than by *V. and A.* itself. That he certainly did *not* write *B.I.* is proved unambiguously by a statistical comparison of its frequencies with those of his own work. First the *S*-value of *B.I.* (57), much lower than Marlowe's in *Hero and Leander*, is nearly double Fletcher's general average (33); the repeat index ρ (19·3) though low is considerably higher than his sampled mean (16); the alliteration number a_r of *B.I.* is 126 as against Fletcher's general average only 94; and there is one Northern *s*-plural ('acquaints,' in the Argument of Canto V) in 456 lines total, as against an overall Fletcher-frequency of only one in more than 1500 lines. All these carefully counted figures are decisively incompatible with Fletcher but collectively normal to Shakespeare, including even the low ρ value which is found in some Sonnets and in *V. and A.*

The date of *B.I.* is crucial and somewhere about 1590, when Fletcher was a small boy, follows from several considerations. The I_p (6·3) is abnormally high for printing in 1628; Fletcher's I_p in *Appolyonists* printed in 1627 is only 3·5, in his *Piscatorie Eclogs* and *Purple Island* (both 1633) it is only ·7, and overall Fletcher's I_p is barely 1·5. The spelling deviation of *B.I.* (13·6%) is also very high for 1628 ($D_{calc.} = 10·5$), about the same as in *Appolyonists* (13·2%) but much higher than that of Fletcher's 1633 Poems, whose mean is below 7%. The very high deviation (18%) of the proem of *B.I.*, itself indicative of early date, is in conformity with its matter, especially the graceful allusion to the *Faerie Queene* of 1589 and sincere eulogy of the "stately Muse" of "learned" Spenser.

It is true that superficial reading of this proem suggests a date after the Queen's decease, partly because of the word "erst" (1st line) as applied to "Elizaes* praise" (i.e. in *F.Q.* published in 1590) and partly because of the word "her" (4th line). But "erst" also applied to recent events (e.g. as in *F.Q.*, II, C 3, 11, or as Shakespeare used the word in Sonnet 12, *Faire Em* etc.) and in any case *F.Q.* must have been in circulation long before 1590; while the words "her foes" (4th line) have nothing to do with the Queen but refer to "Vertue" (line 3) just as "Shee" was not the Queen but Spenser's Muse.

One other word might also appear to discredit early date, viz. the neuter possessive "It's" in *B.I.* (Canto II st. 9) instead of the usual "his" as in II, 3 and III, 8; because 'its' did not come into general (printed) use till about 1600. But as is well known, the word 'its' was in colloquial use before then, and though Shakespeare used either 'his' or the old genitive 'it' (as for instance in *K.J.* II, 1, 160, and still common in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire) and probably never 'its,' the appearance of the genitive 'its' nine times in the 1623 Folio is no doubt due to editorial modernisation of the old possessive 'it.' This is at least the only way of accounting for 'its' in the early Play (2) *Henry VI* (III, 2, 393) first printed in 1623, and the same explanation would apply to *B.I.* printed in 1628; the original 'It' having been modernised to 'It's.'

The smooth Shakespearian rhythm of the proem, its characteristic word repetition (*Muse, Vertue, Grace*) its alliteration ($a_r = 120$), the close structural resemblance to Sonnet 126 (dated by the writer as about 1587 (p. 320) and the parallel with the Laura Sonnet (p. 238) in praising Spenser through the Virtue—Grace conceit, all stamp the lines as genuine as the Poem itself; but as to the addressee, the words would suggest that it was the 'reader' (in

* She was called Elisae and Elisa in the Elvetham proceedings of 1591 (p. 74).

which case an intention, never carried out, to publish would be implied) but it might have been some private friend like " Maister R. L." (p. 250).

More precise, if only approximate, indications of the date of B.I. are furnished by calculation from the I_p by the standard equations (p. 153) on reasonable assumptions as to copying, giving about 1590, a date confirmed by the *S*-formula ($S = 57$) which works out at 1591. Such a date would explain the high proportion of archaic spellings (for printing in 1628) like : *eie, sence, sinckes, unweeting, venter* etc. and even obsolete words such as : *plain* (complain), *daedale* (skilful), *descry* (describe), *swounding, wonning* (dwelling), *wonnd* etc.

It may be that the author, as 'Willy,' submitted *B.I.* to Spenser for approval when the latter was in London, but was discouraged by his severe puritanical criticism ; at all events the two Latin lines " Martial " heading the proem apply to Spenser in so far as they herald the intention of using " Spencer's Muse " (so in the proem) in the lighter vein of Virgil's gnat rather than of his Aeneid i.e. 'Arms and the Man,' and the appositeness of this heading (which betrays the same eclectic study of Latin verse as those heading *V. and A.*) is intelligible in relation to Spenser's *Virgils Gnat*, written before the death of the Earl of Leicester in 1588. However this may be, the romance of Anchises and Venus in *B.I.* by its vigorous word painting exquisitely betrays the master craftsman, whose smooth overflowing periods and imagery had no rival. This romance was even foreshadowed by Spenser himself who in his *F.Q.* occasionally referred to Ida, as for example in Book II Canto XII, Book III Cantos IX and XI, just as he occasionally referred to Venus and Adonis. But in *The Shepheards Calender* of 1579 he definitely associated Ida with Willy; first in the July Aeglogue when he made Willy's friend Thomalin talk about " Ida hyll," and second, in the August Aeglogue when he made ' Willie ' say :—

" The shepheard of Ida that judgéd beauties Queene "

both allusions being clearly to Anchises and Venus of Ida near Troy, not the Mount Ida of Crete. Ida vale, the Paradise of Venus, south of Troy is only 20 miles North of Mytilene which lies across the water on the Island of Lesbos, and Mytilene figures conspicuously in *Pericles* (p. 187). From this Island it may be supposed that William Stanley about 1585 crossed over to the mainland to visit " Ida hyll," which would have a special interest to him apart from Spenser, for it was on this hill that Jupiter, in the form of an eagle (the bird so strongly identified with the Stanleys), swooped down and captured the boy Ganymede (p. 10) son of the King of Troy.

Golden Aphroditis (1577).

Years before the " Stratford rustic " (so Garnett and Gosse) left his native town about 1587, the " starre of poets " had already appeared above the literary horizon ; for two very early Poems are extant bearing the initials W.S. which reveal the characteristic though rudimentary idiosyncrasies of Shakespeare. If this be true as to fact, not fancy, the implications are decisive, since this poet cannot have been William Shakspere, who was only a raw butcher lad of 13 in 1577 when the first of these Poems appeared in John Grange's ' black letter ' *Golden Aphroditis*, and not much older when the second W.S. Poem (p. 244) was written. There were at that time various individuals of initials W.S., such as William Somerset (3rd Earl of Worcester), Sir William Stanley (the renegade), William Stafford,* Walter Scott, William Samuel,

* Who was at one time believed to be the writer of *A briefe Conceipt of English pollicy*, by " W.S. Gentleman " (1581), a short work on economics which Miss Lamond has shown was of earlier date by John Hales, M.P. for Preston. Its interesting text is replete with Northern *s*-plurals (about 1 in 250 lines), and in its dedication to the Queen, W.S. (who only brought the book up to date) refers to his late " vndutifull misdemeanor " ; this cannot refer to Stafford whose political troubles were in 1586, so that W.S. might conceivably have been the thoughtful young Stanley.

William Sidney, William Slye and so on, but all of them, as a special search has shown, are disqualified from serious consideration for one reason or another when their records are critically dissected out. There remain only two poet-alternatives to William Stanley and both are out of the question : Wentworth Smith, whose birth date is not known (he was probably a baby in 1577), was a playwright who may have written some of the Apocryphal Plays (p. 172), but if so they are devoid of the peculiarities of Shakespeare : William Smith, who could not have been more than about 7 years old in 1577, was a poet but a very inferior one singularly deficient in any Shakespearian qualities ; and a study of his Poems, especially the words of his closing Sonnet in the series called *Chloris*, shows that he was a young man in 1596, so that he is debarred by his age in 1577 quite apart from his deficiencies.

That the initials were simply Stanley's follows not only by exclusion but as a reasonable inference in the case of *Golden Aphroditis* because its author John Grange dedicated it to " Lord Sturton " who was William Stanley's cousin, son of his Aunt Lady Anne Stanley. She had married Lord Stourton, the 8th Baron who was executed in 1567 for complicity in murder, and their son John Mowbray, the 9th Baron was a young man of 24 in 1577 when Grange dedicated the book to him, containing the testimonial Poem by W.S. quoted below. This relationship in conjunction with the evidence of exclusion is virtually conclusive in showing who W.S. was ; also it probably means that Grange the author of *Golden Aphroditis*, who described himself as " Gentleman, Student in the Common Lawe of Englande," " young of yeares," was an older fellow student of Stanley at Gray's Inn (p. 147) and induced William not only to secure Lord Stourton's patronage but to write one of the prefacing testimonials as well. Coming from the pen of a youth barely 17 it is not surprising that this amateurish Poem should have attracted no attention on merit, and orthodoxy could never suspect Shakespeare's tyro hand in 1577, though in fact the hall-mark is plainly visible despite the clumsy 14-syllable couplets of the period.

Grange's story, *Golden Aphroditis*, is a rambling romance told in quaint, almost pedantic, prose interspersed with numerous Poems ; it describes the wooing of Diana's daughter A.O. (alpha and omega) by Sir N. O., with I.I. as rival, and whether these initials conceal real names is not known, but the tale is naive and obviously the work of a young man burning to display his knowledge of the Classics, history and mythology recently imbibed at the University or Gray's Inn. There may be " some deeper sense and purpose " in it as he says, but he manages to bring in most of the gods or goddesses of the hierarchy, characters of history, Latin tags and (it is interesting to note) many figures which later exercised a great fascination for Shakespeare — Lady Ver and Hyems, Caesar, Paris, Nestor, Diomedes, Ulysses, Ajax, Thersites, Troilus and Cressida, Theseus, Hippolyta, Pyramus and Thisbe, Timon, Neptune, Pluto and Proserpina, Phoebus (Apollo), Diana, Juno, Ganymede, Echo, Dan Cupid, Venus, Tantalus, Lucretia, Phoenix and even Romeus and Juliet. Grange thus furnished the future Shakespeare with many cues, and *The Golden Aphroditis* was not the least among his multitudinous " sources " ; even words or phrases were borrowed, as for example " gravelled," " all is not golde that glistereth," " golden streames," " boiling breast," " glittering beames " (cf. Bottom, *M.N.D.* V, 1). Also a proverb in Grange's supplementary book (p. 243) consisting of four lines ending " So cuckowes sing by kinde " was paraphrased in *All's well* into the four lines of the Clown (I, 3, 68) ending " Your cuckoo sings by kind." This Shakespearian indebtedness to Grange resembles that of W.S. who, in praising, borrowed freely from him in his juvenile Poem which, monotonous but sincere, is given in full :—

W.S. in commendation of the aucthor.

Of siluer pure thy penne is made, dipte in the Muses well,
Thy Eloquence and loftie style all other doth excell :
Thy wisdome great and secrete sense diffusedly disguysde,
Doth shew how *Pallas* rules thy minde, and *Phoebus* hath devisde
Those Golden lines, which polisht are with *Tagus* glittring sandes.
A pallace playne of pleasures great unto the vewers handes.

Thy learning doth bewray it selfe and worthie prayse doth craue,
Who so thee knew, did little thinke suche learning thee to have.
Here *Vertue* seemes to checke at *Vice*, and wisdome folly tauntes :
Here *Venus* she is set at naught, and Dame *Diane* she vauntes :
Here *Pallas Cupid* doth detest, and all his carpet knightes :
Here doth she shew, that youthful impes in folly most delightes.
And how when age comes creeping on, with shewe of hoary heares,
Then they the losse of time repent, with sobbes and brynish teares.
Thou *Ambodexter* playste herein, to take the first rebounde,
And for to shew thy minde at large, in earth doth the same cōpound.
So that *Apollo* claddes his corps all with *Morychus* clothes,
And shewes himself still friendliest there, where most of al he lothes.

FINIS.

The spelling deviation (29%, which is normal for the period) includes types (*dipte*, *playste*, *glittring*, etc.) which recall later Shakespearian Quartos and Stanley's orthographic habits. The full-stop after ' sandes ' (line 5) which should be a comma and the word ' in ' (line 16), which should be deleted, seem to be examples of his nonchalant carelessness. [The word ' corps ' of line 17 means a living body.] W.S. was certainly very callow in 1577, as is indicated by the naive generosity of lines 2 and 8, also in lines 12-14 and in other second-hand knowledge, mostly derived from Grange ; but despite insipid puerility the pedestrian lines are marked by certain embryonic Shakespearian idiosyncrasies, which are conspicuous by comparison with other poetry of the period.

First may be noted the vocabulary, with several unusual words (e.g. *diffusedly*, *checke*, *rebounde* or *cōpound*), also the syntactical peculiarities, the marked alliteration ($a_r = 207$) and assonance. Equally typical is the verbal repetition and high ρ value (23), the chief repeat words being : *al*[*l*], *doth*, *folly*, *great*, *Here*, *learning*, *shew*[*e*], *thy* and *wisdome*. Here also we find the Southern plural ' doth ' (lines 2 and 4) so often used by Shakespeare and, more important, the tell-tale Northern *s*-plural, ' delightes ' (12). The metaphor of the first line was created by a deft transmutation of Grange's words " took her silver pencil," and a similar stroke in line 5 converted Grange's phrase " with Tagus glittring sandes " into a palpable if primitive piece of Shakespearian imagery ; just as Grange's word ' checke,' found in line 9 of the Poem, anticipates so many of Shakespeare's falconry images. So also the rather obscure lines 15-16 convey the image of a tennis ball played in a world consenting (cōpound = agree) to Grange's ambidexterity. The antithesis of the last line is also very characteristic. In the whole Poem indeed, which must have been one of his first attempts, we have all the promise of a future pattern that was destined to be without parallel in literature.

There are four *y*-spellings in 23 equivalent lines, which are too few to reach a proper frequency figure, I_p ; but the approximate figure (17·4) shows that the Poem was probably printed direct from autograph, and if so the hand-writing Index I_a works out by the standard equations as 31·5, which calculation by formula (8) p. 154 shows might be in error within about $\pm$ 15 for 75% probability. As equation (2) p. 153 gives Stanley's I_a as 44 in 1577 the agreement is sufficiently close. Owing to the greater amount of text Grange's true I_p can be reached (32) ; his age, greater than Stanleys, working out by the equations as 22, which would be in conformity with his riper experience as shown in the addendum (*Granges Garden*) to the main book.

This supplementary *Granges Garden* is really a very interesting collection, and one Poem by John Grange himself, " The paynting of a Curtizan," is a fine piece of realism, showing up the wiles of courtesans, but it is merely descriptive realism without imagery. Another, probably by him, is a long Poem in monotonous couplets of 6-feet lines, describing the " loue of a Gentleman and a Gentlewoman," who through misunderstanding is led to emulate " Lucretia " and commit suicide. Its main Shakespearian interest lies however not so much in any resemblance to the *Lucrece* of the future, as in the song which Grange puts into her mouth " before she slewe hir selfe." Unlike the rest of Grange's poetry its

ten stanzas consist each of six Iambic 5-feet lines, the first four alternately rhyming, and the last two forming a Heroic couplet. This is the versification employed by Shakespeare in certain early Poems and in *Venus and Adonis* (1593); and it was apparently then (1577) just coming into vogue, for about this time the Earl of Oxford was beginning to use it freely, also Raleigh (1576), and Spenser in *The Shepheards Calender* (1579), where this versification is found for the months of January and December, while later it became very popular with other poets.

Nicholas Breton's book (1580).

The second W.S. Poem, also a testimonial, is found in a book by Breton on the Wit-Will theme which became such a craze among poets later. His 12-page book which consists of a personified dialogue or "discourse betwixt Wit and *Will*" was entitled :—

The Wil of Wit, Wit's Will, or Wil's Wit, chuse you whether.

It was entered on the Stationer's Register in 1580, printed again in 1596, 1597 and 1599 but the only extant copy is that of 1599, in the British Museum, published by Thomas Creede ; in which *after* the concluding " Finis " there is yet a final page in which Will and Wit agree not to quarrel but work together in harmony. This last bit following " Finis " is dated 8th June 1599 and so is an after-thought epilogue, while the book itself, including the W.S. Poem *at the beginning*, was without this epilogue in the earlier editions, of which that in 1580 is referred to by Madox in his diary, on 14th March 1583. There is thus no doubt about the date, and the Poem has already been recognised as Shakespeare's by Ursula Kentish Wright (*Cornhill Magazine*, 1939, Vol. 159, p. 815) who in a well reasoned paper shows how in general he had been influenced by Breton, but being orthodox she was constrained to assume (in the face of the above facts) that the Poem could only have appeared in later editions of Breton's book. It is quoted below with its 1599 [more modernised] spelling* :

Ad lectorem, de Authore

What shall I say of Gold, more than tis Gold ?
Or call the Diamond, more than precious ?
Or praise the man, with praises manifold,
When of himselfe, himselfe is vertuous ?
Wit is but *Wit*, yet such his *Wit* and *Will*,
As proves ill good, or makes good to be ill.

Why ? What his *Wit* ? proceed and aske his *Will*
Why ? What his *Will* ? reade on, and learne of *Wit* ;
Both good, *I* gesse, yet each a severall ill,
This may seeme strange, to those that heare of it ;
Nay, nere a whit, for vertue many waies,
Is made a vice, yet Vertue hath her praise.

Wherefore, O Breton, worthie is thy worke,
Of commendations worthie to the worth :
Sith captious Wittes in everie corner lurke,
A bold attempt, it is to set them forth.
A forme of Wit, and that is such a sort
As none offends, for all is said in sport.

And such a sport, as serves for other kinds,
Both young and old, for learning, armes and love :
For Ladies humors, mirth with mone he findes,
With some extreames, their patient mindes to prove.
[W]ell Breton, write in hand, thou hast the thing
[As wh]en it comes, love, wealth, and fame will bring.

W.S.

* The abnormally low deviation (14% ; D_{calc} = 19% for 1599) is doubtless due to the number of times the Poem had been reprinted in earlier editions, and this has completely expunged *y*-spellings, of which at least four might have been expected in 1580 (*prayse, prayses, manyfold* and *yll*). One surviving archaism however is the Chaucerian spelling ' the ' (thee, stanza 3, line 2) which is so common in Shakespearian Quartos though modernised to ' thee ' in the Folio.

The buoyant exuberance that glistens out of this remarkable effusion distinguishes it from a similar (un-initialled) testimonial Poem which precedes it and which lacks the vigour of the W.S. Poem. This on the contrary, for all its flippancy, is Shakespearian and rings true to the theme—sincere praise of Breton's book ; the future poet being distinctly recognisable in the abstract subtlety of the involved lines, in the typical antithesis, alliteration ($a_r = 255$), vocabulary (including the Northern ' whit ' and ' lurke ') and in the exaggerated repetition, which simulates the early " Will " Sonnets **135** and **136** (the repeat index ρ being no less than 37). The first line parallels one in *Richard III* (V, 3, 315), and the third stanza is echoed by the second stanza of the Ignoto testimonial to Spenser (p. 238), but the Poem like the two Sonnets could never for a moment be attributed to the mature Shakespeare. That it was written about the same time as the W.S. testimonial to Grange (1577) and by the same person is reasonably evident from its manifest juvenility, its unusually generous praise, its mode of formulating this praise in similar terms (' commendations,' ' worthie ' and ' praise '), from the reference to ' learning,' and from the parallel in the similar antithesis of Virtue and Vice, all of which confirm the bibliographical evidence that the date was 1580 ; as anyway is obvious from the future tense (" fame will bring ") of the last line, because this would be unintelligible as applied to an elder poet like Breton in 1599, seeing that he had made his mark years earlier. Noteworthy is the familiar and affectionate but unconsciously *patronising* mode of address to a much older man (Breton was about 35 in 1580) because such a thing would be incredible unless W.S. were a person in some very high station like William Stanley, then about 20 ; with ' no axe to grind,' here as with the earlier Poem to Grange, or the two similarly generous testimonials (p. 238), without initials, to Spenser later, it is significant that *older* poets should seek his praise, and that he should respond with the warm-hearted magnanimity which was subsequently so characteristic of the Earl of Derby.

The song books.

Among the mass of Lyrics, mostly anonymous and set to music between 1588 and 1632, it is only to be expected that some might be Shakespeare's ; at least there is one, probably not genuine, commencing " Farewell, dear love, since thou wilt needs be gone " found in Robert Jones' *First Booke of Songes and Ayres* (1600) which was the original of the parodied snatches in *Twelfth night* (II, 3). These Lyrics, including many lovely specimens, several obviously much earlier than 1588, constitute an embarrassingly rich mine in which to search for any early Shakespearian fragments, the more so because, alas, many have been sadly mutilated by the composer in setting them to music. Added to this difficulty in detection, is the fact that a few Lyric writers shared some of Shakespeare's peculiarities, such as word play on musical terms (e.g. Daniel), astronomical similes, alliteration and antithesis, though not his characteristic idiom and imagery ; also quite a number of the song Lyrics must have been written by the Earl of Oxford (p. 261) because of their style (though only two are actually ascribed to him), and this style in some ways strongly resembled Shakespeare's. In the end therefore personal judgment, aided by frequency data, is the chief criterion ; but in the writer's opinion there are only five among about 1500 examined which can be confidently accepted as genuine specimens of his early verse.

The first lines (modern spelling) of these five are :—

(1) What poor astronomers are they (John Dowland's *Third Booke*, 1603)
(2) Come away, come sweet love. The golden morning breaks
(3) Come, heavy sleep, the image of true Death } (John Dowland's *First Booke*, 1597)
(4) My thoughts are winged with hopes, my hopes with love
(5) My heavy sprite, oppressed with sorrow's might (Robert Dowland's *Musicall Banqvet*, 1610)

Of these only item (4) is quoted (p. 247), but each of these Poems presents recognisably typical features, and excluding the mutilated fragment (5) the average $\rho = 29{\cdot}8$ and average $\alpha_r = 123$. Item (1) is apparently of very early date perhaps 1582 judging by its merry mocking humour and Wit-Will word play. Item (2) an idyllic Poem of Marlowesque pattern, also no doubt early, is found as a superior version in *Englands Helicon* ; its words " naked morne." are reminiscent of " naked bed " of *V. and A.* and " Wingd with [sweet] hopes " parallels the first line of (4). What singles out Shakespeare and not Marlowe as writer of (2) are : (i) its unusual versification, (ii) its alliteration ($\alpha_r = 111$), (iii) its high repeat index ($\rho = 28$) and (iv) its very high spelling deviation (25%) in *E.H.*, i.e. for printing in 1600, when $D_{calc.}$ is only $16{\cdot}3$. Item (3), of corrupted *V. and A.* versification and defective scansion, is in very different vein but peculiarly Shakespearian in its alliteration ($\alpha_r = 100$), repetition ($\rho = 28$), antithesis, imagery and in the magic-image implicit in ' charm ' as applied to the exorcism of worrying thoughts (' rebels '). The insomnia and depression seem to link this Poem with Sonnets **71-74**, believed to be of date 1590 (Appendix III).

Cynthia Lyric. Item (4), here called the ' Cynthia Lyric,' is another Poem of W.S. (see below), but both it and item (5) were originally ascribed to the Earl of Cumberland ; the latter (5) in Robert Dowland's collection, while (4), which is anonymous in John Dowland's, is found in a manuscript list of Poems by Francis Davison (Harleian M.S. 280—see p. 260), giving first lines, and opposite the line :—

My thoughts are winged wth hope my hope wth love.

is the name " Earle of Cumberland." Faulty ascription was frequent in those times, a fact illustrated by *Englands Parnassus* (1600) where out of 2350 quotations from poets no less than 130 are wrongly ascribed. George 3rd Earl of Cumberland, a cultured scholar and M.A. of Oxford (1592), may have been a poet but Spenser in praising him in one of the Sonnets prefacing the *F.Q.* referred only to his prowess, not to his Muse (as with Raleigh and others), and there is not the least evidence that he wrote *Shakespearian* poetry. Cumberland was a great sea adventurer, enormously popular for his intrepidity, and especially favoured by the Queen (whose Champion he was at the Tilts) because of his exploits against the Spaniards. He commanded the " Bonadventure " at the Armada, engaged in numerous expeditions, acquired much wealth as booty, lost it all by gambling, horse-racing or generosity, and died in debt (1605). The date of these items (4) and (5) probably lies between 1587 and 1591 (p. 247), the period of Cumberland's greatest buccaneering exploits, but the really significant fact is that he was William Stanley's Uncle, though only two or three years his senior ; being half-brother to Stanley's mother Margaret Clifford, and the two men were more like brothers than Uncle and Nephew. How the Uncle's name came to be associated with the Poems is a matter of speculation (p. 248) but as Davison's list is not free from other errors (p. 260) it cannot be regarded as authoritative in any way, and everything points to the Nephew as author, not Uncle.

The Cynthia Lyric, *i.e.* (4), exists (or did exist) as a manuscript initialled W.S. This has long been known but both Bullen and Fellowes, who alluded to the fact, opined that these initials did not necessarily imply William Shakespeare ; and Bullen thought the Lyric might have been Fulke Greville's, while Bond suggested Lyly, both ignoring the embryonic Shakespearian

qualities of the Poem, the initials W.S. and the significance of Davison's ascription to the Earl of Cumberland. [By the irony of Fate, inspection of the manuscript, in which Stanley's handwriting if holograph might have been identified, has been frustrated ; for Bullen (Shorter *Elizabethan Poems*, 1903) stated that this manuscript was preserved at Hamburg, now (May 1940) mercilessly scourged by " war's quick fire "].

The *V. and A.* versification of this Lyric might suggest the Earl of Oxford who greatly favoured the style, but he is excluded, not only by the initials W.S. but by its high repeat index ($\rho = 29$) taken in conjunction with its peculiarly Shakespearian imagery ; indeed no anonymous Poem bears a clearer imprint of the " seal manual " than this. It is reproduced here (modern spelling) as it is found in John Dowland's book, but like item (2) it also appears in *Englands Helicon* (1600), identical word for word, except for " On " instead of " In " (4th line 1st stanza) :—

My thoughts are winged with hopes, my hopes with love,
Mount, Love, unto the moon in clearest night,
And say, as she doth in the heavens move,
In earth so wanes and waxeth my delight.
And whisper this but softly in her ears :
Hope oft doth hang the head, and Trust shed tears.

And you, my thoughts, that some mistrust do carry,
If for mistrust my mistress do you blame,
Say, though you alter, yet you do not vary,
As she doth change and yet remain the same.
Distrust doth enter hearts but not infect,
And love is sweetest seasoned with suspect.

If she for this with clouds do mask her eyes,
And make the heavens dark with her disdain,
With windy sighs disperse them in the skies,
Or with thy tears dissolve them into rain,
Thoughts, hopes, and love return to me no more
Till Cynthia shine as she hath done before.

Comparison with other Lyrics of the period stresses the imaginative quality of these stanzas, which is more significant perhaps than the characteristic antithesis, high alliteration ($a_r = 136$) and personification, which other poets of course affected ; but summation of these with more distinctive attributes, particularly smooth rhythm, imagery and thought-condensation leaves little doubt as to genuineness. The two latter are conspicuous in the image of the lady's moon-like mutability, of the poet's delight, hopes and trust, and in the concentrated meteorological image of the 3rd stanza. The moon always had a great fascination for Shakespeare, and in this Diana-figure she stands for a changeable woman. The phrasing is sober but characteristic, " windy sighs " for example being found in the 9th stanza of *V. and A.*, " suspect " (as noun) in Sonnet **70** and " winged thoughts " in *Henry V* (Chorus V, 8), also " clearest " (in the same sense) in *Brittains Ida* (Canto III, stanza 3) ; indeed the Poem may be said to reflect Shakespeare in one of his variable moods, but before maturity. The date therefore should be early ; it cannot be calculated on so few lines, but a time prior to 1590 is collectively indicated (1) by the absence of *S*-lines, (2) by the presence of two *y*-spellings (' skyes ' and ' rayne ') in the 1600 *E.H.* version, (3) by certain obsolescent spellings (' cleerest,' ' clowdes,' ' waines ' and ' wexeth ') and above all (4) by the very high spelling deviation (25%) compared to $D_{calc.}$ which is only 16·3 for 1600. It will be noticed that this Lyric is more mature than the W.S.

Poems of 1577 and 1580, also that in its discreet solemnity there are no rapturous love feelings like those in item (2) for example. It is tempting therefore to imagine that Stanley as a courtier addressed it to the Queen, who was not only capricious but named Cynthia (*i.e.* the moon-goddess) by Spenser, Raleigh and other poets ; if so this might have been about 1589 in making a bid for favour, after a rebuff and in rivalry to Raleigh or the young Earl of Essex.

The Poem may even have been that referred to by Spenser in his prelude to the 3rd Book of the *F.Q.* (entered 1589) where he spoke about some " delitious Poet " who sang " his mistress prayse " and as

" a gracious servaunt pictured
His Cynthia, his heavens fayrest light."

Of course many poets praised the Queen, often fulsomely, and it is possible that Spenser meant Raleigh who as he said in a Sonnet of 1589 (*F.Q.*) had sung " faire Cinthias praises," while in *Colin Clouts* he referred to Raleigh's " lamentable lay " " Of Cynthia, the Ladie of the Sea " ; but if Raleigh's later continuation of his lost Cynthia Poem, in the Hatfield M.S.S., is a fair sample of what he wrote then it was decidedly lacking in that " melting sweetnes " to which Spenser attests, though " The Sheepheards praise of his sacred Diana " in *E.H.*, said by Hannah to be Raleigh's, is better. The point is doubtful but Spenser certainly described his 1589 poet in much the same way as Willy in 1591 (p. 236) even by similar phrases (" that same delitious Poet " and " that sweet verse, with Nectar sprinckeled ") as if alluding to the future Shakespeare and this very Lyric.

Indirect evidence that William Stanley wrote the Lyric lies not merely in the initials W.S. but in his astronomical interest, his relationship to the Earl of Cumberland and in certain facts relating to John Dowland who acquired the Poem. For in 1597 Dowland dedicated his " First Booke " containing it to Lord Hunsdon and referred in glowing terms to Lady Hunsdon, " your vertuous Lady my honourable mistress." She was Elizabeth, sister of Alice, Stanley's sister-in-law, from which it may be gathered that Dowland knew Stanley well ; an inference which is highly suggestive because Dowland, who lived much abroad, was in Germany for a few months about 1595, as he himself says in the dedication, where he also speaks highly of the Duke of Brunswick and the Landgrave of Hesse, whom he met there. When these intriguing facts are linked up with the erroneous ascription of the Lyric to Stanley's young Uncle by Davison, on the one hand, and with its appearance as a manuscript signed ' W.S.' in Hamburg, on the other, they suggest that Stanley occasionally let his Uncle have copies of his Poems, two of which, later found among his (Uncle's) papers, might have been somehow mistaken for Cumberland's, *viz.* this very item (4) during his lifetime by Davison and (5) after he was dead by Robert Dowland. Further, if Stanley presented his brother-in-law's *protégé*, John Dowland (Robert's father) with Lyrics for his song-book, one of which (4) signed W.S., Dowland took to Germany, what is more natural than to suppose that, having kept a copy, he left the original with (say) the Duke of Brunswick, from whom it found its way to a collection in Hamburg ? These conjectures of course are only justified by the suggestive network of relevant facts ; so too it is possible that just as Davison made other errors, he assumed Cumberland to be the writer of (4) because the latter had presented before the Queen " on Maie day last " [date unknown] a " shew on horse-backe " [Tilt], on which occasion a song was sung praising her as " Cynthia." This song found in *D.P.R.* must be much later than the Cynthia Lyric because of the spelling, also because of the allusion to May day " last " in Davison's anthology published in 1602 ; for though Cumberland became Queen's Champion in 1591, Davison was then only a boy. It is noticeable in his list (p. 260) that he uses the singular in the word ' hope ' twice, not

'hopes' as in Dowland's book and in *E.H.*, between which there is the 'In-On' difference already noted; all of which shows that there were independent (un-initialled) copies of the Cynthia Lyric in circulation.

Item (5), in Robert Dowland's hands, is interesting in showing what small respect a composer (Anthony Holborne) could have for the text when he came to set a Poem to music, for this is a mere mutilated fragment of a Sonnet. It has been cut up so badly that as it stands it makes neither sense nor syntax (especially line six). Lines 3 and 4 have been apparently transposed and bits of lines have been put together anyhow, but in spite of all this mutilation the hand of Shakespeare seems nevertheless recognisable by the sincerity of grief, by the striking parallel with several of the woeful canonical Sonnets and by such expressions as "silent groans," "life's despite," "All fortunes I accurse" and "this world becomes my hell."

The Passionate Pilgrime and Sonnets to sundry notes of Musicke (1599).

Pirated by William Jaggard as a meagre, corrupt and badly printed Quarto containing matter that was spurious or not new, the only Poems in *P.P.* which the present writer accepts as genuine are those shown in the list below (1) to (7) with first lines. These total 257 lines, and since the latter contain 4 *S*-lines, $S = 64 \cdot 25$, from which the date works out as about 1590, this may be taken as a rough average for the period of writing. As is well known, in the 1612 edition Jaggard coolly included "two love epistles" by Thomas Heywood, who thereupon addressed an expostulatory letter to his book-seller, Nicholas Okes, in his *Apologie for Actors* (1612). The chief interest of this letter lies in its covert allusion to Shakespeare, as "the Author," "much offended with M. Jaggard" in making "so bold with his name" [*i.e.* in the act of piracy]; also because the letter shows that Shakespeare was living in 1612 [the Earl of Oxford died in 1604]. Heywood's reference to "his patronage" [*i.e.* Shakespeare's] is somewhat ambiguous,* but though his known patron was the Earl of Southampton, he was also in a sense under the patronage of the Earl of Derby, at least about 1599 and 1600, when Derby's company produced some of Heywood's Plays.

The overall *y*-spelling Index I_y of Jaggard's first Quarto is 2·44, indicating that it had been printed from copies of copies, not author's autograph, and in one case ('Mistress Poem,' p. 254) it is very interesting to compare the actual autograph with the garbled printed version. The first lines (modern spelling) of the accepted Poems are :—

(1) Two Sonnets : *a.* When my love swears that she is made of truth
b. Two loves I have of comfort and despair

(2) Four Sonnets : *a.* Sweet Cytherea, sitting by a brook
b. Scarce had the sun dried up the dewy morn
c. Fair was the morn, when the fair queen of love
d. Venus with Adonis sitting by her

(3) Sonnet : If music and sweet poetry agree ('Dowland Sonnet')

(4) Two Sonnets : *a.* Did not the heavenly rhetoric of thine eye
b. If love make me forsworn, how shall I swear to love.

(5) Lyric : On a day, alack the day!

(6) Lyric : Whenas thine eye hath chose the dame ('Mistress Poem')

(7) Ode : As it fell upon a day ('Pandion Ode').

As the genuineness of some of these items has been questioned, it is worth stating that the repeat index ρ of each is high, the over-all average being 26·4, and that their alliteration numbers are normally Shakespearian, with a weighted

* Though, if Shakspere had been an actor-playwright like Heywood the word "patronage" certainly seems incongruous; like his word "offended" for a man of Shakspere's litigious obduracy, who would have been more than 'offended.'

mean a_r of 117. The two Sonnets under item (1) are Shakespeare's canonical sonnets **138** and **144** with different wording, while items (4) and (5) are corrupt versions of Poems in *Love's labour's lost* (IV, 2, and 3). The four erotic (Venus-Adonis) Sonnets of item (2) are certainly genuine, all variants of the same theme, but the last, (2) *d*, is generally ascribed to Bartholemew Griffin because (with some verbal differences) it is found (as the third) in his sequence of 62 Sonnets entitled *Fidessa more chaste than kinde* (1596), despite which, in the writer's submission, it is *not* his. All Griffin's Sonnets except this are devoted to Fidessa in a long wail of unrequited love, while this third Sonnet, i.e. (2) *d* which is distinguished by its very high repeat index ρ (35), is altogether irrelevant in the sequence. It is an exception to the uniformly *chaste* love declared for Fidessa, who is so named no less than 25 times ; indeed it is not chaste at all but like the fellow items licentious and its style, normally canonical, is peculiarly Shakespearian. This, and the other items of (1) and (2), by their amatory and alliterative similarity (mean a_r = 134) belong apparently to the same period, and there is one *S*-line, ending ' look ' in item (2) *b*, i.e. in the total 83 lines, which though too few for a true frequency figure show that the date was early [for $S = 83$, the *S*-formula works out at 1587]. Two or more variants of (2) *d* were written and evidently circulated among the " Gentlemen of the Inns of Court," mentioned by Griffin in his dedication, so that one of these or a copy no doubt came into his hands as a member, through which by carelessness it was inadvertently included in his collection ; while another version somehow came into Jaggard's hands, his being the better, and lines 9 to 12 are completely different.

Dowland Sonnet.

An exactly parallel instance of erroneous ascription through faulty inclusion, in this case among Barnfield's *Poems : In diuers humors* (1598), is found with item (3), here for brevity called the ' Dowland Sonnet,' which calls for penetrating inquisition. After having been once accepted as genuine, it is now usually regarded as Barnfield's and for *apparently* good reasons, which however cannot weigh seriously against the evidence to the contrary. The version in *P.P.* is word-for-word identical with that in Barnfield's collection above (*P.d.h.*) but with 16 spelling differences and five different capitals, showing that the two versions were not printed from the same copy ; that of *P.d.h.* being reproduced below because of its interesting heading, which is absent from *P.P.* :—

To his friend Maister R. L. In praise of Musique and Poetrie.

If Musique and sweet Poetrie agree,
As they must needes (the Sister and the Brother)
Then must the Loue be great, twixt thee and mee,
Because thou lou'st the one, and I the other.
Dowland to thee is deare ; whose heavenly tuch
Vpon the Lute, doeth rauish humaine sense :
Spenser to mee ; whose deepe Conceit is such,
As passing all Conceit, needs no defence.
Thou lou'st to heare the sweete melodious sound,
That *Phœbus* Lute (the Queene of Musique) makes :
And I in deepe Delight am chiefly drownd,
When as himselfe to singing he betakes.
One God is God of Both (as Poets faigne)
One Knight loues Both, and Both in thee remaine.

Noticeable here is the generous praise of Spenser (conceit = conception) ; also the sincerity and fragrant sweetness of the Sonnet which surpasses anything that Barnfield ever achieved. The normal canonical pattern, the smooth

rhythm, the repetition, phrasing (e.g. in the termination, like that of Canonical Sonnet **74**), imagination and much else are a sufficient guarantee of its authenticity, but critics are asked to consider its bearings in order to check the straightforward reasoning built upon it. In the first place Barnfield *never* attained such a high alliteration number ($a_r = 210$), his overall average being only 73. Next, only a master craftsman of language could have so juggled with words as to repeat, deliberately, seventeen of them (3 twice) not including ' and ' and ' the,' as Shakespeare so often repeated himself without solecism, and at the same time to convey such an exquisite picture of the enduring harmony between music and poetry. The repeat index ρ is no less than 33. Barnfield's average ρ (taken from samples of his various Poems) is only 19·6 and the eloquent contrast is the more striking because one of Barnfield's own Sonnets happens to adjoin the Dowland Sonnet in *P.d.h.* ; for its ρ is only 14. The spelling deviation (22·8%) is also higher than Barnfield's average (21%) and still more above the general average for 1598 ($D_{calc.} = 19·5\%$), a point bearing on date. Moreover though not certain, this Sonnet to R.L. seems to betray the acquaintance of its writer with Dowland and Spenser, both famous men of an older generation than Barnfield, who was only about 17 in 1591 or 1592 when the Sonnet was probably composed (p. 253) ; also it is clear that the author and the addressee " Maister R.L.," whoever he was,* were very intimate friends who both loved Spenser's verse and Dowland's music.

It will be noticed that the last line reveals an outstanding admission by the Sonnet writer ; for after expressing his personal preference for poetry, as symbolised by Spenser, followed by a characteristic image of Apollo (Phœbus), the god of music and poetry whose lute is the " Queene " of instruments, he declares that he himself " One Knight " loves both branches of Art, like his friend. The word " Knight " here is crucial for more than one reason, and it is impossible to attach a figurative meaning to it or suppose that it applies to R.L. The sense is most obviously literal and Barnfield was not a Knight ; but as a corollary it follows that the future Shakespeare *could so designate himself*. In the whole array of evidence proving that Shakespeare was an aristocrat (for Knighthood was not cheap then as it was in King James's reign) nothing could be more direct or convincing than the unconscious admission implicit in the last tell-tale line of this private missive. It excludes not merely Shakspere but Francis Bacon as a possible Shakespeare because the latter was not knighted till 1603, and the Dowland Sonnet was first published in 1598 ; while as regards William Stanley though there are no documentary records proving that he was knighted before he became Earl (see footnote p. 22) it is a fact that the anonymous historian (p. 90), Seacome and all the Ballad writers consistently referred to him as " Sir William Stanley."

In view of all this decisive evidence (and no one for a moment would have doubted the authenticity of the Sonnet if it had only appeared in *P.P.*) it seems useless to pursue the matter further, but some explanation is required of how it found its way into Barnfield's collection. It was John Jaggard (William's brother) who in 1598 published Barnfield's *The Encomion of Lady Pecunia*, at the end of which with its own separate frontispiece, are the few Poems entitled *Poems: In diuers humors* (*P.d.h.*) and it is among these that the

* In 1596, thirty-eight Sonnets (*Diella*) were published under the initials ' R.L.,' which as Grosart suggested might stand for the poet Richard Linche and the unknown " Maister R.L.," but the latter might just as well have been Stanley's quondam tutor Richard Lloyd (p. 21) or Ranulph Leigh, intimate with William Stanley, or indeed Richard Luther, a protégé 'seruant' who was granted a lease at Bidston by Stanley and his mother, mentioned in *D.I.H.* (p. 271), or Roger Langton (*b.* 1559) or one of the Lathoms or Leycesters, all intimate with Stanley, or Vice-Admiral Richard Leveson of Shropshire, knighted in 1596, a friend of Mary Fitton ; and there is nothing to show who he was.

Dowland Sonnet as quoted appeared. Richard Barnfield (*b.* 1574) was educated at Brasenose College Oxford and probably Gray's Inn, where he may have met Stanley, for whom he had an intense admiration, as shown by a dedication (in *Cynthia* published in 1595 when he was only 21) reproduced in part below :

To the Right Honorable, and most noble-minded Lorde, William Stanley, Earle of Darby, &c.

Right Honorable, the dutifull affection I beare to your manie vertues, is cause, that to manifest my love to your Lordship, I am constrained to shew my simplenes to the world. Many are they that admire your worth, of the which number, I (though the meanest in abilitie, yet with the formost in affection) am one that most desire to serve, and oneley to serve your Honour.

Small is the gift, but great is my good-will ; the which, by how much the lesse I am able to expresse it, by so much the more it is infinite. Live long : and inherit your Predecessors vertues, as you doe their dignitie and estate. This is my wish : the which your honorable excellent giftes doe promise me to obtaine . . . .

Richard Barnefeilde.

In bidding the Earl to " live long," just as later in *P.d.h.* he bade Shakespeare and Spenser to " live ever," and in offering his service, Barnfield adds (at the end, unquoted) that he was " most ready to be commaunded." This " desire to serve " seems to mean literary service, that is to say emulation as a disciple, and though he does not make it clear he probably means, by the Earl's " excellent giftes," poetic gifts. What is clear is (1) that Stanley at some time before 1595 had filled the young poet with unbounded enthusiasm, and (2) that his aspiration led him to emulate both Shakespeare and Spenser, by copying their styles with the greatest freedom. He really might have been a born imitator—no unscrupulous plagiarist, but simply an unconscious copier of Shakespeare (just like Dekker, Massinger and others a little later) imitating his versification, personification, imagery, antithesis, favourite phrases, repeat-openings and even word play, as well as his method of handling themes ; indeed so much so that Barnfield's biographer (*Nat. Dict. Biog.*) said that he must have " had some personal relations with Shakespeare." He simply modelled himself on the style of Shakespeare as (indirectly) he avowed he would on the Earl of Derby. The copy never even approaches the original, but it accounts for the otherwise misleading parallels discoverable between the Dowland Sonnet and Barnfield's [later] poetry, as for example his occasional linking of music with poetry, his praise of Spenser in *P.d.h.*, or certain turns of expression viz. " doth ravish sense " (in *The Shepherds Content*) and " God of musique, and of Poetry " (in *Cassandra*) ; his style-imitation of Shakespeare (and Spenser) is also noticeable in *The Complaint of Poetrie.* But when the *quality* of his sequence of 20 Sonnets (all of which incidentally are *non-canonical* in structure) is examined it is found that they are incomparably inferior, indeed, lacking every essential characteristic of Shakespeare's Sonnets—their sincerity verbal subtlety, compressed philosophic thought, and sweet rhythm but above all their numerical frequencies.

In effect John and William Jaggard baldly contradict each other ; so their testimony is valueless, especially in view of the liberties taken by publishers (not only pirates) in those days. But what (apart from the foregoing analysis) decisively discredits John Jaggard's testimony is the *y*-spelling evidence, which shows conclusively that he slipped into the *P.d.h.* group no less than three Poems, out of the total nine, that were not Barnfield's at all, including this Dowland Sonnet. Taking as basis of comparison the whole of Barnfield's publications between 1594 and 1598 and the changing distribution of *y*-spellings, it is found that the average Index I_p is 3·5, from which it is easy to show by the standard equations that Barnfield's *Cynthia* with its 20 Sonnets, *Cassandra*, and the Ode resembling item (7) of *P.P.*, were all printed from copies, while his Poems of 1594 and 1598, including *The affectionate Sheepheard, The Shepherds Content* and *Lady Pecunia*, of much higher I_p, were for the

most part printed from his autograph. From these it is possible to reach his handwriting Index I_a approximately, and it comes out at about 14, the theoretically calculated figure from equation (2) for 1596 being 16·5 (far below Stanley's figure). For the short Poems of *P.d.h.*, true frequency figures cannot of course be obtained but the remarkable differences between their proportion of *y*-spellings enable Barnfield's genuine contributions to be picked out with some confidence. For example, his epitaph to his aunt Skrymsher, which must be his, contains 5 *y*-spellings in 36 equivalent lines, and other Poems which are no doubt his contain 9 *y*-spellings in a total of 50 such lines, showing that all these had been printed from autograph ; but the Dowland Sonnet and item (7) i.e. Pandion Ode discussed below, totalling 70 lines contain no *y*-spellings at all. This indicates that they were of different origin, printed from copies of copies, and the contrast is all the more marked because Barnfield's Sonnet mentioned on p. 251, headed "Against the Dispraysers of Poetrie" immediately adjoining the Dowland Sonnet contains (with the heading) no less than four *y*-spellings. Even more decisive of faulty inclusion is the epitaph to Sir Philip Sidney, certainly not Barnfield's (as might already have been suspected, seeing that Sidney had been dead eleven years), and its 7 *y*-spellings in 18 equivalent lines show that it was written by a much older man (possibly Stanley) but, though the first part is apparently missing, there is sufficient to indicate in the burden of the epitaph and in the words " now dead " that it was composed in 1587, when Barnfield was only a lad of 13.

One wonders why such a sincere and promising young poet as Barnfield disappeared from view or at least published no more poetry after 1598. Was he reproached by his friends on a charge of dishonesty and being sensitive did he abandon further ambitions, or did he merely retire to his mansion in Staffordshire ? He was probably not to blame but simply careless in not checking his publisher, for he had too big a soul and too deep a love of " Shakespeare " to purloin what was not his ; love indeed that shines effulgently out of his six lines of eulogy (in *P.d.h.*) bidding him to " Live ever you, at least in Fame live ever." Whatever the explanation, the Dowland Sonnet was certainly not included in the 1605 edition of Barnfield's Poems.

The date of the Dowland Sonnet judging by its high spelling deviation (p. 251) must have been long before 1598, but its greater maturity and the presence of one optional *S*-line (ending ' tuch ') in only 14, indicate a later date than that of the other Poems in *P.P.* The words : *Conceit, passing, rauish* and *Phœbus* were used in a similar sense in *L.L.L.*, about 1589, and as the proem to *B.I.* also praising Spenser is dated about 1590 (p. 241), the present writer, taking into account the word ' Knight,' thinks it was perhaps written just after the Elvetham pageant (p. 74) of 1591 where he supposes Stanley to have been knighted. Apparently about then or 1590 in London there was considerable intimacy between Stanley, Spenser, Dowland and R. L. Stanley, who was practically the same age as Dowland, could have met him first when, as he said, he visited the " chiefest parts of France " about 1581 or 1582 (Stanley arriving in 1582). Dowland moved about much abroad (Germany, Denmark, etc.) but it is known that he was in England in 1588, also in 1592 and 1595, so that there were ample opportunities for subsequent contact between the two men in London.

Pandion Ode. Item (7) of *P.P.*, also wrongly included in *P.d.h.* (and with two essential lines missing), has nevertheless been ascribed to Barnfield who moreover published a similar Ode in *Cynthia* (1595), dedicated to the 6th Earl of Derby. After what has been said, it seems likely that Barnfield's own Ode was part of his " service," imitation the sincerest form of flattery, for it is reasonably certain that item (7) was not his but a good deal earlier and that it was Shakespeare's. Barnfield's Ode has a repeat index ρ of 22, and is not purely trochaic like (7) whose ρ is markedly higher (30) ; its spelling deviation is only 20% as against 25% for (7) ; it is more personal and lacks the peculiar qualities, including wisdom (about friendship) of (7), whose absence of *S*-lines and trochaic versification, similar to that of (5) found in *Love's labour's lost*, suggest a date about 1589. The relatively low α_r (74) of (7), similar to Barnfield's mean (72) but higher than that of his Cynthia Ode ($\alpha_r = 58$), is not lower than Shakespeare's occasional figure ; and the only difficulty in the way of

accepting his authorship is the heading, " another of the same Sheepheards " over the version in *Englands Helicon* (where however only the first half of the Ode is given). As the immediately preceding Poem in *E.H.* (both signed *Ignoto*) is not here accepted as genuine, logically both should be rejected ; but if as Looney suggested in 1921 the first of the pair is by the Earl of Oxford, while there is evidence (pp. 262-3) of collaboration between him and Stanley, it would have been easy for a fragment of Stanley's Poem to have remained among Oxford's papers. Be this as it may, the numerous differences in spelling, capitals etc. between the three versions (*P.P.*, *P.d.h.* and *E.H.*) show that several copies must have been in circulation or rather copies of copies, because of the absence of *y*-spellings.

Mistress Poem.

Item (6) of *P.P.*, here called the ' Mistress Poem,' is an evidentially crucial Lyric because a manuscript of it (Plate II) exists (or did exist in the possession of Mr. S. Lysons) which is in Stanley's handwriting, and because Dorrell's malicious paraphrase of the Lyric (p. 56) in *Willobie his Avisa* is addressed by ' W.S.' to ' H.W.' Jaggard's unreliable ascription in *P.P.* may be ignored, but genuineness is proved by every critical test ; notably the characteristic vigorous idiom, the realistic but peculiar vocabulary (e.g. ' vniuste ' = unfaithful, ' sticke ' = stop), the word-play (' deare '), the high alliteration ($a_r = 180$), the word repetition (e.g. ' dissembled ') with $\rho = 22$, the imagery (e.g. as in ' cloudye ' or ' cocke ') and such typical expressions as : " subtill practyse smell," " to live soe like a sainte," " when tyme doth serve " or " Nowe hoe inoughe."

But the text as found in *P.P.* is ' terribly ' corrupt (senseless in places) and the order of the stanzas is all wrong, for (taking the numerals below to indicate their sequence in *P.P.*) the correct order should be

1, 2, 5, 6, 3, 4, 8, 7, 9,

which is that of the manuscript. [This M.S. order and not that of *P.P.* is adopted in the brief exegesis which follows.] The superiority of the verse, in this (as will be shown) the original autograph, over the atrocious travesty in *P.P.* gives some measure of the corruption which Shakespeare's M.S. in general must have suffered in the course of copying and printing, due to author's nonchalance ; because here, as in *Sir Thomas More* (Hands D and E), there is just the same sort of Derby carelessness. Thus while most of the *i*'s are dotted, there is complete indifference as to punctuation, inverted commas (stanzas 6 and 8), interrogation mark (8) and capitals at line beginnings (which are ' & ' in 1, 4, and 6) ; also there are unrevised mistakes, viz. in the malformed *w* of ' vnwise ' and ' vnwayde ' (stanza 1), in ' lurkes ' (the old Northern *s*-plural—a tell-tale slip) instead of ' lurke ' in st. 8 (1) and ' expences ' 3 (3) which should be ' expence ' [i.e. expenditure, as in Sonnets **94** and **129**]. It will be noticed that ' noughte ' in 8 (6) is given the old pronunciation ' noft ' and that ' haulte ' in 2 (4) is made to rhyme with ' talke ' (the *t* and *k* being then semi-silent and *l* sounded) ; also that there appears to be double meaning in 2 (4), one referring to a halting tale in 2 (1, 2) and the other to a woman's craft in detecting " subtill practyse," just as the proverbial cripple ' spots ' a halt (cf. also Chaucer's ' crepul '—*Troylus and Cryseyde* IV, stanza 205).

The date of the Poem cannot be fixed definitely, but about 1589 seems reasonable, having regard to its style, erotic content, and the presence of one *S*-line ; the latter occurs in 7 (3) but in the eighth stanza of *P.P.* this line was made end-stopt by brackets, it and the next line being not only altered but completely misunderstood. Indeed the whole *P.P.* version is so confused as to give the impression that it was derived originally not from this autograph or a copy, but from a half-drunk ' pal ' of imperfect memory who had enjoyed the

licentiousness of the Lyric as a ribald tavern " songe " [9 (2)]. Nevertheless it was seemingly written for a *wealthy* friend seeking advice as to how to choose and handle a mistress, for both poet and addressee must have been in a position of affluence as is obvious from the contents of stanza 3, especially its image of the " golden bullett " ; and the W.S. paraphrase in *Willobie* spoken to ' H.W.' suggests that this youth was Henry Wriothesly Earl of Southampton (though he was only 16 in 1589). If so, since he appears to have later (1591) seduced Shakespeare's mistress causing him such bitter chagrin (see Sonnets **40, 41, 42, 133, 134** and **144**), this subsequent seduction would have been a cruelly ironical boomerang ; for stanza 9 by referring to " my ladye " shows that the Poem preceded the consequent break with his mistress.

The spelling is old fashioned (deviation 35·7%) and where there are words in common with the Earl of Derby's script consistently spelt (e.g. ' humblie ' or ' tyme ') it is the same ; the high spelling deviation is almost identical with Derby's figure (34%) in his 1596 epistle (Plate VI) ; also the high proportion (8·8%) of abbreviated words, like ' y^{t} ' (= ' that,' 5 times), ' pson ' etc., is almost the same as his mean overall percentage. Chaucer's ' the ' (thee) in 6 (2) is the same as that already noted in the Wit-Will Poem to Breton (p. 244) ; the Northern spelling ' woemen ' in 6 (5) and 7 (1) is found in the Pandion Ode ; Chaucer's spelling ' yow ' for you in 6 (6) and 8 (5) was used by both Derby and Bacon ; and ' vnwayde ' recalls ' way ' and ' waying ' [weighing] in the Quartos of *Hamlet* or *Mucedorus* etc. In various Shakespearian Quartos, parallels in expressions are found, e.g. " when time doth serve " (cf. *Mucedorus* V, 1, 63, *T.G.V.* III, 1, 252, (1) *Contention* sc. 1, 135, etc.) ; " wilt not sticke " (*Edward III*, II, 1, 316) ; " hast thou heard " (*Ed. III*, III, 1, 5), " outward shewe " (*Richard III*, III, 1, 10) or " frame/Your will to mine " (*Pericles* II, 5, 81). In *T.G.V.* (III, 1, 93-101) similar sentiments to those in stanzas 5 and 6 are found ; while in *Faire Em* besides verbal parallels, like " outward shewe " (III, 6, 18), " spare not " (IV, 3, 21), " displeased browes " (I, 1, 10) etc., there is the short passage beginning " Let Maistres nice goe Saint it . . . " (V, 1, 130), strongly recalling stanzas 7 and 8.

The manuscript, a facsimile of which is to be found in Vol. 16 of Halliwell's (Halliwell-Phillips') Folio of Shakespeare's works, has received little attention because, no one recognising the handwriting, it has hitherto been supposed that it was a stray copy of the *P.P.* Poem, made by someone about 1594. That it was a neat copy by the author himself of his own draft is indicated among other things by *y*-spelling analysis : there are 16* *y*-spellings in 362 words, that is 52 equivalent lines which are too few to reach a true frequency figure, but calculation by formula (8) p. 154 shows that the extreme deviation, for 90% probability, is such that the Index I_a of the writer lay somewhere between 22 and 42, figures which are too high for any scrivener's copy but what would be expected if Stanley (whose *currente calamo* I_a was 40·7) had copied his own (perhaps originally untidy) autograph. The handwriting is certainly not that of Bacon (p. 140), or the 17th Earl of Oxford, or Shakspere (signatures) but except in minor points it is indistinguishable from the Earl of Derby's. No writing of William Stanley is known (save this) before he became Earl a few years later, by which time some slight changes in pen-habit could have supervened ; these changes were progressive with the lapse of time and as he grew older his writing became more angular, more Italianate, more sloping and more slipshod. It is not surprising therefore that the Hand of the Mistress Poem should show less resemblance to his later epistles than his earlier, where the correspondence superficially and in detail is uncanny.

Identification of the Hand of the Poem with Stanley's is grounded not on a mere comparison of conventional letter shapes, which are not significant, but on peculiarities which are uncommon elsewhere. Derby's calligraphic variations and idiosyncrasies (p. 285) were very pronounced, and a similar wide variation in the shapes of letters is found in the

* Only one of these *y*-spellings is found in the printed *P.P.* version which also shows numerous other differences in spelling ; all confirming an oral origin.

manuscript, many of these with their minor characteristics faithfully repeating those found in Plates V, VI and VII for instance. Of the Capitals in common we find, in the manuscript, Derby's distinctive uncrossed wide looped A in *And* (stanzas 2, 3, 5), his equally distinctive I, uncrossed and crossed, in *Joyes* (7) and *I* (9), his degenerate S in *Serve* (4), his characteristic *T* in *Thinke* (7) and *The* (8) and his elegant Y in *Yet* (9); but the Capital N of '*Nowe*' (9) is not known to the writer in Derby's script except in degenerate form in 'Nephew' (Plate VII) similarly very elongated.

Every minuscle of the alphabet (except *q*, *x* and *z*, not in the Poem) exhibits Derby's peculiar variations, some of the more striking identities being shown below :—

a : mostly modern, but a few open forms appear, as in *and* (st. 2) and *fancye* (1) ;
c : several distinctive varieties, e.g. one with lower spur, in *trickes* (8) ;
e : highly distinctive are the numerous epsilon-shaped forms, e.g. in *dissembled* (5) ;
f : two varieties very distinctive, viz. final *f* with strongly flexed (twiddle) flourish, as in *if* (9), and sinuous Italian *f* in *finis* ;
g : with highly distinctive curled tails of Derby's shape, e.g. *ringinge* (3) ;
h : two of Derby's four characteristic varieties ; one the old 'secretary' *h* in *perhappes* (5) the other sharply cusped as in *there* (3) ;
i : Derby's peculiar rounded top is seen in *in* (st. 4 and 6) and *it* (4) ;
l : both sharp and rounded below, with narrow and wide upper loops, e.g. *feble* (6) ;
o : Derby's characteristic open *o* is seen in *no* (7) and *to* (st. 9, line 3) ;
r : Derby's peculiar footed forms, with both single and double stems, are seen in such words as *spare* (3) and *cripple* (2), and his strongly bowed base in *strongest* (3) ;
s : most characteristic is the uncommon down-looped final *s*, in *secrets* (9), used by Derby ;
u : Derby's *n*-shaped letter is seen in *inoughe* and *muche* (both st. 9).

All these peculiarities are pure Derby forms and hundreds of the Poem's minor variations (all of which go to make up pen-habit) also appear in his script.* Among these minor peculiarities are various letter-linkages in word structure, especially *s* with a following letter, as seen in the exaggerated slant of the tongue-shaped link in such words of the Poem as : *subtill, dissembled* (twice), *soe* etc., like similar unusual strokes in Derby's 1596 epistle (Plate VI) in such words as : *resolved, please, moste* (twice) etc. ; the *se* of *dissembled* (st. 5) for instance being virtually identical with that in Derby's *causes* (line 2), and the *sh* of *blushe* (st. 9) with that in Derby's *shall* (lines 31 and 37). Again it will be noticed that in the Poem the first *f* of *ff* and *s* of *ss* are lower than the second (more so than with most writers) as in : *proffer, assured, dissembled* and *kyssinge*, in exactly the same way as in such words (Plate VI) as : *affected, officer, assigned, assurances* and others. Similar tendencies to *absence* of letter-link are found, especially with letters following *o* and *w* ; compare for instance : *what* and *lookes* (st. 5) with Derby's *whither* and *good* (lines 8 and 18, Plate VI).

The above examples which could be multiplied *ad lib.* will suffice to demonstrate that Derby's script simply teems with idiosyncratic similarities of habit, these extending even to characteristic abbreviations and flourishes, very noticeable in the case of final *l*, *e* and *s*, and in the graceful curvature of the tails of *g* and *y*, or the unusually deep bow of *h*. Although these idiosyncrasies, in common, were of course not unique taken separately, collectively being so widespread they were unique ; and the only essential discrepancies that critical comparison brings to light are (i) a rather more upright slope and more rounded contour with the script of the Poem, (ii) absence of the conventional concave looped *st* linkage of the Poem, from Derby's known cursive script though found in his legal Hand (p. 271) while exactly similar links are found with his cursive *sh* and *sl*, (iii) the high frequency in the Poem of the conventional scrivener's *d* i.e. with single straight back-stroke, only found twice in Derby's 1596 epistle (Plate VI) though very frequent in his legal Hand, which also like the Poem is less slanting than his epistolary script. Such minor differences, normal to any writer owing to differences in sharpness of quill, speed of writing or even humour, would be expected with the Earl of Derby, whose Hand was so very variable (see Appendix I). That he (as Stanley) wrote the Poem is quite beyond question.

* Conviction, on such an important issue as this, of course demands critical comparison of every variety of every letter contrasted with other contemporary script : and the analysis is absolutely decisive, as also is detailed comparison of the Mistress Poem with Hands D and E.

A gentle woman love to marry with a man
and not to live so like a saint
here is no reason, they go by him
beginne mynnage does him a hinderance
were kissinge all the joyes in bodes —
one woman wolde another wedde

It is myche and pitye that in them sinfed
dis sembled wth an entreade sone
the trifled & toyes & meaned to woorke
the perfect treade from fall not knowe
Leave you not geare that sayes full of so
a woman and maydes dye stand for nought

Nowe was mongst too many I feare
for if my ladye geare the songe
she will not stirke to ringe mm eare
to tearye my tonnige to be so longe
yet wonde she bliss & one be it stare
to geare yor secrete thus beinwayde.

finis

Middelburg Ignoto Poem.

Of the several editions of *Epigrammes and Elegies by I.D. and C.M.* which were piratically published without date, "At Middleborough" [Middelburg, Holland] according to the title pages, only the first appears to have contained the above Ignoto Poem. This edition, whose date Ritson conjectured as 1596/7 (it may have been earlier), found as a rare exemplar among the Isham papers, was reprinted verbatim (together with the 1599 editions of *V. and A.* and *P.P.*) by Charles Edmonds in 1870 ; one (vulgar) word only of the Poem being left to the imagination. The matter of these " Epigrammes and Elegies " consists of two parts, (1) the Martial-emulating but poor (and doubtless very juvenile) Epigrams of I.D., i.e. John Davies (knighted in 1603), and (2) the elegies by C.M., i.e. Marlowe, which are puerile translations (made apparently when he was a student at Cambridge about 1583) of " certaine " of Ovid's *Amores*. As some of these " Elegies " are consequently erotic this might explain why the pirate interpolated irrelevantly between groups (1) and (2) the buoyantly mocking but licentious Poem headed IGNOTO, a heading which suffices to show that either he did not know who Ignoto (Latin, ' by an unknown ') was or suppressed his name.

Ignoto was certainly not Marlowe, though Robinson (1826), Dyce (1850), Cunningham (1870) and Bullen (1885), all apparently supposed he was, for they each included the Poem among Marlowe's works. [Their versions, which are in un-informative modern spelling, render the words *fist* and *God* incorrectly, ' fill ' and ' cock ! ']. But comparison of Marlowe's vocabulary in his " Elegies " (including the "All " of later editions) with Ignoto's shows that he never used several of Ignoto's more striking words (*bezling*, *bowsing*, *busse*, *decocted*, *debonaire*, *gnash*, *puling* and *whine*) and, still more significant, that Marlowe's spelling (pp. 175-6) is much less archaic (e.g. ' beautie,' ' base,' or ' thigh,' not *beawtie*, *bace*, or *thygh* of Ignoto). In his Plays Marlowe naturally employed most of Ignoto's words (' caper,' ' quaff,' " Ay me," etc.) though usually without his figurative subtlety, and never with the realistic exuberance which among many other things presently considered stamps this Poem as genuine. The date of composition was probably in the early '80,s for several reasons ; there are three *y*-spellings in its 45 lines and one optional *S*-line (9th) from which the date by *S*-formula works out at about 1582, with much uncertainty on so few lines, but roughly consistent with the manifestly youthful freedom and, more important, with the unusually high spelling deviation (25%) despite later printing from a copy (as shown by *y*-spelling proportion) ; D_{calc} for 1596 being only 20·4%, while Marlowe's mean is only 18·4.

The Poem, fairly rich in alliteration (α_T = 108), consists of a Sonnet of normal canonical pattern (perhaps the earliest of Shakespeare's Sonnets) followed by two stanzas totalling 31 lines in rhyming couplets, and one triplet. Long ago (1912) Creighton detected Shakespeare, not only in its lively vigour but in parallels with Sonnet 130 as well as with some lines in *Romeo and Juliet* and *Richard III*. To these criteria many more convincing ones might be added which leave authorship in no reasonable doubt. Here are : typical idiom, style and smooth metre ; the musical parallel with Sonnet 128 ; the word-play, as in " bace viall " (musical viol, and vile scrotum) and in *bore* (pierce and mock—the latter as in *Henry VIII* I, 1, 128) ; the use of an adjective as noun (*small* = waist, c.f. *L.L.L.* V, 2, 645) ; the figures of speech in such words as " runne," " eate up," " perfections throane," " Oyling my saint," foreshadowing Shakespeare's images ; and numerous peculiarities in the vocabulary. These besides *saint* (meaning adored girl, as several times in *Romeo and Juliet* or elsewhere), *puling*, *soundly*, etc., include such words or expressions as : *minikin* (here meaning the treble string of the " fidell," not dainty as in *K. Lear* III, 6, 46), *modestie* (meaning not chastity but unobtrusiveness as in *Hamlet* II, 2, 289 or *K. Lear* II, 4, 25), *sonnetting* (cf.

L.L.L. IV, 3, 158), *bezling* (squandering), *bowsing* (boosing), *luxurie* (lust) and " durtie silken shootyres " (misprint for shoe ties, cf. " durtie shooe "—*Henry V*, IV, 1, 47, Folio, or " Mr. Shootie " *M.M.*, IV, 3, 18, Folio). Other characteristic expressions are : " those lips of thine," as in Sonnet 142, " thy bodies faire proportion " (cf. *Faire Em* I, 3, 51-53), " drunken curtesie," " seruile Asse," " egregious foppery " (cf. *K. Lear* I, 2, 130), " Harke in thine eare " (cf. *K. Lear* IV, 6, 157 and *Pericles* I, 2, 76), " gnash a bricke," " by the chappes of hell " (jaws of hell), " thrise decocted blood," in Rabelais' seminiferous sense (Book III, Chap. 31) analogous to the sense of virility in *Henry V* (III, 5, 20) and " busse thy fist " (cf. Rabelais' '*poing*' Book I, Chap. 57). Characteristic too is the deliberate repetition (ρ as high as 35)—not only in the words *sweete, sprightly, beawty, daunce, sing, court, eare, wench, love* etc. but in " I love thee not " (six times), " I cannot " (six times) and "Ay me " (twice). The Poem being accessible, is not reproduced here, but a few disconnected lines are quoted as samples :—

> " I love thee not for that my soule doth daunce,
> And leape with pleasure when those lips of thine " . . .
>
> " I cannot whine in puling Elegies " . . .
>
> " Swearing by Jove thou art most debonaire :
> Not I by God, but shal I tel thee roundly " . . .

No other poet combined all the attributes implicit in the above brief analysis ; and this *very* intimate effusion was clearly intended only for the eye of his " Sweete wench " or perhaps a few men friends, one of whom might have parted with a copy to the pirate publisher. The personal charms of the lady who surrendered to him are set forth so vividly that she may be taken as real, not fictional, but her character is very different from that of the " dark lady " of the canonical Sonnets ; being the acme of " rauishing perfection," with a sweet musical voice for uttering poetry, a " sprightly wit," an " inchaunting eye " and " slender " waist.

It may be that this " Well featurde lasse," whom he nevertheless treated as an inferior, was Southern French, because of two highly suggestive lines :—

> " Nor will I weare a rotten Burbon lock,
> As some sworn pesant to a female smock."

Here " smock " has the double sense, undergarment (as in *Othello* V, 2, 272) and frivolous woman (as in *All's well* II, 1, 30), and the lines refer to the prevalent fashion among gallants of wearing a lock of hair as a favour. The word ' rotten ' connotes worn-out or frayed (as in *Coriolanus* V, 5, 95) while ' Burbon ' [Bourbon] distinctly signifies a badge in honour of Henri, King of Navarre, not unlike that in *L.L.L.* V, 2, 125 and 322. Further as Shakespeare generally used the word peasant (Fr. ' paysan ') for French or foreign rustics rather than English, e.g. " the peasant boys of France " (1) *Henry VI*, IV, 6, 48, it seems not improbable that the Poem was actually written at Nerac in 1583, where in Henri's brilliant court Stanley, though " not fashioned for these amorous times," seems to have thoroughly enjoyed them all the same. This conjecture is supported on the one hand by the French, indeed Rabelaisian and courtly, flavour of the whole Poem and its allusion to " muskie Courtiers " reminiscent of the atmosphere of *L.L.L.* ; while on the other it is certain that its writer, who used words of the North-western dialect (*bezling, bonet, bowsing* and *lasse*) and the Lancashire spelling ' durtie ' was, like Stanley then, very juvenile and libidinous but far from hypocritical.

Also there is some external confirmation of Stanley authorship. The books containing this Poem were destroyed in June 1599 by the Archbishop (Whitgift) of Canterbury and Bishop (Bancroft) of London, among the general holocaust of prurient publications, but this did not stop attempts to issue an English edition, for on 3rd January 1600 there was entered to Eleazer Edgar at the Stationer's Hall a book of "Amores, by I.D. with certain othyr sonnettes

by W.S." ; and although this book apparently never appeared, the entry distinctly suggests that IGNOTO was a poet whose initials were W.S., which at the early date of the Poem could certainly stand for none other than William Stanley himself.

The parallels with *L.L.L.* are so repeated and so striking as to suggest that the first sketch of this Play was really made in France about the same time. Ignoto's scorn of humbug is so like that of Berowne (Biron the mouthpiece of Shakespeare himself) as to dispel any lingering doubt as to who Ignoto was—see for example Biron's words or sentiments : in III, 1, 188-212 (repeating the sense of Ignoto's words in " crosse my armes," ' coulors,' ' sigh,' ' sue,' and ' whining ') ; in IV, 3, 134-142 and 181-5 (ridiculing love-rhyme) ; in V, 2, 406-416 (praising blunt truth) ; or V, 2, 495 (" by Joue "). Note also in *L.L.L.* the Rabelaisian word-juggling with *double entendre* in IV, 1, 128-143 and elsewhere ; the words (sometimes repeated several times) spelt as in the Folio : *caper'd, curtesie, colours, court, courtier, dallie, danse, faith, lasse, lispe, pied, smocks, sue, sworne, wench, whyning, Wit* etc., all used in Ignoto's sense ; the words " leape for joy " (V, 2, 291) and the sentiments in V, 2, 316-325 like Ignoto's.

It is not surprising that similar parallels should be found in other early genuine but non-canonical Plays. In *Faire Em* for instance we have " cannot . . . court my Maistres with fabulous discourses " (III, 1, 114) ; in *T.R.* " to weare a Ladies favour " ((1), 2, 164) ; in (1) *Contention* even the identical phrase " those lips of thine " (Praetorius 12, 46) and quite a number of similar parallels are found elsewhere. Also in each of these early Plays, *Pericles* and (1) *Henry VI*, we find Ignoto's unusual words repeatedly and generally spelt the same in the early Quartos, as for example *beawtie, durt, pide, saint* (woman), *smock, throane* or *Zoundes*.

So absurdly realistic is this Poem that one is tempted to read into the words :—

" when those lips of thine
Give musicall and gracefull vtterance
To some (by thee made happy) Poets line "

an event in real life, a lesson in English like that in *Henry V*, III, 4, with the poet himself as instructor ; so similar are the outspoken sentiments of Henry (particularly in V, 2, 134 *et seq.*) to those of Ignoto.

Other Ignoto Poems.

In *Englands Helicon* (1600 and 1614) and *Davison's Poetical Rapsodie* (1602), also scattered in various other places, a number of anonymous pieces by " Ignoto " are to be found, a few of which bear every mark of genuineness. Looney in 1921 ascribed eleven such Poems in *E.H.* to the 17th Earl of Oxford, whom he identified as Shakespeare himself ; and of these the present writer accepts the ' Pandion Ode ' (p. 253) and four Lyrics as early Shakespearian fragments viz. those whose first lines are :—

(*a*) Hey downe a downe did *Dian* sing
(*b*) In Pescod time, when Hounde to horne
(*c*) Sweete Violets (Loues Paradise) that spread
(*d*) Come liue with mee, and be my deere.

Space forbids quotation of these Poems which are easily accessible. Their repeat index and alliteration number lies between wide limits (mean $\rho = 20$; mean $a_r = 140$) and, as found in *E.H.*, all have high spelling deviation (mean 22·5% ; $D_{calc.} = 18 \cdot 3\%$ for 1600) which with other evidence points to early date, but as it would be tedious to recount all the reasons for accepting them it must suffice to say that they show various recognisable Shakespearian idiosyncrasies. This is true even of the earliest ebullient items (*a*) and (*b*) which are simply effervescent with gaiety. The former (*a*) seems to have been written for young George Peele about 1582 for presentation before the Queen in his *Araygnement of Paris* (IV, 3), printed in 1584. In the flowery gem (*c*)

reasonably dated about 1587, whose vocabulary recalls certain words in *B.I.* (*trace*, *consorting*, *scorne*, etc.) we similarly find adjectives used as nouns (' pure ' and ' bright '), exaggerated conceits, and even unusual words such as ' palie ' as in *Henry V* (Chorus IV, 8), or ' honours ' used in Shakespeare's sense of duties (as in *Pericles* II, 2, 14). [The full stops after ' faces ' and ' scorne ' should be commas ; there should be no comma after ' bright ' and the word ' spread ' of stanza 2 is a corruption of ' shed.']

The frequently used pseudonym ' Ignoto ' of those days was once thought to connote Sir Walter Raleigh and some Ignoto Poems were almost certainly his ; that for example in *E.H.* which follows, as a " reply," Marlowe's familiar " Come liue with mee, and be my loue." But the Ignoto lyric immediately following this reply (and Oxford's according to Looney), namely item (*d*) above, is of a very different calibre from that supposed to be Raleigh's, even superior to Marlowe's idyll in its lofty ethereal imagery as well as by its cunning use of music in " Loues Paradice." This trio of Lyrics, probably of date about 1591, is interesting in having a common theme, from which it might be gathered that they were written in friendly rivalry, conceived perhaps in some London tavern. The only other acceptable Poems signed Ignoto are those previously noted, viz. (1) the two stanzas (p. 163) accompanying the *Phoenix and the Turtle* and (2) the 4-stanza testimonial (p. 238) to Spenser in 1589.

A.W. Poems and 17th Earl of Oxford.

If the problematical 'A.W.' were the author of all the Poems associated with these initials he must have been a very prolific writer, for nearly 80 such pieces, many of high merit, are found in Francis Davison's *A Poetical Rapsodie* (1602) and these are less than half the total. In this *D.P.R.* actually only one is signed 'A.W.' (the Willy Eclogue, p. 237) but the others are known, because as stated on p. 246 there is in the Harleian M.S. 280 a long list in Davison's neat handwriting, headed :—

Catalog of all the Poems in Ryme or measured Verse by A.W.

This list, showing first lines, comprises nearly 200 such Poems, occupying no less than six folios written on both sides, and following a similar list of 157 " Poems contayned in Englands Helicon " ; so that it is through the first lines of the manuscript list that the anonymous A.W. Poems of *D.P.R.* are recognisable. In the latter Davison, i.e. in his preface " To the reader " in 1602, said that among his own and other Poems he had included " some written by my deere friend *Anomos* " [? Anonymos], but in the later editions (1608 and 1611) he changed this phrase to " written by my deere friends Anonymoi." It would therefore seem that the initials A.W. signify ' anonymous writer ' (as first proposed by W. T. Linton) but that more than one individual is implied. Such plurality is confirmed by the varying quality and style of the Poems, as well as by occasional interchangeability signifying synonymity of A.W. and *Ignoto*, but Davison's list, which contains some repetitions and is not altogether reliable has some mistakes, even one A.W. item which he ascribes to himself in *D.P.R.*

Davison, a most unreliable and confused witness as to the origin of these stylistically diverse A.W. Poems, tried to blame the printer for the inclusion of matter " by great and learned Personages," which, if it applies to the A.W. group and the three signed *Ignoto* in *D.P.R.*, means that there were several distinguished authors ; but his most explicit information is that " those under the Name of Anomos " were written " almost twentie yeers since " [i.e. in the '80's]. These were no doubt the A.W. Poems, and close scrutiny

has led the present writer tentatively to ascribe many of them to the Earl of Oxford* as "Anomos," while five or six are assigned to Shakespeare (Stanley, p. 263) ; all composed at a period prior to 1590, which is entirely consistent with their spelling and other internal features. Some of the supposed Oxfordian Poems are of very superior calibre, closely simulating Shakespeare and certainly excelling that of other writers of the period, except Spenser or Marlowe (who however seem to be excluded by style) ; Raleigh, Dyer, Breton, Sidney, Greene, Lodge, Peele, Watson, etc., all being inadmissible, in the present writer's view, for one reason or another, but the chief interest of these superior Poems lies in the evidence they afford of some sort of association between the Earl of Oxford and Shakespeare.

There are some 22 Lyrics (in scattered manuscripts) known to be Oxford's (see *The Poems of Edward de Vere*, Looney 1921), two of which are also in the Song books and one in *E.H.*, but in addition to these 22, Looney reasonably identified him as author of several others, including the Ignoto Poems noted on p. 259 ; and now the present writer plausibly recognises him not only in many A.W. Poems, but in various anonymous Lyrics of the Song books, and even in some of the poetry of Newman's *Sonnets after Astrophel* etc. (1591) ; all on the grounds of style similarity to the above 22. At all events many of them are permeated with bitter grief and distress as if reflecting Oxford's troubled life during the '80,s. Space does not permit their discussion, but a study of all this authentic or probable poetry of the 17th Earl of Oxford shows that like Sidney he was usually clogged by personal feelings (mostly love-woe and other misery). He knew not the magic of verbal enchantment, never soared into the infinite or plumbed philosophic depths, nor did he ever achieve Shakespeare's peculiar imagery. And in spite of all that Looney (*Shakespeare identified*, 1920) and others have urged in the attempt to prove identity, he was *not* Shakespeare.

When the external evidence in favour of such Oxford - Shakespeare identity is dissected critically, much of it is found to apply equally well to the Earl of Derby : that is to say aristocratic qualities, a taste for falconry, musical proficiency (Farmer), travel, legal training, Lancastrian bias in Shakespeare's Histories, poetic ability (Oxford was according to Webbe " the best of courtier Poets in the early years of Elizabeth's reign," and Spenser praised his love for the Muses), and the fact that he was a writer of Comedy (Puttenham and Meres's testimony). So too the coincidences† with Shakespeare's Plays (*All's well* etc.) adduced are unconvincing because they can all be easily explained otherwise ; and hand-writing deductions (Rendall) are falsified by the implicit assumption that the Plays and Sonnets were printed from autograph, while the new *y*-spelling method proves that they were printed from copies. The facts of incompatibility which exclude him are decisive, viz. (1) his character which was cantankerous and even revengeful, (2) his name (Edward) which was not Will or Willy, and his initials which were not W.S., (3) his ineligibility for the throne, (4) his handwriting (Appendix I) and (5) various time-considerations (next page).

* For instance those beginning : " The fairest pearls . . .; .," The frozen snake . . . ;," "All is not gold . . .," " The love of change . . .," " If my decay . . .," " My wanton Muse . . . ," "Are women fair . . . ." and " Now have I learned . . . ." The spelling deviation of these is normal for 1602 but their alliteration numbers are high (mean a_1 = 198) ; they and a number of others show a remarkable resemblance in style, personification, imagery and versification to the best of Oxford's accredited Lyrics and even to some of those believed to be Stanley's.

† For example : (1) the euphuism in *L.L.L.* (Lyly was Oxford's secretary and so would be well known to Stanley), (2) the Play-characters Horatio and Anne (brother and wife of Oxford, but no more significant than, say, Anthony, Bacon's brother, or Ferdinand, Alice, Jaquenetta, Ursula, Margaret and Anne, immediate relations of Stanley), (3) Oxford's experience with his wife similar to that of Bertram and Helen in *All's well* (Shakespeare took the incident from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, 9th story 3rd day).

Thus Shakespeare's period of prime artistic vigour (the product quantity × index of quality) lay within the decade 1597 - 1606 ; it would have been ten years earlier if he had been the Earl of Oxford, who was born in 1550 and before he was 26 wrote good verse, for he must have developed his maximum power* by 1590, i.e. at 40, ten years before Shakespeare had developed his, and there is no valid evidence that Oxford wrote Plays after 1588. Further, he died in 1604, after which numerous Shakespeare Plays appeared ; and it has now been proved by the *R*-formula that they were *written* after Oxford's death ; these comprise *Macbeth, Coriolanus, Antony and Cleopatra, Timon of Athens, Winter's tale, Cymbeline* and *Tempest*. [Such insuperable difficulties are met by the special device (for which there is no evidence worthy the name) of ante-dating all the Plays by 10 years, as first drafts.] In any case independent witnesses give testimony to the fact that Shakespeare was alive long after Oxford's death ; not to count the uncertain evidence of the I.M.S. Poem (p. 163) or the more convincing Chelsea epitaph (p. 53), John Davies in his epigram (p. 43) about 1611, used the present tense (" hast " and " sowst ") in speaking of Shakespeare, just as he used the past tense when alluding to his earlier failure to become a King. So also in 1612 Thomas Heywood referred to Shakespeare as being then " much offended " (p. 249), and the writer of the fore-word in the 1609 Quarto of *Troilus and Cressida* spoke of the author as then living. Such self-confirming date-testimony is unambiguous and to explain it away, with other no less damning facts, requires such a series of gratuitous assumptions as to stultify the theory beyond retrieval.

On the plain evidence Oxford was a first class poet-dramatist " among the best for Comedy," but ' concealed ' by virtue of his exalted status, and practically unknown until Looney brought him to light, his poetry resembling but falling far short of Shakespeare's ; the nearest approach to which is probably to be found in the Lyric on " Woman's changeableness " signed " Earle of Oxenforde " in the Rawlinson M.S. Here there is real falconry imagery of Shakespeare's stamp, but when this Lyric is compared with the different version found in William Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets, etc.* (1588), signed " Edward (Vere) Earl of Oxford," the image in the latter is seen to be so tame (second and third stanzas), as to raise the question whether Oxford himself made the various improvements. Much of the mystery about Oxford and Shakespeare, particularly in regard to the pseudo-Shakespearian A.W. Poems, is cleared up if working-contact between the two is admitted, with mutual influence ; Shakespeare, whose myriad-mind had an insatiable absorptive capacity, having imbibed inspiration from Oxford, much as he did from Grange, Breton, Bacon, Marlowe, Spenser, and other contemporaries.

It must be recalled in this connection that Oxford was related to William Stanley by marriage ties† and knew him intimately long before Stanley as 6th Earl of Derby married his daughter, but Oxford being about ten years older likely enough treated his young kinsman's excursions into poetry with haughty disdain, much as he did Sir Philip Sidney whom he called a " puppy." At any rate he certainly criticised the Earl of Derby as a man of business, and from the sarcastic tone of Oxford's remarks in 1596 we know how he contemned his son-in-law most unkindly ; for instance when referring to a delay in signing

* Great things have often been achieved by old men (Bacon or Lefranc for instance), but this does not invalidate the product rule which makes the prime age usually lie between 35 and 45. It would seem that output is mathematically related to excellence and age by some such formula as $xy = C \sin 2a$, where x and y are the indices of quality and quantity, a = age, and C is a personal constant.

† Stanley's paternal grandmother (Dorothy Howard) was sister to Anne the 14th Countess of Oxford ; and Frances, daughter of the 15th Earl of Oxford, married Stanley's second cousin once removed, the poet Earl of Surrey.

some document, he said " The Earl of Derby should have set his hand and seal to this copy as he had done to yours, but his promises being but delays and shifts " he had to get Ireland (Derby's solicitor) to do it. This irascibility may have sprung from temperamental incompatibility between them, but it had possibly been exacerbated by an awakening and envious sense of poetic inferiority dating away back to 1587 or earlier. Oxford at that time would naturally prize his own poesie as superior to that of young Stanley, who might have been nettled into showing what he could do, and in some such way a sort of poetic rivalry could have sprung up between 1587 and 1590, giving birth to some of these A.W. Odes and Lyrics. In the course of this (supposed) private interchange of Poems it is easy to imagine that Stanley made improvements in some of Oxford's—the aforesaid " Woman's changeableness " Lyric, for example, where by a few deft strokes the whole theme was vivified and a tepid simile converted into a living image. Oxford, true poet as he was, could not fail to perceive the magic in any such improvements, even if he at last realised that he had met more than his match. Did he then retire discomfited from the fray ? We know that his poetic record is blank after about 1589 or 1590, when he was only 40, a fact which Looney explained by the assumption that he was all the while secretly writing up the drafts (composed earlier) of the Shakespeare Plays. The explanation, if any is required, may lie in Oxford's recognition that his star had set ; and this might account for the curious valedictory tone of despair in one of the (supposed Oxfordian) A.W. Lyrics, about 1590, i.e. if he realised that he was eclipsed by Stanley. It begins " Mine eyes have spent their tears and now are dry," and includes two very significant lines :—

> Then Loving Muse, depart, and let me die
> Some braver youth will sue to thee for grace.

Stanleyan A.W. Poems. While some of the A.W. Poems may thus have been jointly contrived, a few are considered by the present writer on their qualities to be solely Stanley's and therefore genuine Shakespearian fragments, their first lines in *D.P.R.* being :—

(1) It chaunst of late a Shepheards swaine
(2) When Venus saw Desire must die
(3) My Hart was found within my Ladies Brest
(4) The night say all, was made for rest
(5) Eternall time, that wastest without waste
(6) A new-found match is made of late.

Items (1) and (2) have abnormally high spelling deviation (mean 24% as against $D_{calc.} = 17 \cdot 7$ for 1602) and are no doubt very early. Most of these Poems have high alliteration numbers, the unweighted mean a_r being 183, and as all exhibit typical features of one kind or another they require no detailed discussion. Item (2) seems to foreshadow the grief of Venus as portrayed in the closing stanzas of *V. and A.* ; and item (6) as it stands is interesting because of its imperfections. Its idiosyncrasies are plain enough, such as the old Northern plural (' hides '), word-play, phrasing, and four lines on music, but it is so carelessly written as to suggest that it was a *currente calamo* composition without any revision (e.g. the word ' dissembling ' clumsily occurs four times in as many stanzas, despite which its repeat index ρ is only 20). The overall average ρ for all six Poems is 22 ·4, but that of item (5), erroneously ascribed to Raleigh by Hannah, is 26, i.e. much higher than his average (p. 172) ; while, apart from this, other qualities exclude Raleigh. Its philosophic abstraction and rampant antithesis, its anticipation of *Lucrece* (Time stanzas), of Sonnets

3 and **86** (Tomb-womb linkage), and of *Phœnix and the Turtle* (" givst and takst " and " constant, inconstant ") all stamp this fine apostrophe to Time as genuine. [In stanza 2, line 6, ' Was " and " do thee " seem to be corruptions of *What* and *dost thou* ; ' Was ' (st. 3, line 4) should also be *What.*]

The interesting question as to how these Poems came to be mixed up in Francis Davison's *D.P.R.* with more numerous A.W. Poems plausibly assigned to the Earl of Oxford, is easy to answer at least hypothetically : if they were in some measure the result of rivalry, Oxford would have copies of all of them, including Stanley's, say tied up in a bundle. He presumably parted with his bundle about 1602 without sorting them out when importuned by young Francis for his collection ; a natural request from the son of Sir William Davison, Oxford's co-ambassador in the mission to Flanders in 1585. [In a similar kind of way one of Oxford's Lyrics (" Fortune and Love ") published by Nashe in 1591 and signed ' E.O.' was ascribed in 1633 to Fulke Greville, who in 1609 had purchased Oxford's house, King's Place, Hackney, from his widow.] As for Stanley in 1602, now Earl of Derby, he had no doubt forgotten that he ever wrote these early fragments and would be as indifferent to their publication in *D.P.R.* as he was to the fate of all his other work since he became Earl. No light is thrown on the problem by *y*-spelling analysis ; the Index I_p of all the A.W. Poems is low (about 3) showing that they were printed from copies. That different copies were in existence, at least of some of them, is clearly shown by the various typographical differences between those which are found in both *D.P.R.* and *E.H.*, i.e. in spelling, in italics and in redundant capitals ; differences which are so numerous that they could not have arisen in the mere course of printing.

Chronological sequence.

Summarising the foregoing 31 scattered early Shakespeare Poems ascribed to Stanley, a convenient list is appended giving first lines (modern spelling), probable dates (bibliographically fixed in three cases) and their localities. [Abbreviations, in addition to those on p. xi, are : J.D. (1) = John Dowland's *First Booke of Songes* ; J.D. (3) = his *Third Booke of Songs* ; R.D. = Robert Dowland's *Musicall Banqvet* ; *E.E.* = *Epigrammes and Elegies* by I.D. and C.M.]

1577	Of silver pure thy pen is made, dipp'd in the Muse's well	*Golden Aphrodtis*
1580	What shall I say of Gold, more than 'tis Gold	Breton's *Wil of Wit* etc.
1582	Hey down a down did *Dian* sing	*E.H.*
„	In peascod time, when Hound to horn	*E.H.*
„	What poor astronomers are they	J.D. (3)
„	Come away, come sweet love	*E.H.* ; J.D. (1)
1583	I love thee not for sacred chastity	*E.E.*
1587	A new found match is made of late	*D.P.R.*
„	Sweet violets (Love's paradise) that spread	*E.H.* ; *Phœnix Nest*
„	Sweet Cytherea, sitting by a brook	*P.P.*
1588	Scarce had the sun dried up the dewy morn	*P.P.*
„	Fair was the morn, when the fair Queen of love	*P.P.*
„	Venus with Adonis sitting by her	*P.P.*
„	It chanced of late a Shepherd's swain	*D.P.R.*
„	My heart was found within my Lady's breast	*D.P.R.*
„	When Venus saw Desire must die	*D.P.R.*
1589	The night say all was made for rest	*D.P.R.*
„	My thoughts are wing'd with hopes, my hopes with love	*E.H.* ; J.D. (1)
„	As it fell upon a day	*P.d.h.* ; *P.P.* ; *E.H.*
„	On a day, alack the day	*P.P.* ; *L.L.L.*
„	If love make me forsworn, how shall I swear to love	*P.P.* ; *L.L.L.*
„	When that thine eye hath chose the dame	*P.P.* ; manuscript

1589	Did not the heavenly rhetoric of thine eye	*P.P. ; L.L.L.*
„	Methought I saw the grave where Laura lay	*F.Q.*
„	To look upon a work of rare device	*F.Q.*
1590	In Ida vale (who knows not Ida vale ?)	*B.I.*
„	Eternal Time, that wastest without waste	*D.P.R.*
1591	My heavy sprite, oppress'd with sorrow's might	R.D.
„	Come heavy Sleep, the image of true Death	J.D. (1)
„	Come live with me, and be my dear	*E.H.*
„	If music and sweet poetry agree	*P.d.h. ; P.P.*

There are 4 Northern *s*-plurals in the total 1314 lines of these Poems, giving a mean frequency of 1 in 329 lines, similar to that of the canonical Poems (1 in 369—see p. 173). The unweighted mean ρ of the 31 pieces is 25 (Shakespeare's mean, 24) and unweighted mean a_T 148, not unlike that of the Sonnets ($a_T = 139$). Accepting these crucial frequencies as confirming the genuineness of most if not all of these Poems we can now check the dates proposed, by taking them in groups and applying the *S*-formula. For those listed 1577 - 1583, comprising a total of 285 lines the extremely high *S*-value (214) gives a calculated mean date 1577 instead of 1580 ; for those listed 1587 - 1589, with 467 lines, $S = 73{\cdot}7$ with mean date (calc.) $1588{\cdot}3$; for those listed 1590-1, with 562 lines, $S = 60{\cdot}2$ with mean date (calc.) $1590{\cdot}5$.

It is not to be supposed that these Poems are the only early ones, for there was the first draft of *V. and A.* (p. 235), and as shown in Appendix III many canonical Sonnets had been written by 1591. Also a poet whose fecundity of thought knew no limits, from whose facile pen verse flowed in " large streames of honnie," must have scattered other gems which have been overlooked, misplaced* or lost altogether (Willy's " sword " Poem for example, p. 238). This is a sad thought, but these 31 Poems are nevertheless of the deepest interest in tracing the development of Shakespeare's poetic " invention " from first beginnings, by showing how he experimented with most diverse types of versification and theme. In some of the earlier pieces it is easy to recognise the irrepressible gaiety of Spenser's 1579 " Willye." Vivid imagination or imagery runs through all of them, giving here and there a foretaste of the mockery in *L.L.L.*, the fantasy in *M.N.D.*, the bold erotic freedom in *V. and A.*, and the astronomical, musical, philosophical or mournful ruminations of the Sonnets ; qualities which with various other parallels " stamp the seal " of genuineness on them. How far Shakespeare's tremendous powers had developed by 1589 is shown by the known date of the beautiful Laura Sonnet, which, alone by its finish, proves a protracted apprenticeship ; for years he had been writing poetry, no doubt for his own recreation or the private delight of his friends, and the massive output now disclosed mockingly refutes the current belief (due to indecorous confusion with the actor " Shake-scene ") that he was a beginner in 1592.

Summary of reasoning.

Though the earliest Poems in the preceding list are very inferior judged by normal standards, all are permeated by distinguishing idiosyncrasies and all conform within reasonable limits to the crucial Shakespearian frequencies. As to authorship of these scattered relics, quite apart from any other reasons Shakspere is excluded by date considerations and by the Dowland Sonnet admitting Knighthood, which moreover excludes Bacon who was not knighted till five years after its publication, while the Earl of Oxford is excluded *inter alia* by the initials W.S.

Formal inductive proof that William Stanley was author rests on a wide range of indisputable facts, connected on the one hand with Spenser and on

* For instance the missing 2nd stanza of the boy's song in *Measure for Measure* (IV, 1) found in *Rollo, Duke of Normandy*, beginning " Hide, oh hide those hills of snow " ; its lovely imagery shows that it could hardly have been composed by Fletcher or his coadjutor.

the other with the initials W.S. The Spenserian facts, admitting but one self-consistent interpretation are : first his description of the irrepressible novice 'Willye' in 1579 followed in 1591 by his delineation of a brilliant poet "our pleasant Willy," whom he linked with sparkling Comedies that in the circumstances must have been Shakespeare's. That Willy was Stanley is plainly implied by Spenser's word 'our,' in dedicating the set of Poems containing the word, to Lady Strange. Next there is Spenser's context-linkage (in *Colins Clouts*) i.e. of Lady Strange ('Amaryllis') and her deceased husband, Stanley's brother, with his (admitted) praise of Shakespeare as 'Aetion,' which whether by its eagle connotation or by the words 'heroically' and 'himselfe' can be reasonably referred only to that brother. Spenser in distant Kilcolman would never have heard the name Shakespeare, first used in print in 1593, but considering the abundant evidence of mutual appreciation it would be incredible that Spenser, so free from envy, so generous in his praise of even minor poets, should omit anywhere to mention his great contemporary if not in these manifest allusions to Stanley. This induction sweeps away all difficulties, even Walkley's ignorant ascription of *B.I.* to Spenser if it is assumed that Stanley had submitted him a copy, found later among Spenser's papers.

The second group of facts relates to six Poems in the list, viz. the three initialled W.S., also the Mistress Poem, the Middelburg Poem and the Dowland Sonnet addressed to R.L., all six immature but unquestionably genuine. The facts are : (i) Grange's book recommended by the first W.S. Poem in 1577 was dedicated to Stanley's cousin, and the second in 1580 patronised while praising a much older man (Breton), (ii) the third W.S. Poem, i.e. Cynthia Lyric, was erroneously ascribed by Davison to Stanley's Uncle Cumberland whose initials were G.C. not W.S., (iii) it was published by John Dowland in his song-book (1597) dedicated to Stanley's brother-in-law by marriage (Lord Hunsdon) along with some other Poems in the list, of similar Shakespearian stamp, (iv) this Cynthia Lyric found its way as a manuscript initialled W.S. to Germany which Dowland visited about 1595, and finally (v) the latter is praised in the Dowland Sonnet, written by a 'Knight,' as its last line explicitly shows. These facts taken together establish a linkage suggesting, without proving, that it was Stanley who patronised Breton and later gave R.L. the Dowland Sonnet soon after being knighted, that he gave Dowland the initialled Cynthia Lyric some time before 1595, also a copy (un-initialled) to his Uncle, which somehow came into the careless hands of Davison. Be that as it may, the reasoning leads to but one end : (*a*) all six Poems are traceable to a single master-hand not only qualitatively and quantitatively, but by multiple decisive parallels with the Plays, Poems or Sonnets of the Canon ; (*b*) in addition to the three bearing the initials W.S. two others (Middelburg and Mistress Poems) are indirectly associated with these initials ; (*c*) finally one (Mistress Poem) is incontestably in Stanley's handwriting ; from which it follows that he was the writer of all six, a strict induction which is inconsistent with no known fact but accords with those noted above, (i) to (v), and with the dates 1577 and 1580 of the first two W.S. Poems, since at that time the initials *could* only have been Stanley's. It also follows that he was the author of the remaining Poems in the list, at least in so far as their specialised attributes recognisably betray the hand that wrote the six ; and it will be further noticed that this induction reconciles the contradictory evidence relating to both Walkley and the Earl of Cumberland, besides resolving the tangled conflict of orthodox theories regarding Spenser's Willy.

General conclusion.

Broadening the inductive basis of relevant facts to comprise also the massive circumstantial evidence submitted in earlier Chapters and the inductive reasoning which independently fixes Stanley's authorship on the twelve Plays (pp. 231-3), ineffaceable testimony bears witness to the simple truth that his poetry and drama are indistinguishable from Shakespeare's. The indistinguishability is the more fundamental, because it is detached from personal judgment by literary *frequencies*, for while two different writers, say of the initials W.S., may by chance agree in a single frequency, the chances of multiple agreement as between several *abnormally high* values are too mathematically remote to conceive.

The great number and variety of facts involved in this grand induction guarantee its integrity, and so far as the present writer can see the verdict could only be quashed by proving the whole elaborate network, including dates, calligraphy and frequencies to be illusory, or by bringing forward some new indisputable facts, even one, that can be shown to be unambiguously inconsistent with Stanley. Taken singly or even in isolated groups, some of the multifold circumstances may be interpreted any way according to individual deductive predilection ; as a whole or even taking those relating to the Poems separate from those relating to the Plays, it will be found that every hypothesis but one leads to incompatibilities. Like many a similar problem in Science, there is no degree of freedom in choice left, no inductive option but one, the evidential framework being so formidably interlocked that only one key can unlock it ; as anyone can verify who will dispassionately take the pains to try and find another.

This golden key takes the form of an identity long suspected, first convincingly urged by Lefranc, later confirmed by Lucas and now claimed as inductively proved, thereby dispelling the miasmatic fog of actor-inspired theory which seeks miraculously to explain the exquisite achievements of the master-poet in terms of his probable agent, as to whose education the only tangible evidence is that he signed his name with difficulty. This coalescence of the world-beloved poet-dramatist into the great hearted Nobleman, who sought neither reward nor recognition, may to the regret of some rob Shakespeare of his halo of mystery. But the last word has not been spoken ; his biography has yet to be written and many textual obscurities in the Folio still await illumination by the searchlight of Derby authorship.

CORRIGENDA.

p. 41 line 15 from bottom, for " Cheshire " read " Lancashire "
p. 51 line 1, for " like Shakspere " read " of any kind "
p. 54 line 15, after " who " put " is "
p. 165 line 16, for " Vennards " read " Vennard's "
p. 231 line 2 from bottom, for " *Tit.*" read " *Tit.*"

APPENDIX I

SHAKESPEARE'S HANDWRITING

VALUABLE space cannot be spared for a review of the long but sterile controversy that has resulted from the attempt to reconcile Shakespeare's fluent script (Hand D of the "Addition," p. 226) with Shakspere's writing, except to observe that palaeographers, differing acutely between themselves, have only darkened counsel by the ' special pleading ' of a case which is pathetically unconvincing to all unprejudiced critics. Indeed they have left the problem in a state of such confusion that we must either believe handwriting identification in general to be illusory or (more likely) suppose that orthodox preconceptions simply distort judgment. But when such preconceptions are discarded and judgment is founded *solely* on calligraphy, not even a tyro can fail to perceive the glaring incompatibility between Shakspere's hesitating signatures (Plate I) and the firm skilful Hand D (Plate III) ; the former (see p. 110) being obviously the laboured effort of a man who had difficulty in signing his name—an inference quite in keeping with the clumsy blots which he perpetrated on two separate occasions (1612 and 1613). It will be also noticed that his capital S, though it *is* in his own name, is always tremulous—very different from D's bold letters, as for instance in *Submyt* (line 144*) ; and the consistently bad W of Shakspere's Christian name is a scrawl which could never have disgraced the writer of the "Addition " i.e. D whose elegant letters in *Wisdome* etc. are, incidentally, facsimile-like reproductions of some of the Earl of Derby's W,s. Nor could D ever have been guilty of the grotesque palsied attempt at the letter *a* in Shakspere's uncompleted No. 1 signature ; for while it is a struggle to form the type known as ' spurred ' *a*, the effect is painful, not deft and bold like D's recurrent type as for instance in *that* (74). The fact that the much-discussed ' needle-eye ' in the well-written W of No. 6 matches D's needle-eye (see p. 277) is of no consequence, because this W is part of the words " By me William " written as noted on p. 110 by a law-clerk, not Shakspere at all, as is sufficiently evident when this W is compared with the other W,s or when the writing of the three words is contrasted with the sequent ' Shakspe[ ].'

HAND D

It has generally been taken for granted, on quite good grounds, that D's "Addition " was autograph ; but it might have been a copy by a scrivener as Greenwood supposed, or rather implied because of the type of writing and in particular because of D's capital B,s, which he claimed were in a legal Hand. Nevertheless D wrote his lines *currente calamo* and did not copy someone else's script, as is proved by the new method of *y*-spelling analysis.† This fact, that is beyond all dispute, namely that the "Addition " was not a copy effectually disposes of Rendall's contention (*Shakespeare : handwriting and spelling*) that the author D was the Earl of Oxford (who wrote a totally different Hand—p. 283) because in that event the "Addition " must have been a copy. On the calligraphic evidence, despite Sir E. M. Thompson's attempt, D cannot be identified with the actor Shakspere, nor indeed can he with any of the familiar Elizabethan dramatists whose script is known. He was certainly a skilled pen-man who, writing like a law scrivener, fulfils what might be expected from Shakespeare's allusions to penmanship in the Plays, whether in identification of handwriting (*King Lear* I, 2, 67-75, *Hamlet* IV, 7, 50-52), or in ability to " write fair " or otherwise at choice (*Hamlet* V, 2, 30-37), or in familiarity with the new Italian script, the " sweet Roman hand " of Olivia (*12th Night* III, 4, 32) ; which familiarity is confirmed by the decided sprinkling of modern letters in the "Addition." This Italian script (i.e. virtually modern) was slowly replacing the normal Elizabethan " secretary " script (conveniently abbreviated

* The lines of the " Addition," copiously indicated by numbers in brackets in the following pages, are those of Sir E. M. Thompson in *Shakespeare's Handwriting* (1916); they include lines 1-45 on folio 8^a (p. 226) not reproduced in Plate III, which also lacks the margins on the left.

† The, Index *I* is 39.24 which mathematically forbids equations (3) and (5) on p. 153, permitting only (2) thus inductively requiring that $I = Ia$ not Ic

to ' O.E.' in what follows), especially for signatures among the cultured classes, but even at the end of the 16th century very few (like the Earl of Oxford) used it for cursive writing, and it was not till very much later that wholly Italian letters became general for educated people. Shakspere used a clumsy Italian *s* but, labouring over his signature, did not sign like cultured writers in general, from which it may be fairly presumed that he could not write the new script at all. He certainly did not write " secretary " Hand D, and rigorous proof is submitted in what follows that D was no other than William Stanley.

General similarity in writing, however striking, is no safe basis for identification of the Hands in two or more scripts ; nor can individual letter similarity suffice with merely conventional types of letter, because many Elizabethans wrote these very much alike. Only detailed comparison of unusual habits (idiosyncrasies of shape or of letter linkage, variations in type of letter, flourishes, etc.) can settle whether the Hands are identical or not, after critical appraisement of differences which, though minor, must be expected with the same Hand owing to differences of time, speed of writing, mood, fineness of pen and so on.

As noted on p. 255, apart from the Mistress Poem, no writing of William Stanley is known before he became Earl of Derby, most of whose extant epistles (so called to avoid confusion with letters of the alphabet) have been inspected minutely in connection with this calligraphic investigation. At the outset it is fundamentally important to distinguish those epistles which were autograph from those which were in the Hand of a secretary and only signed by Derby ; the more so because unfortunately Dr. W. W. Greg has mistakenly confused the two (*Trans. Bibliographical Soc.*, 1926 Vol. VII, p. 39). He thought that Derby's Hand was round and Italian, as found for instance in a certain epistle* of 13th September (no date), which however can be proved by spelling deviation among other things to have been written by a secretary (possibly John Sparks). Greg's reasons were (1) that there is some affinity (which is granted) between the *d*,s and *l*,s of this September epistle and these letters in Derby's signature, and (2) the writing of the epistle is identifiable with the subscription " Your lo. lovinge sonn " at the bottom of Derby's epistle of 10th July 1596 (Plate VI) ; it is, but Greg's assumption was that these affectionate words must have been written by Derby himself and therefore the body of the 1596 epistle, in a different Hand, by the secretary. Both assumptions are completely fallacious. As for (1), epistolary O.E. script has such an utterly different character from the tall Italian signatures of the period, such as Derby's, that letter comparison is not only unjustifiable but thoroughly misleading ; as for (2), the argument is rendered void by the fact that there are other epistles which prove exactly the opposite, as for example two at Hatfield House, dated respectively 28th January 1600 and 26th July 1600 ending " Your loving Nephew " *not* in the same Hand as the 1596 subscription, but in the Hand of the body of the above 1596 epistle (and of other epistles in this Hand, which is unambiguously identified as Derby's holograph).

The evidence is unshakeable that the secretary, not Derby, wrote the words (Plate VI) " Your lo. lovinge sonn " (he should have written ' grand son-in-law ') ; that is before bringing this 1596 epistle (which Derby had previously written) for signature. For Derby's Hand, appearing in several epistles, differs profoundly from the Hand of this secretary, whose Italian script slowly written is mostly in detached letters, while Derby's script is obviously written *currente calamo*, rapidly and fluently with consequent errors and deletions ; it is full of vigour and individuality, not character-less like the other, also it is much richer in *y*-spellings and has a very much higher spelling deviation, thus denoting an older man. It is the same Hand moreover that wrote two very private documents that would not have been entrusted to a secretary ; one is a purely personal joint letter with his wife (22nd August 1597) just after they had composed their violent quarrel and the other is the fiery challenge (p. 95) referring to his wife's chastity, written in passion at Greenwich and testified by " Burghley," " Howard " and " R. O. Cecyll." Furthermore in the business-epistle of 1605 (Plate VII) there is an untidy partly Italianate post-script whose very after-thought character shows that it was written by Derby himself, and its writing is calligraphically

* This epistle, a reduced facsimile of which is given opposite p. 232 of *S.V.S.*, is in the British Museum (Lansd. M.S. 76) and is addressed (at the back) to Lord Burghley, but another endorsement at the back (evidently later because it is in more modern writing) gives the date as 1594, which is inconsistent with the contents of the epistle, referring to " my La. and Mystris " and the hope of a son. As the Earl of Derby was not married till January 1595 and Lord Burghley died in August 1598, the year was therefore 1595, 1596 or 1597. From its low spelling deviation (18%) and its confused sentences it is likely that it was written from dictation, and certainly by a much younger man than the Earl who signed it. It is worth noting that at Hatfield House this secretary's Hand does not appear till 1600.

identifiable by numerous idiosyncrasies with the O.E. Hand of the epistle above it (as Greg admitted and J. P. Gilson confirmed) and this is similarly identifiable with the above 1597 epistle as well as with the other epistles recognised by the present writer as Derby's autograph.

The confusion has largely arisen because Derby's Hand was very variable ; yet despite this there is never any difficulty in recognising it, for whether O.E. or partly Italian, neat or untidy, it is always distinguishable by certain well defined habits (p. 284). For example the above post-script and the similar partly Italianate epistle of 1607 (Plate VIII) look very different from the O.E. epistles of 1595, 1596 and 1605 (Plates V, VI and VII) which themselves differ superficially, but close inspection reveals the same Hand in all of them ; for not only do they teem with the same idiosyncrasies but *within* each of them there is the same letter variability, sometimes within a few lines of writing or even within the same word. This variability, whether of minuscle shape or in changes as between O.E. and Italian, cannot therefore be attributed to different Hands ; it was personal, Derby's own habit, and there is not the least doubt about his autograph, variable as it is. Comparison of the Plates (selected as specimens for discussion* of Hand D) shows that his earlier epistles were mainly written in O.E. but (as is the case with D) with a decided sprinkling of Italian letters, while the later epistles or parts of them were in an untidy bastard script, where O.E. and Italian letters were mixed indiscriminately even in a single word ; also as Derby grew older his writing became less upright, more sloping and acicular. That is why his later script looks so different from his earlier mainly O.E. writing or from D's O.E. Hand (about 1590), which as will be proved is the same, some resemblances to the latter indeed persisting even in Derby's 1607 epistle ; while critical study shows Hand D also to have been *very variable* and in some places very untidy. But with both, the general O.E. character is always fundamentally the same. Nevertheless to make the test as rigorous as possible, D and Derby are treated as if they were separate individuals in the ensuing discussion.

The fact is, apart from variation, Derby could write neatly or badly like Hamlet, according to mood or circumstances. Thus most of his annotations in Stow's *Annales* (p. 96) though firm are very clumsy, and how different his beautiful legal Hand was from his sometimes careless epistolary script is shown by a curious declaration of 23 long lines (hereafter called D.l.H.) of date 25th March 1605 in the Brit. Museum (Lansd. M.S. 167) ; for the exquisite pen-manship of this document far transcends that of ordinary legal deeds, though the writing, which is very diminutive, is similarly upright and in spite of its different appearance from his ordinary writing its holograph nature is proved *inter alia* by prolific calligraphic as well as orthographic Derby-idiosyncrasies.

Capitals.

Excluding the marginal entries opposite lines 4, 7, 10, 16, 26, 30, 31, 89 and 142 of the "Addition" probably in Hand C (Greg), the O.E. majuscles in common with Derby's extant script are A, B, C, D, E, F, I or J, L, M, P, S, T, W and Y, some of which are highly individualistic. Derby's capital A is never crossed and consists of a simple two stroke letter with strong curved flourish on the left of varying shape rising in a more or less lightly executed line to a sometimes blunt apex, from which a heavy vertical or backward sloping line descends to the bottom, as seen in his words *And* (VI, 39, VII, 13), *Admyrall, Auneswrs* (VII, 8) etc. The similarity in pen action to D's only two capitals in the "Addition," *Arther* and *Arthur* (43 and 59) is sufficiently obvious.

Derby's B in D.l.H. unlike D's is upright, but in his cursive script e.g. in the word *By* in an epistle dated 12th April 1597 (B. M. Lansdowne 84, fol. 82) and in *Bowle* (Harl. M.S. 6997, fol. 190) of date 28th Jan. 1595[6] it has exactly the shape of D's letter in *Bushell, Boeff* (3), *Brother* (59) and *Betts* (margin, 89), that is with strongly sloping descender and very acute angle, but without D's extra " Law Hand " down-stroke.

Derby's capital C was frequently used in place of the minuscle, e.g. *Conntented* (V, 3), a habit not uncommon at the time but unusually strong with D (p. 290) as for instance in *Chidd* (73) ; D like Derby also used the capital for the words *City* and *Country* in various spellings. Derby's O.E. capital especially in D.l.H. simulates D's in almost every minor variation but the letter being conventional is of small significance.

* In which all line references (shown in brackets) to Derby's epistles are preceded by a Roman numeral indicating Plate.

Derby's capital D is variable and conventional ; but one of his varieties, in the words *Dower* (VI, 25) and *Deputacon* (25th March 1606), is notable for the same graceful curve as D's letter in *Dvng* (13).

Derby's E in *Edwarde* (VI, 33) and elsewhere, also conventional, repeats D's smudged capitals in the two words *Earle* (30, 31).

Derby's F, as *ff*, found in *ffleming*, *ffenner* and *ffraunce* in D.l.H. exactly repeats D's *ff* in *ffraunc* (127) in so far as the first *f* is similarly much lower than the second.

Derby's I or J is very variable but mostly quite different from the capital of other writers. Sometimes provided with a straight preliminary upstroke as in *I* (V, 4), most often it commences with a characteristic concave curve at the top and finishes (with small side curl to the left) at the bottom of a crossed sinuous descender whose slope is about 75° to the horizontal, as seen for instance in *I* (VI, 10) or *James* (VI, 29), but Derby also wrote all sorts of simplified slurred forms, as for example in *I* (VII, 2 and 13 or VIII, 1) and most of these variants are found in the "Addition," some showing such similar pen-tricks as to make the resemblance uncanny. Some examples of D's more elegant letters are seen in lines 28, 35 and 58 (second *I*) and slurred forms in lines 58, 80, 99 and 128 (*Jarman*) with wide lower loop like that in Derby's *I* (Harl. M.S. 6997, fol. 190) ; but in some of these varieties D betrays a habit which is found all through the "Addition," not only with *I*, but the tails of *g* and *h*, viz. that of making the lower curve spring abruptly to the left from the descender, as for instance in *I* (89). Derby frequently exhibits this most unusual but tell-tale feature, e.g. in *Irland* (V, 2) or in D.l.H., where it is found often with *g* and *h*, and with *I* in such words as *Indifferencie*, *Justices* and *Intent*.

Derby's archaic L in *Laughton* (VII, 5) does not appear in the "Addition" but his favourite letter found in many other words, e.g. *Leighe* (VI, 5 etc.), *Lynes* and *Lp* (VII, 2, 14), reproduces D's only variety, which is strongly individualistic owing to its unusual slope and the large lower loop which descends below the line of writing, thus differing from the usual capital by other writers, for instance that of Hand C in ' Linco ' (margin of the "Addition," 142). The capital, written by D, appears in the margin eleven times, in the name *Lincolne* or its abbreviations, as well as in *L* or words of the text in lines 24, 38, 42, 56 and 90 ; in all these the slope is exaggerated (like Derby's averaging about 43°), the lower loop which is often large similarly descends downwards, indeed most of these L,s reproduce Derby's characteristics so faithfully that no other Hand could well have written them.

Derby's capital M was written mainly in two quite distinct shapes, neither of which was the conventional O.E. form with top right hand inflection. One was simply the modern letter, but generally provided with a most striking preliminary upstroke as for instance in *Mr* (V, 1), or *My* (VI, 1) sometimes with lower hook, as in *My* (VII, 1 ; VIII, 1). Exactly similar upstrokes appear with D's two supposed capitals, viz. in *Moor* (margin 55 and 61), and the same kind of upstroke is found in D's minuscular *m*,s in *moor* or *moo* (margin 51, 97 and 144) and in *moor* (41 and 142) as well as in other *m*,s as for example in *my* (59), *marry* (70, and 96), *much* (124) and *must* (130) ; this unusual pen-action being in all cases most obviously identical with Derby's. His other type of M, highly distinctive, seen in the words *Ma^{tie}* (VI, 31, 36) with its characteristic descending curve, is found in D's only other capital M in the deleted *Mv* (51).

Derby's P, as found in D.l.H. but not his cursive script, appears in *Palentine* etc. where it has the same conventional form as D's only two capitals in the smudged words *Peace* (1, and 35).

Derby's variable S being the usual conventional form is not distinctive, but the variants some of which are seen in *S^{r}vyce* (V, 2), *S^{r}* (VI, 6, 21), etc. simulate D's flattened forms, as for example in *Shrewsbury* (25) or *Shreiue* (45), not the rounded ones dashed off in haste.

Derby's T is also not distinctive but as seen in *Thyslande* or *Tofte* (VI, 25, 34) it shows the same character as D's only two capitals in *The* (30) and *Then* (55) more carelessly written and with cross stroke instead of top stroke.

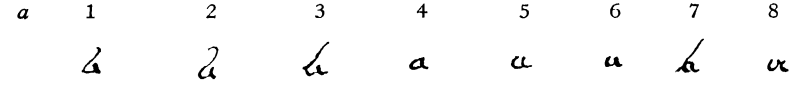
Derby's W is very variable ; in D.l.H. it sometimes has the elegant conventional form, not used by D (so execrably written in Shakspere's signatures No. 2 and 5), but in *W^{ch}* (B.M. Add. 12506, 221, line 9), in *Wth* (Harl. M.S. 6997, fol. 190) and in *Witnesses* (D.l.H.) it has the same striking shape found in D's capital W,s in *Wisdome* (twice, 35 and 37), *Weel*,

(38) and *Will* (53). Though the bold descending flourish is often found in legal documents and so is not at all unique, the fact that Derby and D each used it both for W and M in cursive script has a unique significance by proving identity in this particular calligraphic habit for both capitals.

Derby's Y is yet another telling capital, with unusually bold flourish, left to right, as seen for instance in *Yeluerton* (D.l.H.), *Yo*^{r} (V, 11) and various other epistles, where the sweep of the curves is sometimes flat, sometimes deep, the latter type being faithfully reproduced in D's *Yo*^{u} (51), his only capital Y. How idiosyncratic these curves of Derby and D are, is illustrated by the very different capital Y in the secretary's subscript of 1596 (VI, 42); and in general what makes the evidence of the capitals so cogent is the fact that with all this idiosyncrasy-concordance D's script contains none of the many non-Derby shapes (often fantastic) then in vogue among other writers.

Minuscles.

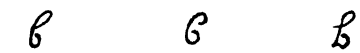
The detailed comparison, which now follows, unfortunately involves tedious reading and close attention to minutiae, warranted only by the gravity of the issue—the proof, which only painstaking scrutiny can verify, that William Stanley wrote D's script. To facilitate discussion and avoid undue prolixity, the sub-sections devoted to each letter are headed by a numbered horizontal row showing those of Derby's variations (often slight but significant) which were employed by D, reference to each variety being indicated by a sub-script (e.g. as below $a_4 = a$). These varieties of course do not include all the minor variations which were so characteristic of both Derby and D, but serve as types for comparison; also they do not include Derby's numerous Italian varieties, except the few that were employed by D. Comparisons of type-frequency, where there are a sufficient number of available letters to justify counts, are based on all Derby's respective letters in his epistles, while for Hand D frequencies are computed mostly from the 2nd and 3rd folios of the "Addition," since the 1st is so badly smudged that the shapes of many letters are doubtful or undecipherable.



There are too many similar minor variations with the letter *a*, as between Derby and D, to consider in detail, but for brevity they may be referred to the above eight types, round which they cluster. Derby's a_1, as seen for example in *am*, *namelye* or *againe* (VII, 2, 3 and 12), is a slurred form of D's spurred *a*, which is similarly degenerate in several words, such as *ar* (39), *that* (62), *all* (73) or *and* (110). Derby's frequent a_2, as in *acquainted* (V, 1), *Laughton* and *Steward* (VII, 5) is often found in D's *and*, as for example in lines 3, 42, 95 and 101, or in *charge* (55) etc. Derby's cusped a_3, less common than D's frequent variety e.g. in *Shark* (86), is found in *a* in the epistle dated 28th January 1595[6] (Harl. M.S. 6997, fol. 190) or *and* (B.M. Add. 12506, 221, line 7), also malformed in *am* (V, 5) and slurred in *hard* (VII, 3), similar to D's slurred a_3 in *a* (58), *that* (62) and other words.

The most common variety with both however was the simple modern a_4 which is unimportant save for one tell-tale habit in common—an occasional tiny tick on the left, which may be noticed in Derby's *as* and *affected* (VI, 12 and 36) and in D's *wash* (108) and *banysh* (125). The slightly open variety a_5 is also frequent with both, as for example in Derby's *Channon* (V, 10), *causes* (VI, 2) and *caused* (VII, 7) or D's *obay* (116), *Jarman* (128) etc. The still more open variety a_6 is less frequent, but is seen in Derby's *laudable* (V, 3), *that* (VI, 18), etc. and in D's *ravenous* (86) and *all* (margin, 96). Derby's a_7 is also rare like D's but is found in D.l.H. and imperfectly in *am* (VII, 1) simulating D's *a* in *that* (1) or the second *a* (9). Derby's obsolescent a_8, also infrequent, is seen in *prayse* (VI, 30) and *as* (VII, 8), similar to D's rather more frequent a_8, as in *peace* (65), *handycraftes* (71), *a* (131) and *afoord* (133). None of the unusual forms sometimes affected by other writers are found in the "Addition," and D's greater frequency of a_3 may be reasonably attributed to a difference in date or other circumstances.

b 1 2 3

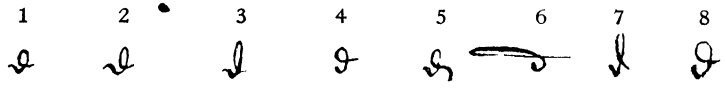


Derby's practically modern shape b_1, generally with large upper loop, as for instance in *by* (VI, 14, 26) occurs about 20 times in the "Addition," e.g. in *butter* (2), with similar minor variations, but Derby's slurred form b_2, as in *brother* (V, 1) and in the repeated words *be* or *by* in VII, is infrequent with D who however used it occasionally as for instance in *be* (142). Derby's b_3 in cursive script is not so angular as D's usual letter e.g. in *brought* (67) ; it is generally slurred as in *beinge* (V, 2) or *by* and *bee* (VI, 19, 29) as it is in several of D's letters e.g. *by* (82), but in D.I.H. (and Derby's own signature) it has the strongly angular shape and wide upper loop of D's usual b_3. None of the peculiar non-Derby shapes of *b* used sometimes by other writers are found in the "Addition."

c 1 2 3 4

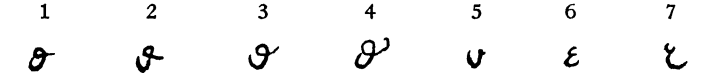
The conventional form c_1, which Derby used (e.g. *mocon*, VI, 6) like D, e.g. *which* (8), very frequently, is not significant except for top-thickening, but c_2 with curved stem and low-placed side stroke which Derby often wrote, as for example in *discrecon* (V, 7) or *certaine* (VII, 4), and the still more slurred c_3 as in *fetcht* (VII, 12) etc., are crucial because these most striking pen-habits were shared by D, who used c_2 in such words as *backes* (75), *incident* (115), etc. and c_3 in *voyce* (51), *can* (117), *cutt* (120), *com* (124), *case* (139) etc. Derby's footed c_4, as for instance in *causes* and *mocon* (VI, 2 and 13) is very distinctive and was occasionally used by D, as for example in *peace* (50, first word) or *coold* (64) ; but no varieties of *c* other than Derby's special shapes were used by D.

d 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8



Many minor variations of *d*, shared by Derby and D, may be conveniently referred to the eight principal types above. The conventional d_1 as in Derby's *bydd* (V, 9) or D's *owed* (136), and d_2 as in Derby's *desire* (V, 2) and *disgrace* (VII, 10) or D's *do* (61) are not significant ; nor are the conventional types d_3 and d_4, but examples of d_3 are to be seen in Derby's "*goodes wrecked*" (VII, 6) and D's *and* (55) or *dread* (99) ; and examples of d_4, in Derby's *hard* and *carryed* (VII, 3 and 10) and D's *dung* (12), *deule* (53), etc. More idiosyncratic is terminal d_5 because of its horizontal or trailing curled extension e.g. the former in Derby's *seald* (25th March 1606) the latter in *ffrend* (V, 11) etc. ; and (not drooping) in D's *Ingland* (73), *clothd* (79), *quelld* (82), *feed* (87), *Ingland* (129) etc. Another peculiarity though not uncommon at the time was the flattened backward extension of the top loop, surmounting a simple cup-like curve below i.e. in d_6; this d_6 is seen frequently in the "Addition" and it also appears, often sharp-pointed, in some but not all of Derby's epistles. D's loops were not pointed but comparison of Derby's d_6 in *would* (VII, 11) and *hold* (VII, 8) with that in D's *woold* (64, 86, 87, 125, 130, 133 and 138) and in his three words *hold* (26 and 53) suffice to show pen-habit identity. D's rare d_7, which appears in *mediation* (145), is seen in Derby's ' offred ' (VII, 3) ; and D's rare d_8 in ' do ' (6) is found in Derby's *comendatory* (V, 5) and (slurred) in *do* (VIII, 11), where it will be noticed that in each case the letter *d* is detached. Other writers' peculiar *d*'s are absent from the "Addition."

e 1 2 3 4 5 6 7



Varieties e_1 and e_2, as for example in Derby's *ready* (V, 9) or *the* (VII, 4), like D's *sowles* (106) or *the* (74), are too conventional to have any significance ; but Derby's flattened form e_3 is very striking, as seen in *enterpryse* (V, 3, last *e*), *howse* (VII, 10) etc., similar to several of D's *e*,s, as in *offend* (61), *saies* (141) etc. Terminal e_4 is still more distinctive on account of

the characteristic curled extension, which is so often seen in Derby's script e.g. in *laudable* (V, 3), *verie* (VI, 9) or *namelye*, *be* and *haue* (VII, 3, 9 and 11); D repeatedly shows this idiosyncrasy e.g. in *noyce* (72), *lugage* (75), *peace* (109), *sounde* (117), *leade* (121), *nature* (126), *youle* (142), etc. Derby's careless e_5 is seen in *tennts*, *seysed* (second *e*) and *remytt* (VII, 4, 9, and 13); and such degenerate *e*,s occur over a dozen times in the "Addition" e.g. in *he* (102), *knees* (110), *make* (111) and *lyke* (135, twice). A favourite but erratic variety of Derby's (very frequent in VI) is e_6, a form in which the upstroke was so light as to be lost, giving the letter a shape approaching Greek epsilon, as seen in *Trēr* (V, 5), *moste* and *agreed* (VI, 2 and 28), *force* (VII, 6) and many other words; this variety was used less frequently by D but is seen clearly in *grote* (2), *peace* (50, second word), *Then* (55) and *me* (90), while in *geve* (127 and 146) the first *e* (wrongly regarded as *y*) is e_7, which was frequently used by Derby, e.g. in *enterpryse* (V, 3) or *Dee* (VIII, 8). These concordances are the more telling because none of the peculiar shapes so often affected by other writers were employed by D—only Derby varieties.

f 1 2 3 4

Derby's terminal *f* was the conventional f_1 but his side flourish differed from that of most other writers by its unusual length and lower curl, as seen in *self* and *of* (V, 2 and 10) or in *of* (VI, 2 and VII, 11); and the shaft was often inordinately long as for instance in *of* (VII, 14) like some of D's final *f*,s e.g. *of* (39). But D's flourish was not generally a simple curl but a twiddle, as seen in the words *of* (35, 37, 70, 79, 94), *sealf* (85, 146) and *yf* (95, 142); this twiddle, which also appears in the Mistress Poem (p. 256), was however not an exclusive feature of f_1 but a striking personal habit, as is shown by the same flourish elsewhere, notably in *yo*^{r} (e.g. 146), and this habit was exceptionally strong with Derby as may be seen for instance with *Yo*^{r} (V, 11) or *o*^{r} (VI, 28), though not found with the few final *f*,s in his known script. For non-final *f* both Derby and D mostly used the same type f_2, also often very long, as in Derby's *force* or *fetcht* (VII, 11 and 12) and D's *fower* (3), *infected* (12), *fellowes* (63) etc. Derby's f_3, like D's, appears in the first *f* of *ff* e.g. in *ffrend* (V, 11), *affected* (VI, 36) and *officer* (VI, 12), and it is identical with D's f_3 in *Boeff* (3), *offend* (61), *offyc* (98) and *thoffendor* (123) where it will be noticed that, as with Derby, the second *f* is more elevated than the first, also that the preceding vowel is detached from the *ff*, as it is in Derby's *officers*, *effected*, *sufficiencie* and *affected* (VI, 12, 27, 28, 32, 35 and 36). Derby's slurred f_4 as in *Tofte* (VI, 34) resembles D's f_4 in *lyft* (109) and *lift* (110), but none of Derby's frequent Italian *f*,s e.g. in *farewell* (V, 10) appears in the "Addition," though the slurred letter found in Derby's *behalf* (VIII, 4) and *from* (B.M. Add. 12506, 221, line 10) roughly simulates D's malformed *f* of *forme* (146). None of the special shapes of other writers are present in the "Addition."

g 1 2 3 4

This letter, which occurs over 50 times in the "Addition," always conforms without any extraneous types to Derby's variations; these may be reduced to the above four types, where in most cases there is the same tendency for the upper stroke to wander beyond the cup and where the chief distinguishing features are the tails. The graceful tail of Derby's g_1, seen in such words as *beinge* (V, 2) or *Leighe* (VI, 5), is repeated in a few of D's *g*,s e.g., *brought* (67) and *strong* (81), but more often D's tails were sharply inflected from the descender as in g_2, only as a rule on the 3rd folio of the "Addition," as in *figure*, *gyven*, *gainst*, *god* etc. (102, 103, 106 etc.); this most unusual pen-trick is quite frequent in D.I.H. (e.g. in *gent*, line 7) but in Derby's cursive script there is only a weak tendency to this sharp inflection, as for instance in the slurred *g*,s of *Laughton* and *againe* (VII, 5 and 12) resembling D's

slurred g_2 in *aged* (83). Derby's g_3, as in *hopinge* (V, 8) or *highnes* (VI, 16) is repeated in D's *although* (69), *taught* (80), *doing* (107), etc. ; and Derby's g_4, as in *gent* (V, 4), is found in D's *charge* (55), *good* (59), *god* (104) etc.

h 1 2 3 4 5 6

Despite their conventional shapes, *h* as written by Derby and D had some very characteristic minor features in common. Thus Derby's frequent h_1, generally with very deep thickened bow as in *therein* or *Channon* (V, 4 and 10) but sometimes less pronounced as in *Richard* (VII, 4), regularly reflects D's constant habits, as illustrated by his h_1 in *there* (63), *their* (75), *him* (122) and many other words ; so also Derby's slurred h_2, as for instance in *wch* (VII, 1, 6 and 8) repeats D's h_2 in *shr* (38) or *wch* (70), and between these extremes there are all sorts of intermediate forms, all similarly written by both. Another revealing habit in common was to inflect the top of the lower curve sharply to the left, giving h_3 as for example in D's *his* (115), a trick found often in D.l.H. (e.g. in *other*, line 10) but not in Derby's cursive script (except slurred in *hard* and *here*, VII, 3). The more symmetrical variety with sharp cusp, h_4, seen in Derby's *hereof* (V, 9) and repeatedly in VI, e.g. in *haue* (VI, 17), also in *such* (VII, 10) etc., was often used by D with the same minor variations, as for example in *haue* (51, 55, 64, 65) and other words, but this variety was conventional. Unusual save in legal documents, was Derby's elegant h_5 found repeatedly in D.l.H., also in the first *him* (V, 3) and (slurred) in VII (*hard*, *here*, *had*, *hold*, and *howse*) ; the numerous un-slurred letters by their upper curve and bold pendent clearly repeating the habit of D's elegant h_5 in *the* (51), *them* (52), *howskeeper* (58) and *handycraftes* (71). There are no *h*,s except Derby's in the "Addition" ; even D's rare h_6 found only in *him* (4) and *haue* (13), a favourite of Bacon but not of Derby, is however found in his annotations on page 29 of Stow's *Annales*.

i and *j* 1 2 3

Neither Derby nor D slurred the simple (interchangeable) letters and both rarely failed to dot their *i*,s, but D omitted to do so in a few cases such as *urging* (94), *bid* (100), *find* (131) and *breaking* (132), while Derby failed in a few cases, e.g. *highnes* (VI, 37). There are sufficient *i*,s in both cases to justify a frequency count, which shows that Derby, overall, used his favourite acicular form i_1 e.g. *in* (VI, 3) or *it* (VII, 11), to the extent of about 60%, while D employed it in about 55% of his (unsmudged) *i*,s, as for example in ' *their* ' (134). Derby used the round form i_2 both wide, as in *disgrace* (VII, 10) like D's in *kill* (120), and narrow in *discrecon* (V, 7) like D's in *will* (14, 37, 53, 58, and 116). Derby's characteristic i_3, as for instance in *him* (V, 8), *highnes* (VI, 16) or *is* (VII, 5), appears in D's *him* (122), *find* (131) and a dozen other words. In fact all through there is the same variation in minutiae, which only become apparent on close comparison ; except that D's occasional practice of giving a long upstroke to initial *i*, as in *in* (95 and 121) is only represented by a short stroke in Derby's extant words *in*. The letter *j* i.e. *i*, as in Derby's *p*riudice* (VI, 11) or D's *seriant* (margin 17) and *maiestrate* (146), was made a capital when it began the word in D's *Justyce* (99) as Derby made it in *Jarre* (VII, postscript).

k 1 2

Derby's k_1 in *k :* (VII, 4) is the conventional letter but in *keep*[er] (twice, VI, 14) it is provided with an unusual foot, like all D's k_1 varieties viz. in *knowe* (13), *banck* (39), *thanck* (59), *look* (61), *king* (98), *kneele* (111) and *kill* (120). But some 13 of D's *k*,s had the clumsy *b*-shaped k_2 form written without pen-lift, e.g. in *backs* (75) which was not uncommon then, and is found in Shakspere's No. 5 signature but not among the few *k*,s available in Derby's cursive script, though this k_2 is approached in *thinke* (V, 7) and found several times more

neatly written in the word *Kings*, in D.I.H. D's unusual *l*-shaped *k* found six times e.g. in *lyke* (122), is simply a rapidly written degeneration of k_2 not found in Derby's epistles, but no other strange variety of *k* is found in the "Addition."

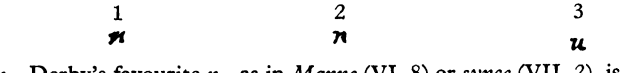
l 1 2 3 4

Derby used the modern l_1 for more than half his *l*,s, but generally small and with a wide loop, as for instance in *behalf* (V, 6) or *belonging* (VII, 4), these *l*,s throughout being very like D's e.g. in *rule* (56) or *tell* (89), and D's frequency was about 85%. With initial *l* the loop was sometimes not completed giving l_2, as in Derby's *lo* : and *lrē* (V, 5) or *loath* (VII, 1), and D's *lyve* (83) or *lyke* (122). Derby's frequent l_3 with broad loop as in *tytle* or *Onely* (VI, 17 and 21) or with narrow loop as in *pleased* (VI, 13), is found 17 times in the 2nd and 3rd folios of the "Addition" e.g. (broad loop) in *pclamation* (117) or (narrow) *scilens* (50). Derby's occasional habit of neglecting the lower curve giving l_4, as seen in such words as *shall* (V, 8) or *Councell* (VIII, 6) and very pronounced in D.I.H., also occasionally appears in the "Addition" e.g. in *will* (40 and 91) and *Ingland* (129), D did not reproduce Derby's occasional trailing final *l* (as in *farewell*, V, 10) but he wrote none of the peculiar types of *l* sometimes found with other writers, such for example as the inflected, *l*,s in the name *William* preceding Shakspere's signature No. 6 (Plate I).

m 1 2

Though similarly formed by most writers, close inspection brings out several peculiar identities of habit as between Derby and D with the letter *m*. They both wrote it very small, often cramping the minims together and in each case both had similar frequencies, about 80% of the letters approximating the acicular m_1, as seen for example in Derby's *am* (V, 5) or *meete* (VI, 31) and D's *make* (111) or *made* (136). Most of their remaining *m*,s are of the round type m_2, as in Derby's *me* or *my* (VII, 3 and 10) and D's *much* (71) and *armes* (95). But between these two types there are all sorts of intermediate varieties with minor characters in common between them, whether as to minim sharpness or minim-size variation, all of which are much too numerous to cite. Among them may be noticed the tendency in both cases to make the last stroke vertical or even backward, and (less often) the tendency to widen out the minims as for instance in Derby's *me* or *remytt* (VII 9 and 13) or D's *them* (120) and *must* (130). Even more significant are the occasional upstrokes with initial *m* (or M), as for example in Derby's *My* (VII, 1) or *mytigated* (Harl. M.S. 6997, fol. 190) and D's *maiestrate* (146), *moor* (142 ; margin 61) or *momtanish* (140). The identical pen-habit behind these similar flourishes, taken in conjunction with the absence of extraneous types of *m*, speaks eloquently.

n 1 2 3



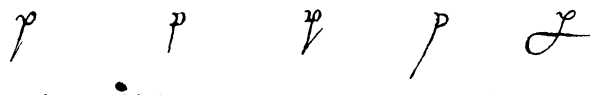
Like m_1, Derby's favourite n_1, as in *Manne* (VI, 8) or *synce* (VII, 2), is found repeatedly in the "Addition" e.g. *spane* (128), while Derby's less frequent n_2 as in *then* (VII, 12) was also used less frequently by D, e.g. in *on* (86) ; and though no clear distinction between n_1 and n_2 is always possible the frequencies, as well as size and shape, are similar. In both cases, both n_1 and n_2 are usually small and significantly the second downstroke, often backward sloping, is also often shorter than the first, as for instance in Derby's *and* (VI, 4 and 15) or D's *not* (133). The open *u*-shaped variety n_3 is not very frequent with either, but is seen in Derby's *and* or *againe* (VII, 6 and 12) and D's *and* (72 and 147), *can* (116) etc. Remarkable as these similarities are, even more striking are the flourishes with initial and terminal *n*. With the former D often gave an upstroke, as in *not* (62) with, in some cases, a hook or 'needle-eye,' as in *needs* (130) or *nor* (second, 136), like that in Derby's *nere* (VIII, 9) or similar flourishes elsewhere. D's terminal *n*,s more often ended with a curl than his final *m*,s ; such *n*-curls are to be found in lines 27, 112, 128, 143 and 144, but they are much

stronger in *infeccion* (14), *then* (104) and *forgyven* (111), obviously reflecting Derby's occasional habit such as that found exaggerated in *discrecon* (V, 7). No extraneous types of *n* are found in the "Addition."

o 1 2 3 4

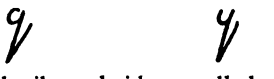
Both Derby and D made o_1 their favourite, as a very small circle or oval whose distinctiveness lies in the display of similar deformities. Thus Derby frequently elongated and sloped o_1 as for instance in *into* (VI, 25) as D often did e.g. in *for* (12), and various other distorted circles were similarly written by both. More significant however was o_2 because it was very frequent with both, and generally ended with a top thickening as for example in Derby's *to* (V, 5) *to* and *would* (VI, 29 and 30), *troblesome* and *vppon* (VII, 2 and 9) ; similar pen-action being seen in many of D's letters e.g. in *no* (95), *offyc* (98), *or* (117) or *not* (136), sometimes the rapid finish actually leading to overlap as in *woold* (125). Derby's less frequent more open o_3 as in *so* (V, 8) or *good* (VIII, 10) is found in D's *no* (38), *woold* (130), *youle* (142) and a few other words. The *v*-shaped o_4 was generally used by both in *yo*^{r}, e.g. Derby (V, 11, VII, 13 and VIII, 12), D (106 etc.) ; also in D's *vo*^{w} e.g. line 100. Besides these striking concordances and the absence of any non-Derby habits in D's script, close inspection reveals a decisively telling trick in common viz. that of occasionally giving initial *o* a slight left hand tick, as is clearly seen in Derby's words *of*, *vppon*, *on*, *of* and *owne* (VI, 25, 28, 29 and 32) no less than in D's *offyc* (98), *obay* (100), *obedienc* (114), *on* (133) and *our* (143).

p 1 2 3 4 5



Derby's favourite p_1 with long or short straight-pointed tail, as for example in *enterpryse* and *deputie* (V, 3 and 6), *vppon* or *vpp* (VII, 9 and 12), resembles many of D's letters e.g. in *poor* (68 and 71) but though there is a tendency to tail curvature in Derby's *Llops* (VI, 16) it is not so pronounced as in some of D's slurred letters e.g. *captaine* (114) or *peace* (110). Derby's p_2, with short vertical tail in D.l.H. but longer and sloping in VI, e.g. *payde* (VI, 19), often with tail upstroke, is not frequent in the "Addition," where it occurs nine times e.g. with stumpy tail in the three words *peace* (50), but it is sometimes difficult to distinguish p_2 from degenerate p_3 which is found in D's *patterne* (82), *power* (99) and the second word *peace* (60). This form appears fairly frequently in D.l.H. Derby's p_4, a degenerate form seen in *thaccomplishm*^{t} (V, 9) or *lp* and *Lp* (VII, 1 and 14) as well as elsewhere, is a striking variety which appears in the "Addition" in *poor* (8) and the first word *peace* (60). Derby's p_5 is not significant because it was so common, being the usual brevigraph for *par* and *per* ; it is seen for instance in *keep*[er] (VI, 14, twice), where the shape resembles that in D's *psynip*[*s*] (9, and 15), *ptly* (14), *pceaue* (92) and *pdon* (143). But D's brevigraph for *pre* and *pro*, seen only in the 3rd folio (114, 117, 128 and 143) is unusual, since the concave curve which is normally below is placed to the left, almost making a figure of 8 in *pvince* (128) and *pcure* (143). Exactly similar left-posed brevigraphs are found in D.l.H., but with characteristic variability Derby in 1596 wrote the abbreviation *pre* in ' prejudice ' simply as *p*^{r}*iudice* (VI, 11), and it is noteworthy that D also did not use any abbreviation with *prentizes*, *prentisses*, *present* and *prevayle* (9, 22, 23, 62, and 81) i.e. in the first two folios of the "Addition" ; another example of D's similar variability.

q 1 2



Derby wrote *q* with pointed tails, and either small closed oval, *i.e.* q_1, as in *acquainted* (V, 1), also in several words in D.l.H., or with open oval, i.e. q_2, as in *request* (V, 5 ; VIII, 12 and 13). Both varieties similarly written are found among the four *q*,s of the "Addition," q_1, in *quyte* (78) with tail curvature, and *quelld* (82) ; q_2 in *quallyfy* (119) and probably in the faded *q* of *question* (21).

Derby's *r*,s were all highly individualistic but very variable. For example in the short epistles of Plate V and B.M. Add. 12506, 221 we find, r_1 r_2 r_4 and r_5, and in the body of VII while 80% of the 38 *r*,s are r_5, in the postscript (probably written a little later) of the 16 *r*,s only 12·5% are r_5, 87·5% being of the Italian type r_4 ; all of which shows that frequencies must be considered overall and not on single epistles. D's frequencies likewise varied as between the different folios of the "Addition," where r_5 is much more frequent (25%) in the first than in the two other folios, in which there are 144 *r*,s ; and these variations were no doubt simply a matter of speed, time and mood, but overall both Derby's and D's frequencies of r_5 were roughly equal (20%). Derby's r_1 being conventional was only distinctive by its variability in minor details, such as the approach between the shafts and the usually strong curvature of the connecting link ; examples being seen in such words as *brother*, *over* and *agreed* (VI, 5, 25, 19 and 28) ; and similar variations with D's r_1 are to be seen everywhere e.g. in *from* (66) or *harber* (127), the curvature being sometimes so strong as to simulate *n*, as in D's *nature* (126) and Derby's *from* (Harl. M.S. 6997, fol. 190, line 12) or (less so) in *dower* (VI, 22). It will be also noticed that both often finished r_1 with a sharp bend to the right, e.g. in Derby's *desyred* (VI, 21) and D's *wer* (137), and that when terminal the stroke sometimes ended in a characteristic curl as in Derby's *whither* (VI, 8) and D's *moor* (142) etc. When the two shafts virtually touched, the resulting r_2 was a most distinctive shape because of its pronounced basal bow, seen for example in Derby's *greately* (VI, 39) and elsewhere, and in D's *before* (90), *earth* (104) etc. ; even more idiosyncratic was Derby's less frequent footed r_3, found for example in an epistle of 1599 in the word *repreyve* also in *ryver* (VIII, 8), and seen in D's *straing* (8) and (*malformed*) in *portigall* (128). Derby's sporadic r_4, as for example in *troble* (VII, 1) and *nere* (VIII, 9) is seen in the "Addition," in *seriant* (margin, 17) and *Surrey* (31, second *r*), also apparently, though smudged, in *earle* (32), *heare* (38), *Arther* (43) and *Cry* (61). Derby's r_5, frequent in D.I.H. and in VII, shows the same kind of variation between the upright and 'left-shouldered' types as appear in the "Addition" ; as may be seen by comparing the varieties in *wryt* (V, 7), *warrant* (VII, 7) etc. with the varying shapes in D's *grote* (2), *refuse* (17), *maier* (24), *hear* (30) and *Brother Arthur* (59). Also with both, as already noted, r_5 in *yo*^{r} degenerated into precisely the same kinds of twiddle e.g. Derby's in V, 11 and D's in line 78 or 126 ; and nowhere in the "Addition" is *r* written other than Derby wrote it, though he rarely produced D's rapidly written degenerate *n*-shapes.

With initial or medial s_1, both Derby and D sometimes made the shaft of unusual length, as for example in Derby's *Auneswrs* (VII, 8) and D's *sore* (10), both often also showing the junction between shaft and pot-hook, as in Derby's *laste* (VI, 3) or *disgrace* (VII, 10) and D's *desyres* (77) ; and though actual separation, as in D's *sealues* (46), is not usual in Derby's script the same kind of lapse is seen in *against* (B.M. 12506, 221, l. 4), also in the word *shall* in an epistle of 12th April 1597 (B.M. Lansd. 84, fol. 52), also with the similar letter *f* in *for* (same epistle) and in *of* (VII, 14). Though D's frequent thick and nearly vertical shafts, as in *straigners* (130) are not in Derby's known cursive script they are very frequent in D.I.H. With terminal s_2, both showed exactly similar habits, generally finishing with a curl to the left, as in Derby's *this*, *highnes*, *officers* and *esquiers* (VI, 3, 16, 32 and 34) or D's *ravenous* (86), *as* (107, 135), *throtes* (134) and about 20 other words ; but in a few cases the curl was to the right, as in Derby's *is* (VII, 13) and D's *this* (89) or *his* (102, 103, 115), and sometimes (in common with most writers) there was no curl at all, as in Derby's *his* (V, 4) or *this* (VII, 5, 14) and D's *rebells* (109) or *thus* and *this* (139).

Even more decisive is the use of s_3 for terminal *s*, because few writers made the *s*-loop downwards like Derby and D. Thus Derby made the down-stroke straight in *Requests*

(B.M. Add. 12506, 221, l. 2) also in an epistle of date 20th March 1596 (Hatfield collection) and three times in D.l.H. ; he curved it to the left sometimes, as in *lls* (VIII, 6) and other epistles, and to the right in *frends* (VI, 15 and 28), *tennts* (VII, 4) and four times in D.l.H. These remarkable peculiarities also characterise D, who made the down-stroke straight in *backs* (75) and nine other words, who curved it to the left in *basterds* (12), *elaments* (136) and *comforts* (137), and to the right in *things* (21) and *kings* (26) ; and what makes identification the more conclusive is that among the other Hands in *Sir Thomas More* all except D and E (who are the same—see p. 284) used the normal upward looped final s_2, never downward s_3. Nor did they use the more sloping variety s_4 which is such a characteristic feature of Derby's and D's script i.e. for terminal *s*. This precursor of modern *s* has an elliptical loop with tail always curved to the left, as for instance in Derby's *tennts* (VII, postscript) or *less* (VIII, 11) and D's *whats* (9), *letts* (30) and eight other words ; and altogether the frequency of both types of down-looped terminal *s* i.e. s_3 and s_4 was about the same (20%) with Derby as with D. These two varieties were not unique ; in fact s_4 was often used in place of *es* or *ys*, but s_3 and s_4 used purely for terminal *s*, not *es*, in such words (with Derby) as *tennts* or *sides* or (with D) *whats* (9) *letts* (30) *lets* (43) and *thats* (88), were obviously as habitual as they were in general unusual. Derby's Italian long *s* takes a variety of forms, one of which s_5, as in *synce* (VII, 2 and 9) or *said* (VIII, 9) is crucial because its unfinished upper loop is such a distinctive feature of D's Italian s_5 in *seriant* (17, margin) ; D's completely unlooped Italian s_6 in *souly* (102, originally '*only*') was also used by Derby, as for instance in *desirous* and *discrecon* (V, 2 and 7) and even as terminal *s* in *lps* (VII, line 2 of postscript). There is no extraneous *s* among the 260 letters *s* in the "Addition."

t 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Both Derby and D wrote *t* in so many identical ways in different varieties that it is necessary to reduce them to the above 11 types, of which t_7 and t_8 being purely conventional are not significant. Of the 218 *t*,s in the unsmudged second and third folios of the "Addition," 36% are t_5, 23% t_7 and t_8, and 15% t_9, but among the remainder t_2, t_3, t_{10} and t_{11} are comparatively rare ; Derby's frequencies overall are similar though not in detail, as for instance t_2 which is more frequent than D's, and t_9 which is less. One example each of the different types, in words cited below, must suffice to illustrate the fundamental identity in habit :—

	t_1	t_2	t_3	t_4	t_5
Derby	*to* (VII, 1, 7, 13)	*moste* (VI, 38)	*thinke* (V, 7)	*sort* (V, 4)	*yt* (VI, 22)
D	*to* (122)	*still* (116)	*thoffendor* (123)	*but* (37)	*what* (68)

	t_6	t_7	t_8	t_9	t_{10}	t_{11}
Derby	*tytle* (VI, 19)	*troblesome* (VII, 2)	*brothers* (VI, 17)	first *the* (VI, 14)	*to* (VII, 4)	*Octobr* (VIII, 16)
D	*to* (106)	*them* (37)	*wretched* (74)	*the* (62)	first *their* (75)	*feet* (111)

Of these, t_4 for terminal *t* specially stands out because the lower stroke was one of Derby's striking habits ; besides the above example, his t_4 in *request*, *entertaintm*^{t} and *thaccomplishm*^{t} (V, 5, 6 and 9) should be compared with D's *gainst* (95), *but* (125), *not* (129, 133) and *must* (130). It will be noticed however that some of D's *t*,s, particularly t_5 and t_9, are thicker and more upright than Derby's epistolary *t*,s, but in D.l.H. D's strong idiosyncrasy is exactly reproduced with similarly thick or strongly footed upright letters ; while on the other hand in the "Addition" it will be found that D so greatly varied the slope of his *t*,s that some have the same strong slant as many of Derby's, as for example in D's *the* (121) and *that* (132). Also while both usually curved their letter to the right when not straight, both occasionally curved it to the left, as in Derby's *erected* (VIII, 8), and D's *thats* (88) or *fayth* (141). Both exhibit so many identical minor habits, such as the way they repeatedly wrote *to* (p. 282), the way they wrote *st* (pp. 282-3), and such a number of other almost facsimile-like peculiarities which only come out on close comparison, that it would be quite unreasonable to doubt writer's identity here, seeing that no peculiar extraneous *t*,s are to be found among so many letters *t* in the "Addition."

u 1 2

Both Derby and D usually wrote *u* very small and indistinguishably alike, but the distinction between u_1 and u_2 is often too indefinite to permit frequency counts. Derby's u_1 is seen in *desirous* and *haue* (V, 2 and 3), *caused* and *haue* (VII, 7 and 8) etc., simulating D's u_1 in *Shrowsbury* (30), *haue* (64), *graunt* (69), *quyte* (78), *rule* (100) etc. Derby's u_2 as seen for example in *mooue* (V, 5), *w*^{t}*houte* (VI, 11), *Laughton* (VII, 5), etc. is really identical with n_2 and has the same tendency to backward slope, like D's frequent u_2 e.g. in *Countrie* (5), *remoued* (72) or *sounde* (117); but Derby's more prominently *n*-shaped *u*, as for instance in *woulde* (VI, 30) is not in the "Addition," where however there are no unusual extraneous varieties.

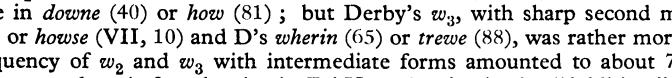
v 1 2 3 4

Both Derby and D often, as was then customary, used *v* in words now spelt with initial *u* e.g. '*vppon*,' but not often *v* for modern medial *u*, though frequently the converse e.g. *haue*. Most characteristic is their v_1 with pronounced spur and straight or curved preliminary upstroke; this is found in D.l.H. elegantly written, and about a dozen times in the "Addition" e.g. in *vp* (65) or *vnreuerent* (110). An equally characteristic form is v_2 also with upstroke, as in Derby's *verie* (VI, 9; VII, 1) or D's *vp* (90) but D does not show Derby's occasional top inflection. Examples of v_3 are found in Derby's *vpp* (VII, 12) and D's *shrevaltry* (42); and examples of v_4 in Derby's *move* (VI, 31) and D's *leven* (2). No non-Derby forms of *v* are found in the "Addition."

w 1 2 3 4 5

The letter as written by Derby and D is generally *v* with an extra minim on the left, formed from an upstroke in the case of initial *w*. This upstroke was sometimes long as for instance in D's *what* (114) and Derby's *wryte* (Harl. M.S. 6997, fol. 190, line 2) but both usually commenced *w* with a short straight or curved stroke like that in Derby's *was* or *w*^{ch} (VI, 23 and 37) and *whereof* (VII, 4) or D's *when* (118), *where* (129), *why* (130), *wer* (137) etc., the curve being long in Derby's *w*^{ch} (VII, 8). Derby's w_1 with spur in *Auneswrs* (VII, 8) is a slurred form of D's more elegant letter in *growe* (13), *will* (53) and a few other words; Derby's w_2, as for instance in *nowe* (VI, 14) or *warrant* (VII, 7) was often used by D, as for example in *downe* (40) or *how* (81); but Derby's w_3, with sharp second minim as in *w*^{ch} (VI, 37) or *howse* (VII, 10) and D's *wherin* (65) or *trewe* (88), was rather more favoured, and the frequency of w_2 and w_3 with intermediate forms amounted to about 75% with both. Derby's unusual w_4 is found twice in D.l.H. and twice in the "Addition" viz. in *will* (19 and 91). Derby's modern w_5, with end thickening instead of tag, was also not frequent, but is seen twice in his *yow* (V, 9) and in *farewell* (V, 10), also always in D's *yo*^{w} (61, 79, 80, 86, 89, 92, 95, etc.), *woold* (86) and *yow* (127). D wrote no non-Derby types of *w*. [Derby's letter *x* is not found in the "Addition," and D's *z* is not in Derby's available script]

y 1 2 3 4 5



As with the other letters of the alphabet, no extraneous non-Derby varieties of *y* (of which there were many) are found in the "Addition." D's *y*,s resemble Derby's even as to minutiae, and though the latter used y_2 in his cursive script oftener than D, both preferred y_1 and y_2, with intermediate forms, to the same extent (about 75%). Derby's y_1, as for instance in *S*^{r}*vyce* (V, 2), *yo*^{r} (VI, 39), *yt* (VI, 13) or *by* (VII, 3) was used by D in *yo*^{r} (79, 113, 126) and many other words. Derby's acicular y_2, as in *yt* (VI, 37) or *yo*^{r} (VII, 13) was also used by D in *yo*^{r} (72, 126) and numerous other words. Derby's y_3, unusual in his cursive

script but found in *my* (V, 6) and repeatedly in D.l.H., appears in D's *yo^{w}* (61, 133, 135, 138) and a few other words e.g. *marry* (70). Derby's degenerate y_4, seen for example in *enterpryse* (V, 3), *by* and *away* (VII, 5) or *ready* (VII, 9), is closely repeated by D in such words as *Surrey* (24), *marry* (96), *certainly* (97) etc. ; and the still more degenerate y_5 as in Derby's *May* (V, 10) or *Knowsley* (VII, 14) is found in D's *aucthoryty* (78), *quallyfy* (119), *Country* (126) and a few other words.

No letter perhaps, better than *y*, illustrates the extraordinary similarity in pen habit, as between D and Derby in respect of minor variations, which however are too numerous to specify. No one for example could seriously doubt that the same Hand that executed D's graceful preliminary curve of *y* in *yo^{u}* (e.g. 144) also wrote Derby's *yow* in B.M. Lansd. 84 (April 1597) and in V, 9 (May 1595) ; or imagine that the numerous bold exaggerated tail flourishes were not by the same writer. For instance Derby's very frequent vertical tail flourishes in *hartely* (V, 9), *away* and *by* (VII, 5 and 10) repeat D's in *by* (82, 141, 142) and other terminal *y*,s with perfect fidelity ; and the same is true of Derby's occasional horizontal tail strokes, as in *Contrey* and *Viceadmiralty* (VII, 3 and 7), found in D's *marry* (96) and *banysh* (125).

General character and word structure.

Calligraphic *character*, by which alone one Hand is distinguished from or identified with another, is really the integrated sum of many geometrical features, whose number and diversity make the mathematical probability of two persons having the same Hand virtually nil. Not merely shapes of capitals and minuscles however go to make up this diversity, but many asymmetric unconscious pen-tricks (flourishes etc.) as well as modes of linking letters together. But when, as in the case under consideration, both exhibit unusually great minuscle variability, strict structual concordance between whole words can only be expected when the same fortuitous letter-types are used as well as the same spelling, which are only likely with short words ; even then there must be some differences with the same writer of two scripts, due to other circumstances (time interval etc.). There are numerous short words common to Derby and D, frequently appearing, which are very similarly written, some almost facsimile-like in one or other of their varied letter-type configurations, such as *all*, *as*, *by*, *his*, *in*, *is*, *of*, *or*, *so*, *to*, *wth*, *yf*, *yt*, and *yo^{r}*. The resemblances are much too numerous to cite, but to take a single example, the word *to*, often and variously written by both ; here comparison leaves no shadow of doubt as to the same pen-man in the two series. Thus in D.l.H. we have several of D's footed *t* varieties of *to* ("Addition," 4, 8, 52, 56, 67) whilst elsewhere it is only necessary to compare the variations side by side to realise writer's habit-identity, say by taking Derby's *to* as in V, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 ; VI 5, 7, 8, 29, 39 ; and VII 1, 4, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14 against D's varieties in lines 94, 111, 122, 129, 131, 137, 139 and 146, in general, or in a particular epistle say Derby's word *to* in VII, 1, 7 and 13 against D's in lines 94, 111, 119, 122, 137 and 146, even though the former *to* was written 15 years later.

For longer words, found of course less frequently in common, the chance that they will be spelt the same with the same letter-types will be small, but when this is approximately the case identity in pen-habit is still unmistakeable, as may be seen for example by comparing Derby's *hold* (VII, 8) with D's three words (26 and 53) where it will be noticed even that the *o* and *l* are similarly detached ; or Derby's *this* (VI, 28) with D's *this* in line 82 (though not so similar elsewhere). On the other hand when the letter-types are not the same, as for example in the case of Derby's *Mat^{ie}* (VI, 7 and 36) and D's *matie* (73, 101, 121) the appearance is naturally different. [Even to-day, when there is very little letter-type variation, no one ever writes the same word, even his signature, exactly alike on different occasions.] As to letter linkage, almost infinite in its variety, only those cases need be recorded that are not conventional in character, such particularly as *s* with a succeeding letter. Thus compare : Derby's *se* link in *see* (V, 2) or *seysed* (VII, 9) with D's in *palsey* (11) and *present* (62), or that in Derby's *caused* (VII, 7) with D's in *sett* (90) ; or Derby's *sh* in *shall* (VI, 37) with D's in *should* (82), *shark* (86), *banysh* (125) etc. ; or Derby's *so* in *so* (VI, 39 ; VII, 11 and 13) with D's link in *sowles* (106) or *so* (124) ; or Derby's *st* tongue-like ligature in *laste* or *moste* (VI, 2, 3 and 38) with D's link in *stood* (21), *state* (67), *first* (93) etc., or Derby's erect form of *st* in *stayde* (VII, 7) with D's in *basterds* (12), *maiestrate* (146) etc. It will be noticed all through that the habits are identical ; prominently so in the tongue-shaped *st*

ligature (in *moste, stood* etc.) which distinguishes Derby and D from most other writers. [It was even used for *se* several times by Derby e.g. in *causes* (VI, 2), though not by D actually for *se*.]

Derby's and D's double letters *ff* and *ss* are also highly individualistic because the first letter is nearly always lower than the second and unsymmetrically inclined to it. Derby's *ff* is seen in such words as *officer*[*s*], *effected, ffarrington, sufficiencie* and *affected* (VI, 12, 27, 32, 34, 35, 36) like D's *ff* in *offend* (61), *ruffians* (84) and *thoffendor* (123) ; but in D's *ruff* (79) the *ff* is normal as it is in Derby's *ffrend* (V, 11) or *offred* (VII, 3). Derby's *ss*, as in *assignement* and *Assurances* (VI, 25 and 27) shows similar elevation, of the second *s*, to that in D's *passe* (4), *prentisses* (24) and (though differently written) *possesse* (120). Another strong idiosyncrasy in common is the frequent cramping together of *fe* and *fo*, as if the two letters were one. The habit is seen for example in Derby's *for* (V, 4, 5, 9), *fetcht* (VII, 12), and *force* (VII, 6, 11, 12), a peculiarity exactly repeated in D's *feet* (111), *for* (59, 84, 110), *before* (88), *forwarne* (94), *afoord* (133) and *comforts* (137) ; but not in *fower* (3), *for* (9, 12, 98), *offend* (61), *feed* (87) and *thoffendor* (123), just as in Derby's *affected* (VI, 36) and some other words where there is no cramping.

Less significant, because more common among writers, was the absence of linkage, especially of the letters *b*, *o* and *w* with the succeeding letter, where both Derby and D showed detachment to approximately the same extent, highest in the case of *w* (about 80%). Such detachment is particularly noticeable with *o* in their similar words, for instance between *o* and *d*, as in Derby's *good* (VI, 1 ; VII, 1), *goodes* (VII, 6) or *god* (VII, 14) like D's *stood* (21), *bloody* (66), *good*, (59) and *god* (88, 96, 98, 104, 105, 106, 135) where it will be observed with both, that while the *g* is always linked to *o*, *o* is never linked to *d*.

Finally the dimensions of Derby's O.E. cursive script are similar to those of the "Addition" ; though in both cases letter sizes are variable within small limits, the measured overall average vertical height of Derby's and D's small letters *a*, *m*, *n* and *o* is identical (·95 m.m.), and (as a serviceable measure of lateral spacing) the average number of consecutive letters per 100 m.m. length of script, here called *lateral number*, is approximately the same (31·15 for Derby and 32·5 for D). Also the slope (angle to the horizontal) of long O.E. *s* and *f*, though variable, is similar on average, being 62°·2 with Derby's epistolary script (higher if D.l.H. is taken into account) and 65° with D. This substantial agreement in measurable dimensions is the more striking by contrast with those of Shakspere's signatures, where the mean letter height (1·9 m.m.) is no less than *twice as great* as D's, the lateral number (20) less than two-thirds and the average slope (68°) steeper. Comparison with the Earl of Oxford is unjustifiable because his script was round Italian, but in two of his epistles (1600 and 1603) his mean height and lateral number are very different from D's and his slope (73°) steeper. Bacon's dimensions are enormously variable, but from 1580 to 1586 they are similar to D's though with much steeper slope, varying between 75° and 80° ; in the *Promus* notes and some of his epistles of the '90,s his Hand had assumed great sprawling characters with large vertical height (about 2 m.m.) but less steep slope, the same as D's, while in other epistles, e.g. one to Sir John Puckering in July 1595, his dimensions were like D's but slope steeper (77°). All these in Bacon's true autograph, apart from his different calligraphy (p. 140) and other evidence, make it utterly impossible to equate Bacon to D.

No identification of the Hands in two different scripts can be accepted as valid, however numerous the concordances, if there are any major differences in habit (minor differences may be expected and reasonably explained by a change in circumstances, such as time interval, speed of writing, sharpness of quill or even humour). Here they are minor and very few, comprising (apart from one or two frequency differences such as a_3 and of course the absence from D's O.E. script of most of Derby's later Italian letters) the following *lacunae* in Derby's available O.E. epistolary Hand* : D's *b*- and *l*-shaped *k*,s, D's more pronounced *n*-shaped *r*,s, D's terminal *f* twiddle, D's upstrokes with initial *i*, and D's thick nearly vertical downstrokes with *s* and *t*. The twiddle however characterises several of Derby's *r*,s and the other missing features are found constantly in D.l.H. ; so that having regard to D's strong variability in the different folios of the "Addition," as well as Derby's, no importance can be attached to these few differences from Derby's epistolary script.

* The converse i.e. absence of Derby's occasional O.E. forms from the "Addition" is of small consequence. They are : the sharp point of the d_6 flourish, trail of terminal *l*, *n*-shaped *u* and top inflection of v_2.

The question still remains : would any other piece of Elizabethan script as long as the "Addition," also show on detailed analysis the hundreds of major and minor concordances subsisting between D and Derby, without appreciable differences ? This is easily settled by appeal to actual cases, deliberately selecting script of legal type superficially similar to D's, such as that of Hand C, or Kyd or Mannıngham. Here actual trial shows that their total minuscle similarities to Hand D i.e. concordances lie between only 50 to 64 in number, mostly conventional types without significance, while for each there are from 40 to 50 habitual discrepancies, many of which in each case are glaring. Even Bacon, whose Hand is so different, presents 40 similarities, but it also shows over 40 profound differences in minuscle types, apart from striking differences in capıtals, flourishes etc. Each of these writers in fact have their own ıdiosyncrasies, but different from Derby's and D's, especially in the peculiar shapes of *a*, *g*, *h*, *p*, and terminal *s*, or in linkages like *ff*, *ss*, *sh*, etc. ; they all lack D's unusual variability by using relatively few letter-types, and after inspectıon they could never be identified with the writer of the "Addition."

Derby's idiosyncrasies. On the other hand Derby's O.E. pen tricks were D's throughout, and they were persistent through the years that had elapsed since the "Addition " was written, despite some slurring and Derby's increased tendency to Italianisatıon. His ıdiosyncrasies were numerous and pronounced : every letter of the alphabet was remarkably varied, some of his varieties being highly distinctive, such as his open *a*,s and *o*,s, deeply bowed *h*,s, down-looped s_3 and s_4 and so on ; his down-strokes were often heavy and bold, some like *f* and *s* being inordinately long ; his flourishes both vertical and horizontal, particularly with *d*, *h*, and *y*, were also bold and (when not slurred) as individualistic as they were elegant ; his trailing or short finishing strokes with some terminal letters, like *e*, *d*, *r* or *t*, also differed in character from those of other writers, and this difference to some extent distinguishes various curls or twiddles such as that found in his s_2, or in his *r* of *Mr* and yo^r ; some of his capitals, though not unique in shape, were extremely individualistic, certainly his A, I, L, M, W and Y ; his letter-linkage was equally characteristic, particularly in the combination *se*, *st*, *ss*, *ff*, and cramped *fe* or *fo*. All these and various other peculiarities previously noticed (tick with *a* and *o*, unsymmetrical *c*, footed *r* etc.) are *collectıvely* as unique as a finger-print, making it easy to distinguish his Hand from that of all other writers ; and it is because the "Addition " abounds with these idiosyncrasies, while minor differences are easily accounted for as above, that Hand D is so surely identifiable. After all the field of possibility is restricted. It is not a questıon of identifying one writer out of thousands, but a playwright who was Shakespeare himself ; this restricts the field to Shakspere, whose signatures show that he could only write with difficulty in letters differing radically from D's in size and firmness, and who cannot be taken seriously, or Bacon or the Earl of Oxford, whose writing in both cases is inadmissible, or the Earl of Derby, that is William Stanley, whose writing is proved to be ıdentical with D's by overwhelming and irrefutable evidence.

HAND E

In *Sir Thomas More*, Hands S, A, B, C and D, each with their own idiosyncrasies, are easily distinguishable, but C, who was as elegant as B was slovenly, resembles D to some extent. C however, who like Kyd presents 60 (mostly conventional) concordances with D, shows as many as 40 ıncompatible differences, so that the resemblance is merely superficial. E is in a very different category, in that his Hand *apparently* differs from D's but is nevertheless identical ; and as Dr. Greg, Sir E. M. Thompson, Prof. Sıssons and Dr. Tannenbaum, have all identified E with Dekker, it is to be hoped that in the interests of truth critics will weigh up dispassionately the new evidence now submitted which controverts this opinion.

Comparison with D and Derby. E's script (Plate IV) in many ways resembles Dekker's, but with some grave discrepancies (p. 288) while it also simulates Derby's and D's, with minor differences. First it must be recalled how different in appearance Derby's writing was at different times, as illustrated by Plates V to VIII. Attention has already been drawn to the similar variability of D ; and how different his script was in places is manifest from a mere comparison of the three folios of the "Addition." For example r_5 and footed t_9 are much more frequent in the first folio, and as already pointed out the brevigraph (for *pre* and *pro*) which might have been used for several words in the first two folios is only found in the 3rd ; so again h_6 appears only at the beginning of the first folio, just as h_5 is

found exclusively between lines 51 and 71 (2nd folio) or just as g_2 clusters round the 3rd folio. These and other similar clusterings of letter types may be variously explained (speed, humour etc.) but one thing is certain : that D tended towards a ' run ' on one particular type of letter for some 20 or more lines, exactly as Derby exhibited the same tendency in his epistles, so that the appearance of the writing in each case varies by this very habit.

Such variability easily accounts for the apparent dissimilarity of E's Hand when compared with D's and Derby's ; so that this with a difference of time and of quill pen explains the superficial dissimilarity as well as some frequency differences. As to the latter, the only ones of consequence are in the types of letters *a*, *e* and *r*, particularly the first *e* of *hee* and *mee* (which D wrote *he* and *me* on the only four occasions they appear) also *thee*. As will be seen in E's *mee* (Plate IV) lines 12, 13, 17, 19 and 23, the first *e* is shaped like modern written *v*, but this was a common enough defect at the time, being in fact e_5, found for instance in Derby's *remytt* (VII, 13), while D wrote many such defective *e*,s (e.g. in *lyke*, 135) though not in *ee*. Out of a total of about 100 *e*,s by E only seven have this degenerate shape and elsewhere both letters in *ee* are normal viz. in *bee* (26) like D's in *wee* (19), also in E's *sheepe*, *feede*, *see* and *keepe* ; while all through, E repeats all D's seven varieties of *e*, one e_4 in *knave* (9) even showing D's peculiar horizontal extension, though with downward instead of the usual upward finish. With the letter *r*, E wrote all D's varieties except r_3, but used r_5 to the extent of 64%, while D's frequency varies between 5 and 25%, and as already noted Derby greatly varied his local frequency of r_5, which was sometimes as high as 80%. The fact is, E's script is too short and cramped for comparison of frequencies having regard to clustering, and E being a very variable writer it is only by detailed analysis of his writing that his identity can be really probed. This will be now attempted.

Capitals. E's capitals are A, C, F, M, I or J, N and S, all of which except F and N are common to the "Addition," and present such similarities as *primâ facie* to suggest that the same Hand wrote them. Capital A, as seen in *Away* (24) and twice in *Asse* (18 and 24), very different from Dekker's usual A, has the familiar left hand curl and thick backward sloping down stroke, without cross, characteristic of Derby and D. Capital C repeats the character of their C and twice shows their habit of barely allowing the down-loop to cut the cross stroke, as seen in E's *Cannot* (2) and *Cutt* (20) ; also E similarly used the capital frequently in place of minuscle, viz. in *Crowne*, *Can*, *Cannot*, *Coxcomb* and *Cutt*, while in five other words beginning with *c* the minuscle is used. Capital I or J found a dozen times, as for instance in *Ile* (15), is simply Derby's slurred letter like D's in *Ile* (80). Capital M in *Moore* and *More* (4) is absolutely identical with Derby's M in VI, 7 and 8, an enlarged form of D's minuscle m_1, with three minims ; in the name *Morris* (14) and *Morr*, eight times in the margin, a totally different kind of M with two minims was used by E, a modern form not employed by D but entirely similar to Derby's M (in an epistle 28th Jan. 1595) except for its preliminary flourish. Several of E's 2-minim M,s also show the characteristic upstroke of Derby's 3-minim letter (e.g. in *My*, VII, 1) while one of them (the uppermost) shows the tell-tale ' needle-eye ' like that found in D's and Derby's *n* (p. 277). E's capital N in *Now* (20) repeats Derby's N in *Nephew* (VII, 15) not only in the same round first minim and sharp second minim, but by being very tall and narrow. Capital S, as written eleven times by E is simply conventional, like Derby's S and some of D's e.g. Shreiue ("Addition," 45). E's majuscle habits all through were in fact Derby's and D's (except the 2-minim M,s).

Minuscles. First comparing E's minuscles with D's, close inspection shows that apart from a few varieties absent from the "Addition " (but found in Derby's script) no foreign types whatever were used by E—only D's varieties and, despite E's much shorter script, the majority of D's many types are present mostly with the same minor variations, though, as noted, not always with similar frequencies. Thus for example E employed all D's eight varieties of *a*, except a_2, but E's a_3 in *am* (20) and *another* (28) had a nearly straight downstroke like that in D's a_7 (in *a*, line 9) ; and as E used the article *a* no less than ten times in his 30 lines (e.g. line 4) as a_7, while D rarely used the article, E's a_7 appears in abnormal frequency. Somewhat similar observations hold for some of the other letter varieties such as h_8 which D only used twice and E four times e.g. *humor* (27) ; but it would be too tedious to cite all the letter varieties with examples, and it must suffice to say that careful analysis of E's short script reveals no less than 75 letter types identical with those of D and Derby, including 7 varieties of *a*, 5 of *d*, 6 of *e*, 4 of *f*, 4 of *h*, 4 of *o*, 4 of *r*, 5 of *s*, 8 of *t*, 3 of *w*

and 3 of *y*. What however is more significant than all these variety-identities, some thirty of which are merely conventional, is the manifestly identical *habit* behind them, as evinced by many tricks of the pen. In all this concordance the only real differences from D, apart from those noted, are the absence of some idiosyncrasies, such as terminal *f*-twiddle or curl of s_2 ; D also did not use E's *n*-shaped *u* in *you*, which however is like Derby's (e.g. in *coulde*, VI, 20). Minor lacunae are to be expected, and comparison with several other writers fails to establish any such overall concordance ; for example an equal length of C's script, which in some ways resembles E's and even reveals 60 minuscle identities, shows that there are no less than 39 irreconcilable differences from E's writing.

Close scrutiny brings out many decisive peculiarities which prove that E and D were the same. Thus E wrote the same open angular " spurred " *a*,s, tall and dwarf *d*,s with the same flat backward flourish, similar flexed extension of terminal *e*, the same highly characteristic *h*,s, unduly long *f* and *s* (e.g. in *fates* and *sett*—lines 19 and 18), typical o_3 and o_4 (e.g. in *now*, line 2, or *to*, lines 26 and 28), the same *n*-shaped *r* in *sharing* (5), the same Italian long *s* in *deposde* (3), the same highly distinctive s_3 in *getts* (10) and *its* (23) (an unusual feature which as noted is lacking from all the other Hands of the Play except D), elevated twiddle for *r* in *your* (18, etc.), and so on. It is impossible to recount all the numerous minor characters in common, but they include D's familiar thickening of down-strokes and his idiosyncratic flourishes, unmistakeably identical in the tails of *h* and *y*, e.g. *hayre* (23). E's letter linkages too are mostly D's favourites, as for instance in such combinations as *th*, *ho*, *yf*, *se*, *sh*, *so st*, but while E's *st* link in *Frost* (7) is the same as D's usual link, his other type of link in *ailst* (1), *doest* (17), *cast* and *must* (19) and *destinyes* (27) is not found in the "Addition " (though this merely conventional linkage is very frequent in the Mistress Poem) but an exactly similar looped link for *sh* in E's *sharing* (5), etc. appears in many of D's *sh* links e.g. *shoold* (line 81) ; all of which shows that choice of alternative *st* linkages was a matter of momentary humour.

Of the double letters in common with D, E's *ff* in *offe* (19) and *off* (26), and *ss* in *losse* (2) and *Asse* (18 and 24) both strikingly show D's peculiar asymmetry with elevated second letter (p. 283) ; while in E's *oo*, in *Moore* (4), *fooles* (19), *poore* (20) and *fooleryes* (25), the letters are in contact as they nearly are in D's *moorne* (123), *shoold* (124), *afoord* (133) and *moor* (142), though D often separated them, e.g. in *woold* (138), a difference perhaps due to E's cramped space. Among words in common, a similar chance to that noted on p. 282, makes it unlikely that they should have the same spelling with the same letter varieties in both cases, except with small words repeated, as for example *the* which E wrote eight times, e.g. in line 19, showing the same habits as D in his often repeated word, e.g. in line 109, or E's words *to* (26, 27, 28) which repeat some of D's many words *to*, e.g. in lines 106 and 122. Various other small words are configurationally so similar that it is absolutely certain that the same Hand wrote them ; compare for instance the words shown below indicating identical pen-habit :—

	haue	*hold*	*not*	*of*	*or*	*so*	*this*	*well*	*your*
E's line -	19	10	26	2	27	26	6	15	25
D's line -	65	53	136	39	117	124	139	117	78

Most of these are not only very similarly written but sometimes so more than once, without the least trace of any extraneous idiosyncrasy, though other words in common because of letter variation are only in part similar, as between E and D viz. *another*, *before*, *for*, *make*, *more*, *nay*, *sett*, *that*, *then*, *twere*, *what*, *wth* and *you* ; for the same reason one or two words in common are very dissimilar though the individual letters are purely D's.

Comparing now E with Derby, superficially the resemblance is most apparent with the epistle of 10 July 1596 (Plate VI), but close inspection shows remarkable similarities in all Derby's writing and actually there are more minuscle concordances than with D alone. This is partly because of E's marginal Italianate writing which is so like Derby's untidy mixed script, and it will be noticed for instance how in the post-script of 1605 (Plate VII) though more sloping (p. 271) the *e*,s in *ben* and *Jarre* repeat E's *e*,s in *weepes* (margin, 20), the *p* in *lp* (post-script, 4) repeats the *p*, and the down-looped s_4 in *tennts* (post-script, 6) repeats the *s*. E's peculiar *k*,s repeated in *Faulk* or *Falk* (margin), also in *Faulkner* (5) and *Falkner* (28), which are like Dekker's *k*,s except for his usual top loop, are simply Derby's Italian

PLATE
(With ack

k,s without top loop, as found in *wrack* (post-script, 5) and elsewhere. Similarly numerous other Derby idiosyncrasies distinguish E's short script, notably the following :—

E's open *a*,s : these are pure Derby types, as for instance degenerate a_6 in E's *mad* (2), or *taken* (3) ; a_3 in *am* (20) is like Derby's *a* (5th line of Harl. M.S. 6997, fol. 190) etc. ; and so with all the other types of *a*. E's d_6 which occurs 13 times is distinguished by its flat flourish, often pointed at the end, as in the first word *mad* (2), *deposde* (3), *hold* (10), *dambd* (11), *condole* (19), *old* (25) and *tournd* (26), all strongly simulating Derby's peculiar flat flourish e.g. in *steede* (VI, 32) or *hold* and *would* (VII, 8 and 11). E's *f*, as in *feede* (6), *for* (9), *of* (10), *follow* (17) and *fates* (19) is inordinately long like so many of Derby's *f*,s.

E's unusual *g* in " bag and baggage (21), also in *begin* (5), *hang* (7), *charge* (12) and *hayremonger* (29) imitate Derby's bastard *g* in *belonging* and *takeing* (VII, 4, 5 and 11), *touch-inge* (VIII, 7) etc. ; further E's unusual initial *g* with overlapping tail in *getts* (10) and *given* (23) is reproduced exactly in Derby's word *great* (Harl. M.S. 6997, fol. 190) and in *good* (B.M. Add. 12506, 221, line 9).

E's frequent Italian r_4 in *Morr* (repeatedly in margin) also in *Frost* (7) and *Morris* (14) was Derby's favourite letter in his bastard script, and E's r_5, e.g. in *desperate* (9), throughout repeats Derby's (not Dekker's) habit, while E's elevated degenerate *r* in m^r (13, 14) reproduces the habit of many of Derby's erections, as for example in M^r, $S^r vyce$ and $p^r sented$ (V, 1, 2, and 8), yo^r (VII, 1, 13), y^r (VII, postscript, 4) etc. ; and in E's *shavers* (18) the degenerate *r* is a mere elevated stroke (mistaken for *t* by Greg) simulating Derby's stroke in m^r (VI, 1).

E's s_1 in *sett* (18) etc. has the same unusual length as so many of Derby's *s*,s, but more important is E's tell-tale down-looped s_3 for final *s* (not used by Dekker) already noticed (p. 286), though Derby's s_4 in E's *divells* (11) *Morris* (14) and *weepes* was used by Dekker. E's mid-word doubly looped Italian *s* in *desperate* (9), *rascall* (11) and *because* (18), quite unlike Dekker's in habit, was frequent with Derby in his mixed script e.g. in *lykewise* and *cawsey* (VIII, 5 and 8). Dekker never used E's peculiar forward sloping w_1 in *crowne* (3), *Scowrd* (4), *farewell* (7), and *Now* (20), which had the same unusual spurred shape as Derby's frequent w_1 as for example in w^{ch} (VI, 34) or *Auneswrs* (VI, 8), a very striking idiosyncrasy.

There are over 80 Derby minuscle type-identities, many of which include idiosyncrasies beyond those noted above, such as :—

Archaic a_8 in *a* (2), unsymmetrical *c*,s e.g. in E's *headach* (29), *v*-shaped *e*,s as noted on p. 285, open *o*,s e.g. in *now* and *of* (2) or *no* (12), strongly bowed *r*,s, e.g. in *sharing* (5), looped *t*,s e.g. in *ailst* (1), *n*-shaped *u*,s e.g. in the second tho^u (1), various typical finishing strokes, as with terminal *e*, e.g. in *knave* (9) *or t*, e.g. in *art* (1) ; also deep typically thickened bows of *h* e.g. in *that* (9) or *hold* (10), and unusually bold tails of *y*, both horizontal as in *nay* (6), *away* and *dry* (24) or vertical as in *vevne* (6). All these are pure Derby habits. So also E's various letter linkages mostly repeat Derby's familiar shapes but with some differences ; thus the flattened tongue-shaped *se*, *so*, and *st* ligature sometimes affected by Derby is absent but in E's *sett* (18), *so* (26), and in *Frost* (7) we have one of Derby's normal linkages ; mostly however E's *st*, e.g. in *cast* and *must* (19), has the looped link which is not common with Derby though found, not only in the Mistress Poem but in D.I.H., while E's similar link with *sh*, as in *shavers* (18), is Derby's normal combination, e.g. in *shall* (VI, 37). So also E's *ff* in *offe* (19) and *off* (26) has Derby's usual unsymmetrical form with lower first *f* e.g. in *officers* (VI, 12) ; and E's *ss* in *Asse* (18, 24) repeats his similar asymmetric combination e.g. in *Assurances* (VI, 27). But [owing to lack of space] E's cramped *oo* in *fooles* (19), *poore* (20) and *fooleryes* (25) differs from several of Derby's *oo*,s which are usually dissevered, though in his *goodes* (VII, 6) the letters are similarly cramped. E's *rr* in *Morris* (14) and *Morr* (eight times in margin) repeats Derby's *rr* in *Jarre* (VII, postscript, 7), *preferr* (VIII, 5) etc., another example of similarity in Italian script ; and E's *tt* in *better* (4), *getts* (10), *sett* (18) and *Cutt* (20) though not significant simulates Derby's *tt* in *fytt* and *remytt* (VII, 13).

Of E's words in common with Derby, similarly spelt, only small words can be expected to have the same configuration for reasons already given. Thus E's *to* (26 and 28) repeats several of Derby's words *to* e.g. (VII, 10), and in some but not all cases Derby's *doe*, *goe*, *had*, *in*, *it*, *my*, *not*, *of*, *or*, *so* and *the* very closely resemble the words as written by E, while some longer words in common (*haue*, *hold*, *make*, *this* and *thus*) though not superposably identical were palpably so in habit and written by the same Hand in both cases. All this incontrovertible evidence proves that E was Derby without the least doubt.

Comparison of E with Dekker. Taking as basis, Dekker's receipts to Henslowe, of dates 18th January 1598 [1599], 30th January 1598 [1599], 1st August 1599 and 18th January 1599 [1600] (B.M. Add. M.S. 30262) and the Star Chamber declaration of 1625 (Public Record Office 8.31.16) discovered by Sissons, certain remarkable resemblances to E's script are certainly found, some already noted and some almost facsimile-like, particularly the minuscles a_7, e_6, h_6, p_1, r_4, s_4, s_5, t_1, t_5, w_2 and y_1. But there are only 40 total minuscle E-identities and as these are also E-Derby identities they signify nothing. As to the capitals common to both E and Dekker, A, C, M, I, and S, there is great similarity on the whole and particularly in Dekker's 2-minim M in *Maties*, but not in his A which was in general totally different from E's characteristic letter and formed from two long straight strokes giving an elongated acute angle without the preliminary flourish ; also Dekker's C was generally the modern letter, while all E's were O.E. Both these strong habits were foreign to E's calligraphic style.

It is among the more numerous minuscles however that so many dissimilarities are disclosed involving incompatibility. In the first place Dekker lacks E's great variety in letter types. Thus he wrote only two varieties of *a*, viz. a_4 and a_7 (and these in quite different style from E's) so that he never used E's most distinctive open *a* (a_6) or cusped a_3 or archaic a_8. He employed E's b_1, b_2 and b_3 but generally with different character by sloping the upper loop more strongly ; his c_2 was like E's but he more often wrote modern Italian *c*, never used by E ; his few types of *d*, generally with incomplete upper loop, were also very different in shape from E's though in the Henslowe receipts several of his letters d_6 strongly simulate E's. Dekker's conventional *e*,s are not different from E's, but he nearly always wrote his own form of e_6, indistinguishable from his r_5 whereas E nearly always used e_1, e_2, e_3, e_4 and e_5 ; a few of Dekker's *f*,s were similar to E's, but his frequent letters with lower-loop were very different from anything E wrote ; also he never used E's characteristic g_4 but nearly always modern *g*, which however sometimes resembled E's *g*,s in ' baggage ' etc. Dekker generally wrote modern Italian *h* which E never used, but sometimes also h_1 and h_6, like E's ; his letters *i*, *k*, *l*, *m* and *n* were conventional yet, even so, mostly different in pen-habit from E's ; he occasionally wrote open o_4 but never E's distinctive o_2, and Dekker's ovalised *o*,s, often very sloping, were mostly entirely unlike E's more upright letters. Also Dekker wrote several highly individualistic *p*,s of various shapes, all glaringly foreign to E's penmanship, some even with looped strongly sloping tails flowing to the left, which emphasise the gross incompatibility ; despite which it is true that he sometimes wrote E's p_1 and a degenerate p_4 in *Phillip* resembling that in E's *weepes*. Dekker's *r*,s (r_1, r_4 and r_5) mostly differ strongly in appearance from E's, especially Dekker's r_5 which was not normal (as with E) but resembled Greek ϵ. Dekker rarely wrote E's characteristic s_1 and never his tell-tale terminal s_3 but instead s_4, and mid-word nearly always Italian s_5 whose character however was different from E's midword s_5 ; Dekker also only used four varieties of *t* out of E's eight, not for instance E's looped varieties t_{10} and t_{11}, Dekker's loops being prominently large, simulating his highly idiosyncratic capital T. His *u*,s, mostly u_2, were also very different in style from E's ; and he never used E's sharply spurred w_1, which is so individualistic, but always conventional w_2. Finally though he wrote common y_1 something like E, most of his *y*,s were of his own special types, fundamentally different from any of E's numerous *y*,s (y_1, y_2 and y_4), some for instance having a plain line for tail, others having looped tails of various fantastic shapes, quite alien to E's habit, some of these idiosyncratic loops even straying sharply to the right, instead of left as in modern *y*. Dekker's *y*,s and *p*,s alone suffice to rule him out of court.

All these fatal inconsistencies brought out by close scrutiny make it impossible to accept Dekker despite a number of tantalisingly close similarities. His idiosyncrasies ' give him away ' and the incompatibility, whether in letter shapes or in absent habitual forms of E, is borne out by other systematic habits of Dekker. Thus he wrote a very much larger, more open and more sloping Hand (see below) than E ; moreover (see p. 290) his *y*-spelling Index (26) was lower than E's (37·26), his spelling deviation (17%) was lower than E's (27·6%) and his Capital frequency (50) much higher than E's (35). Most of his linkages in word structure also differ markedly from E's well defined habits, as a result of which the small words common to both are very differently written (*to*, *the*, *of*, *no*, etc.). While his M^r (18th January 1598) certainly shows a strong similarity to E's M^r (line 14) and his *keepe*

(1625) to E's *weepes* (both simulated by Derby) the sharp contrast in configuration is palpable elsewhere, as for instance between Dekker's *Hayres* (30th January 1598) and E's *hayre* (twice written in the same way, lines 23, 29), or between Dekker's *Charges* (1625) and E's *charge* (12).

Summing up, the facts are plainly decisive against identity ; the resemblances, relatively few but certainly striking, are merely fortuitous because the differences cited are irreconcilable and much too grave, too ingrained in habit, to permit any identification of the two writers.

Calligraphic dimensions. Mean dimensions and slopes, as defined on p. 283, are conveniently grouped below for comparison :—

	mean vertical height m.m. (*a, m, n, o*)	mean lateral number (per 100 m.m. script)	mean slope (*f* and *s*)
Hand D (*ca.* 1591) - -	·95	32·5	65°
Hand E (*ca.* 1591) - -	·9	34	62°
Earl of Derby (1595—1607) -	·95	31·5	62°·2
Bacon (1586—1595) - -	1·5	39	80°
Dekker (1599, 1600, 1625) -	1·4	27	55°
Shakspere (1613—1616) -	1·9	20	68°

[The mean height and lateral number of the other Hands in *Sir Thomas More* are variable and not greatly different from the D-E figures but, except B, their slopes are more upright, those of A and C being 75°, and S 73°.]

The Table omits the Earl of Oxford for the reason given on p. 283. The figures deserve close study because they not only confirm the identity of E with D, despite E's higher lateral number due to cramping, but their identity with Derby, while excluding Bacon, Shakspere and Dekker, who differs from E both in dimensions and the three fundamental frequencies quoted above, that is in every quantitative measure.

Spelling. Hands D and E should never have been given different labels, but for the sake of clarity these labels are still retained in the following brief review of spelling. First the remarkable contrast may be noticed between the semi-archaic orthography of D and E and the relatively modern spelling of S, A and C ; B being simply an erratic bad speller. For example D and E had a strong tendency to clip final *e*, as in D's *ar* (4 times), *Com, straing, charg, offyc, obedyenc, obedienc, insolenc, wer, appropriat* or *on* [one, 3 times] and E's *theis* or *headach* ; similar to Derby's *com, cum, offenc, tak, wryt, wrot* etc. D and E also repeatedly doubled *t*, as in D's *cutt, gott, sett, sytt, whett,* or E's *sett, Cutt* and *getts* ; similar to Derby's *fitt, fytt, fyttinge, lett, remytt, waytt, yett* etc. Neither S, A, C (nor Dekker) showed these orthographic idiosyncrasies, nor such unusual abbreviations as D's *psnyp, thappostle, thipp, thoffendor, tooth* [to the] reminiscent of Derby's *lrē* [letter], *Trēr* [Treasurer], *thaccomplishm^t, Thassises, Thysland, Thysle* etc.

A valuable criterion, through relative frequencies, is found in the words ' if ' and ' it ' because they are numerous (except with Dekker who wrote *it* once). The spelling *if* is invariably used (about 60 times) by all the Hands of the Play except D and E ; D spells it *yf* six times out of seven and E twice out of two. The word ' it ' occurs about 120 times in the whole Play, always so spelt by S, A and C but B also spells it *yt* and *ytt* ; D spells ' it ' *yt* six times out of six and E *it* on the only occasion it appears. Derby's tendency was similar to that of D—E, being 85% for *yt* and 80% for *yf* ; his *it* and *if* thus being comparatively rare. These eloquent contrasts and D—E—Derby (Stanley) coincidences are so confirmative that it seems strange to find any discrepancies at all. But spelling then was always capricious, so that having regard to the time which had elapsed it is perhaps not surprising to find D's *sealf* (three times) which Derby wrote *self* or *selfe* several times, or D's regular spelling *coold, shoold* and *woold*, which Derby did not use, at least in the few such words appearing in his own known script. More fundamental even than the above are three crucial frequencies : (1) redundant capitals (2) spelling deviation and (3) *y*-spellings in particular ; these frequencies, with the amount of script available, are of course subject to small probability errors, which will be larger with A's and E's short script (unless E's is taken with D's).

(1) *The Capital frequency* (p. 161) of Hands S, A and B is low (averaging 6·3%) ; that of C is higher (18%) and Dekker still higher (50%), but the figures for D and E (taken together)

which lie between these give (over a total of 211 equivalent lines) a mean frequency of 20%, not counting D's 'Cytty,' 'Countrie,' 'Countrey' and 'Country.' Stanley's i.e. Derby's figure in his cursive script is 21·4%, if the capitals of 'Uncle,' 'Neece' and 'Nephew,' but again not the C of 'Cittie' or 'Cytty' and 'Country,' are included in the count. Similar agreement is found if the count is confined to redundant capital C alone, again excluding 'City' also 'Country' from the count; thus D and E together use this capital C for *c* 18 times and Derby 14 times in a similar aggregate length of script, and as these figures depend on all sorts of chance words they may be said to show the same strong tendency to use capital C un-necessarily, much more so than the other Hands of the Play or even Dekker who only used it 3 times in 54 equivalent lines (p. 151).

(2) *Spelling deviation* (p. 160). This deviation (sampled in the case of Hand S) and the number of equivalent lines for each Hand (and for Dekker) are shown below :—

Hand	S	A	B	C	D	E	Dekker
Equivalent lines	2100	80	157	348	173·4	37·6	54
Spelling deviation	21%	14·5%	37%	21%	26·7%	27·6%	17%

The similar high percentages for D and E stand out sharply from all the others, including Dekker, except B whose abnormally high deviation was due to numerous freak spellings rather than archaisms proper, since he has a low Index *I*. Derby's overall deviation (cursive script) is 27·5% : and all these figures are subject to the usual small ± probability errors.

(3) *y-Spellings* (p. 151). The Index values below show similar startling contrasts but Dekker's figure (excluding 'Hynchlow' from the count) is exaggerated by his frequent repetition of 'sayd' in the 1625 legal document.

Hand	S	A	B	C	D	E	Dekker
Index, *I*	4·76	2·5	8 9	·86	39·24	37·26	26

These most instructive *I* values, whether I_u or I_c, are subject to probability errors where the number of equivalent lines is few, especially in the case of A, E and Dekker but they cannot be very far out, and the figures for D and E not only distinguish them from all the other Hands of *Sir Thomas More* but serve by substantial equality once again to emphasise their identity. Moreover as noted on p. 269 their Index figures prove (through the standard equations*) that the D—E scripts were autograph, i.e. written *currente calamo*, so that their *I* is I_u not I_c. Further the weighted mean I_u of D and E is 38·9 which, having regard to the small ± probability error with only 211 equivalent lines, is not very different from Stanley's i.e. Derby's I_u, 40·7, counted over the period 1595—1607 on rather more total script (273 equivalent lines).

Recapitulating the above three frequencies and the calligraphic dimensions (p. 289) in terms of the weighted mean for D and E, we have :—

	Capital frequency	Spelling deviation	Index I_u	Vertical height	Lateral number	Slope
D—E	20	26·9%	38·9	·94	32 7	64°·5
William Stanley (Derby)	21·4	27·5%	40·7	·95	31·5	62°·2

As these figures, which speak for themselves, register simple counts i.e. plain facts independent of any theory, they transcend subjective or controversial opinion, because the chance of virtual agreement, as between different individuals, in so many *diverse* numerical tests is too remote to contemplate. The identity of the D—E—Stanley trio, already proved by elaborate calligraphic analysis, is thus confirmed quantitatively, as well as qualitatively by the spelling peculiarities previously cited; putting it another way, the network of facts is so binding as to permit inductively no alternative to Stanley. Any other solution is mathematically forbidden, or to speak more exactly the probability of an alternative is infinitesimally small.

* These equations (p. 153) also show that the script of S was (as Greg supposed) a copy, but A's script the nature of whose deletions suggest it might be autograph, as Greg supposed, is too short to accept the Index 2.5 for any calculation, and it may be that he took down his lines at Stanley's dictation if as the present writer holds they are his (Stanley's) un-revised substitute for those in scene 13 in Hand S (T. Brooke IV 5, 69-106). B's untidy writing was certainly autograph and his low I_u suggests that he was a very young man; as Tannenbaum urged, his Hand is very like Heywood's, but if so Heywood's habits must have changed when he was older, for in *The Escapes of Jupiter* and *The Captives* he repeatedly used *ss* which is absent from B's script, and there are other differences. C, identified reasonably by Tannenbaum as Kyd, who was 33 and Lord Strange's secretary in 1591, was (like Kyd) a skilled pen-man of low Index, but C's abnormally low *I* indicates that his script was a copy of an earlier much altered copy. This might account for some notable differences between Kyd's ordinary writing and C's, particularly in the shapes of *a*, *e*, *g*, and *r*, as well as in the *sh* and *st* linkages.

APPENDIX II

THE NORTHUMBERLAND MANUSCRIPT

THE set of miscellaneous M.S.S., discovered at Northumberland House in 1867, contains a paper of great interest (since conveniently known as the Northumberland manuscript) which was examined soon afterwards by James Spedding, who found on it, among a mass of O.E. scribbling, the names of Bacon and Shakespeare frequently written, either completely or in abbreviated forms. It is therefore hardly surprising that the document should have since come to be regarded as powerful indirect evidence that the name Shakespeare was the pseudonym of Bacon, the more so because in one place it is possible to read "By m^{r} ffrauncis William Shakespeare," as if to convey a suggestive message. At one time the bundle of M.S.S. including this piece of paper, which Burgoyne reasonably dated as about 1596, had been partly destroyed by fire, so that one large corner of the sheet, also a strip about an inch at the bottom and about half an inch on its right margin, are missing; apart from which the legibility in many places is so reduced by fading or obliteration as to make accurate transcription a very laborious operation. The paper which was the top folio of the bundle was further examined by Mr. F. J. Burgoyne* in 1904 who submitted a transcript, but only of its more prominent entries; accordingly as the paper had not been explored as deeply as its importance warranted, the present writer has attempted to decipher his facsimiles of the sheet so completely that, among the hundreds of words or word fragments which fill the limited space, not even unpromising smudges and faded remnants should be overlooked. This has brought to light a number of new, indeed unexpected, features as will appear. Burgoyne gave three facsimiles. (*a*) with the negative over-intensified, (*b*) a photographic reproduction of Spedding's facsimile of 1870 and (*c*) a photograph of the original in 1904. The first (*a*) is almost useless but a careful comparison of (*b*) and (*c*) enables most of the writing to be deciphered in spite of the abrasions or fading due to age, save here and there where adjacent fire-damage or smudging and dirt have hopelessly obliterated the records. It is a deplorable piece of irony that this, the only really important folio of the entire M.S.S. (whose other pages are in a condition of perfect legibility where fire has spared them) should have been the outside sheet, subject not only to the dust and grime of centuries but to the maximum deleterious effects of atmospheric moisture and oxidation on the ink.

The new transcript (in modern writing) is given in Plate IX, accidental or detached meaningless strokes only being omitted. Burgoyne's transcript so far as it went was substantially correct but nevertheless has some errors, such for example as 'Edmund' which should read 'remaine,' and others noted later; but scores of words or connected phrases which the present investigation has brought out were omitted by him or only partly transcribed. Since in the medley of words some are partly over-written and fouled by others, while some are more or less effaced, it is inevitable that their elucidation should sometimes be open to doubt. All those which are shown without square brackets in Plate IX may be safely accepted as correct, but the letters within brackets are doubtful and, when the brackets are not filled in, the characters there are completely undecipherable. Though the sheet furnishes a sort of inventory of Bacon's collection of manuscripts, it somehow became a piece of scribbling paper, on which three different Hands have been detected by the present writer; and from the general jumble of words, whether previously known or newly deciphered, it is possible to pick out several phrases which in the absence of clues convey little or nothing to us now, as well as meaningless sporadic words such as 'Adam,' 'dyrmont' (Burgoyne, 'dyrmouth'), 'Dyr,' 'revealed,' 'speach,' or 'brought.' Also there is no evidence to show that the entries "Rychard the second" and "Rychard the third" refer (as Burgoyne supposed) to manuscripts of these Plays among Bacon's collection listed higher up—they are certainly not in the M.S.S. to which this list partly refers. And as some of

* *Collotype Facsimile and Type Transcript of an Elizabethan manuscript preserved at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland.* Burgoyne's splendid facsimiles of the entire 90 folios and his description of the discovery of the M.S.S. should be consulted in connection with the present discussion, which can only be followed critically by reference to his facsimiles of the important first folio.

the records undamaged by fire are hopelessly faded while others are still black, it must be supposed that two different inks were used, one ferrous with a deficiency of gallic acid, the other fast, probably containing colloidal carbon.

Inverted position. When the sheet of paper is inverted a number of notes are revealed i.e. written upside down, some partly illegible owing to heat damage in (what becomes now) the top right hand region, along with others, perfectly clear, down the right hand margin and elsewhere. Special attention is drawn to a group (below, right) beneath the entry :—

" your defenc formost self "

which was transcribed by Burgoyne simply as " your defence." This group which as will appear gives an important clue, includes ' Earle ' three times (once as " D Earle ") and, D (twice associated with ' l ') four times. The D letters could be minuscle (d_1 and d_3) but this is a matter of small importance in Elizabethan times when surnames were frequently spelt with minuscles, and it will be noticed that the name Turner has been written ' turner ' on the sheet in its normal position (upper right margin). Minuscle or capital, the letter which has been used for " D Earle " obviously stands for the name of the Earl, as is confirmed by the clear record " lo D ", just above and ' D[ie] ' just below the entry " the finall offer," which is written diagonally in the upper part of the sheet (inverted, on the left) ; and here the D of " lo D " i.e. lord D, might also be minuscle (d_1) while that of ' D[ie] ' has the common shape used for the capital, also found in the word ' Diuerse ' of the group under discussion.

Other significant notes in this group are : " Justice of Earle," ' fraud ' (both omitted by Burgoyne) and " Diuerse places indirectly for fe[offmt]." The last word, i.e. feoffment or land conveyance, rendered by Burgoyne as ' profit ' may be doubtful as it is partly obliterated ; but when these entries and a number of others in the inverted position are carefully examined, they are found to be mostly of a legal nature (written in two Hands). Thus higher up we find : " Can rt me " (? can right me), ' borow,' " the [one] fauor fee taile " and " Can I [owne] " on the right ; ' revercon,' " in fee " and " taile for mer " on the extreme left. The word 'taile,' implying abridgment of estate in fee (inheritance), and the clear words ' justice,' ' defenc,' ' fraud ' etc. are all indicative of litigation, as if they referred to some inheritance case pending, involving an Earl whose name began with D. Also some close personal relationship is suggested by the pronouns ' I,' ' me,' ' my,' ' your ' and " your self," the two latter very frequent. There is nothing of this or any suggestion of litigation, on the sheet in its normal position (an important point as will be seen).

Earl of Derby.

The note ' D Earle ' can have nothing to do with the Earl of Arundel, whose name appears on the sheet (*normal* position) twice, in connection with a letter to the Queen, and once as the " Earle of [A]." He was Philip Howard, son of the 4th Duke of Norfolk, and so 2nd cousin to the 6th Earl of Derby ; this unhappy man, persecuted by the Queen and tried for treason on the charge of having prayed for Spanish success in the Armada of 1588, languished for nine years in the Tower till 19th Oct. 1595 when he died at the age of 38. At the time therefore of the manuscript, dated as 1596, he was dead ; and that the three words ' Earle ' on the right hand of the *inverted* sheet did not relate to him is obvious from the repeated ' D ' and " l D " i.e. lord D, close to the words ' Earle ' or from the plain record " D Earle " and " lo D." At that time there was no recognised Earl of D except the 6th Earl of Derby,* so that these various entries, and the less clear ' D[ie] ' can only refer to him, the latter note being apparently an abbreviation of ' Darbie,' but the letters *ie* having fouled the mostly faded *s* of Nashe (upright position) are open to doubt. The inference respecting the 6th Earl is amply confirmed by other writing on the sheet, considered presently, and it is consistent with the known association about this time between Bacon and the Earl, then defendant to the great inheritance suit (fee tail), with Bacon almost certainly as his counsel or legal adviser—see pp. 148-9.

Whether the Earl himself scribbled some of the entries found on the sheet, is a question not easy to answer with the few words available on the inverted paper, because while it is

* The Earldom of Devon and Devonshire had lapsed by confiscation, in 1556 and William Courtenay (in 1596) was only *de jure* but not actual Earl. The Earldom of Devonshire was not revived till 1603 (Lord Mountjoy): and the rebel 15th Earl of Desmond had been killed in 1583, his estate and title being confiscated. Numerous other Earldoms commencing with the letter D were not created till after 1603 viz. Dorset (1604), Dunbar (1605), Dunfermline (1605), Denbigh (1622), Danby (1626), Dover (1628), Dalhousie (1629), and several others later.

easy to distinguish between the only two Hands (conveniently labelled A and B) found on the sheet in its normal position, it is difficult to distinguish between Derby and B, whose Hands were in some respects very similar. Nevertheless careful inspection shows that while B wrote most of the entries in the inverted position and A *none*, a different Hand can be detected here (inverted), which not only resembles Derby's but exhibits certain well defined idiosyncrasies, never shown by B in all his many entries on the sheet. These exclusive idiosyncrasies, apart from slope, size and angularity, include (1) his characteristic unsymmetrical *ff* in ' offer,' (2) his striking *sh* and *st* ligatures in ' shall ' and ' lest,' (3) his sinuous Italian s_6 in ' simple ' and ' so ' and tell-tale *down*-looped final s_3 in ' [t]hings,' (4) his capital C in ' Can ' (twice), (5) his peculiar *p* in ' purlin ' [roof beam] and (6) a few other habits such as his very deep bow of h_1 or combinations which are typical ; but his curious, cramping of the letters '*fo*' was occasionally shared by B. So detected, very few words can be ascribed to Derby and these *only on the inverted sheet*, but the following (reading from above, below) are mostly, if not all, certain.

On or near the right margin :—

' Simple,' ' th ' (repeated), ' thing,' " so tho," " wine th," " me th," " and that," " Can rt me," " Can I [owne]," ' shall,' " defenc formost," " Diuerse places indirectly for "

Mid-sheet :—

" is no distch " [two lines of poetry], " for y,"

On or near the left margin :—

" the finall offer,"* ' [t]hings,' ' lest,' ' purlin,'

He may also have made a few notes elsewhere, now faded or lost, at the top (inverted position) ; but B entered the various other legal notes, including " Justice of Earle," also " D Earle " and ' your ' or " your self " repeatedly. And it was certainly not Derby but A who boldly wrote the name " William Shakespeare " several times in the lower part of the paper (normal position), as well as numerous other entries.

* This record is plain and unambiguous, though Burgoyne, missing the rest misread ' finall ' *upside-down* as " your f." The entry was initialled " lo D " above and ' D[e] ' below, apparently by B.

Back of sheet.

The reverse side, mostly blank and not transcribed by Burgoyne, has some writing on it so clear and legible as to form a sharp contrast with the semi-obliterated tangle of the front, though quite a lot has also faded beyond recognition. The decipherable parts (modern letters) are :—

All this is in B's Hand, neat above but slurred and very diminutive below. The fact that he wrote " Thomas turner " at the top, taken in conjunction with his entry ' turner ' (normal position, front, above on the right) a little below ' Thomas ' (twice), and with his repeated ' Thomas ' (or its abbreviations) elsewhere, having the same bold peculiar T as that found in " Thomas turner," strongly suggests that this was the name of the lawyer-secretary B, a man obsessed with the habit of writing his own name (or fragments). His script is easily distinguished everywhere by the peculiar shape of certain of his capitals, notably P and T ; also, among the minuscles, by his characteristic *r* (r_5) and sinuous Italian *f*, as well as by the form of his linkages such as the *st* ligature. This Thomas Turner, i.e. B, was a skilled penman whose writing was (like Derby's) often strongly sloping and legal in type (especially his B,s). He was evidently young, very imaginative, and fond of idly putting his thoughts on paper, as well as single words or fragments of words, all of which furnish useful clues. [B's Hand can also be recognised in some inconsequential lines and word fragments that he wrote (including a little vulgarity) on the last page of the manuscript copy of Sir Philip Sidney's letter (1580) to the Queen, found among the Northumberland M.S.S. (folios 53-60).]

Front and back correlated.

On the front of the sheet (inverted) B often wrote ' your ' and " your self," and since the latter is definitely associated with ' prince ' at the back, it would seem likely that his words ' your ' on the front (once " your soveraigne ") refer to the same prince. The Earl of Derby, like his late brother, was a Royal Prince, then a Pretender to the succession, and it is difficult to see to whom else these repeated personal pronouns could apply, having regard to (1) B's allusions to " D Earle " " l D " and " Justice of Earle," just below them on the (inverted sheet), and (2) Derby's writing above. Moreover A wrote (front upright, below) ' your ' in proximity to " William Shakespeare " and (above) to " W d[erby] " ; he also wrote (once) the word ' princes ', which appears twice on the front (upright, lower right margin). One of these records (the lower) is discussed presently and is doubtful, but the upper one by A is very clear viz.

" do prin[ces] backe "

which is followed by ' ra[ ].' Burgoyne, who omitted the rest of the entry erroneously read the *c* of ' princes ' as *t* and simply put ' printed ' but there is no doubt whatever about this record, though the three letters in brackets (rendered ' ces ') are both faded and fouled by extraneous marks. The word ' backe ' certainly suggests that the allusion was a sporting one, and the Earl of Derby was the " noted sportsman and turfite " (Assheton) who no doubt founded the Derby race (p. 94). It is noticeable that the words " do princes backe " are just above " William Shakespeare " ; while just below is " Rimd dis[ ]," also by A, a juxtaposition the significance of which is discussed later, but it was B who facetiously wrote ' ra[ ] ', interpreted as ' races ', after ' backe ' (he can be recognised easily by his very peculiar *r*).

That these entries concerned the Earl of Derby becomes more than probable when they are correlated with B's disconnected words at the back of the paper, which apparently represent scraps of conversation that he overheard and idly jotted down i.e. between his colleague A and the Earl. For when the smudged and badly faded remarks below *at the back* are carefully deciphered with the aid of a large lens and a knowledge of B's writing-habits, they amply confirm that the Prince was this Earl. First " [e]arl [d] " and the words " manoring [pnd] " (apparently an abbreviation for ' pronounced ') are significant, the Mainwaring family (p. 17) being relations and intimate Lancashire friends of the Earl of Derby [Katherine Mainwaring in fact married Sir Edward Stanley of Bickerstaffe who was an ancestor of the present Earl of Derby]. Even more decisive are the words " nay [nere] seafourth [man] " ; for Seaforth* on the Lancashire coast was not only near the 6th Earl's seat (Knowsley) but near Whalley and Walton (p. 94) where races are known to have been run, and (incidentally) near the present racecourse at Aintree. These various records, *considered together* (back and front) clearly indicate that there was some talk jotted down by B about the Earl's racing proclivities ; and in the very clear record at the back " But yo[r] self in

* The word could have no relation to the Scottish Earl of Seaforth, who was not created till 1623.

prince" (equivalent to the French *en prince*) it would seem that we have an echo of A's respectful or perhaps mock-puritanical protest against his sporting activities, as overheard by B.

Front upright.

At the lower right hand corner are several heat-faded entries, undoubtedly relics of 'Thomas Turner' i.e. B, one of which was erroneously interpreted 'Wlm Wlm' by Burgoyne; also relics of 'Shakespeare' to the right of other Shakespeare entries which are plain. At the top, near the centre, are the perfectly clear letters 'W d' (omitted by Burgoyne), followed by smudged letters trailing downwards, from which it is possible to pick out 'erby' in Spedding's less faded 1870 facsimile i.e. (*b*) but not in that (*c*) of 1904 where there has been subsequent fading, giving A's entry just noted :—

"W d[erby]"

Similar trailing relics containing the letter '*r*' are seen just above to the right, while just below it is possible to make out "y yo[ur]," which though not so clear resembles the words 'your' associated with 'Shakespeare' (bottom), written by A and no doubt addressed to B. On the right of "W d[erby]" is a sequence of words so badly obliterated and faded that it is only possible to decipher a few letters (which Burgoyne interpreted as 'Esquier agt'); but, when allowance is made for spacing, it is reasonably (though doubtfully) possible to reconstruct the sequence as "much awry agone Skewher," apparently in A's neat Hand, as if a facetious comment on the name 'derby' written askew. Some distance lower down there is "Philli tir," probably referring to Sir Phillip Sidney's tirade against the duc d'Anjou; immediately below are the Latin words interpreted as "Pax te O fra," probably B's apostrophe to Bacon; a little below this to the left is the word 'witty,' no doubt referring to the adjacent Latin lines; near the centre of the sheet are the two prominent marks, one of which might be a D, but which upside down look more like 'b Q' (? bess Queen); below these to the left are the words "as for my uncle" (possibly B's Uncle); and still lower down under "Mr Baco" is a puzzling group of letters which seem to read 'tho he oh," where the 'oh' overlaps 'he'; probably facetiousness on the part of B, who used the interjection 'oh' or 'O' several times.

There are two partly obliterated entries near the bottom which are of great interest because they are almost certainly comments on Shakespeare. The first of these seems to have been a reply by B to A's clear and prominent word 'your,' which he wrote twice just above the name Shakespeare; the upper 'your' being followed by 'by' which no doubt refers to Thomas Nashe's "Ile of dogs frmnt" [fragment], the lower 'your' surmounting "Willia Shakespeare." Both were probably written jokingly, for just underneath the lower name (but to the right and written diagonally) it is possible to make out "o o oh [of]" when disentangled from the scribbled deletion marks which smother the letters; the missing word, obliterated by smudge, may have been 'course' and the exclamation B's reply to A's two possessives 'your' relating to Shakespeare. The other entry, a little above to the right, and to the right of the playful 'Shakehakespeare,' can be construed as "Princes haue [ ] O," the first word (where the peculiar P is identifiable as B's) being imperfect and the plural deduced from the fairly clear second word i.e. 'haue,' which however has been fouled by a capital O (B's exclamatory comment). Any sequent words are lost, but a third word 'done' to the right of 'haue' would fit the visible vestiges of this group of words, which if correctly deciphered probably form B's reply to the question (p. 294) about two inches higher up (right margin), "do princes backe ra[ ]" also written in close proximity to 'Shakespeare.' Lastly near the bottom are the unfaded letters '[A]m' (presumably someone's initials such as Anthony Munday) above some faded words which probably read "fallen low."

Front inverted.

Exploring the inverted sheet further, at the top left hand corner in Spedding's facsimile i.e. (*b*) it seems possible to make out, though very dimly "In star" (though not any following word 'chamber') and to the left of this, opposite 'Sh[ ]sp[ ]' of the normal position (rendered 'Shakspe' by Burgoyne) it is also possible to read very faintly "Lo D" and 'Lo,' both written diagonally; but these and several other hopelessly faded remnants down

the left margin below are hardly decipherable, though midway a few can be made out. On the right above, where the fire damage has been worst, there are also many faded undecipherable relics ; while the clear records near the right margin below, such as " your self for a ham̄," " Church crosse " and " wine th " convey little meaning. All these are in B's writing and his curious remark still lower down, " not into a king," to the left of the words " your self amongst your so others " probably refers to the Earl of Derby as one of the many Pretenders to the throne in succession to Elizabeth ; it was perhaps idly jotted down during conversation, in allusion to the same secret incident, then recent, which was later raked up by John Davies of Hereford in his Epigram (p. 43) i.e. Shakespeare's forfeiture of kingship. Davies indeed appears to have been B's colleague, A (p. 297).

A little lower down, to the left (midsheet), is a remarkable group of faded words evidently written by B, which have only been deciphered with difficulty. First there is " O liar liar " written diagonally (probably referring to some allegation connected with the lawsuit) ; below this, to the right of " for me^{r} " and very faintly perceptible, are the words " bcon re newlet man^{r}," i.e. Bacon re new let Manor. This may refer to the keepership of Lathom Park which the Earl granted to him (p. 148) in the same year (May 1596), but more likely notes Bacon's advice to the Earl concerning Haselbury Farm, which Derby leased to Sir Walter Raleigh in the autumn of 1596. In a line with this note, the words " the [one] fauor fee taile," apparently indicate that the Earl's abridged inheritance should be taken as a favour by the other side. Down the right margin there are several very clear remarks, some as already noted (p. 293) by Derby himself who, incidentally, badly ' bungled' the word ' formost ' by a change of mind after having first written ' for my ' ; but the other records (' D Earle ' etc.) were all by B.

Relics of exceedingly small script are revealed by close inspection of the 1904 facsimile (*c*) but not (*b*). This diminutive writing appears as horizontal lines between the visible entries of normal dimensions, and the lines seem to run in long connected sentences, principally on the right and in the lower mid-position (inverted), but except the one name ' Rauley ' (mid-right, margin) or a few individual letters here and there showing that the writing also was in the inverted position, nothing is really decipherable. It may be that all these lines are a faint impression due to contact with some other M.S. but more likely they were interlineated by B because he wrote a few words at the back of the paper (the lowest) in similar very diminutive and now ghostly script ; but unfortunately his capital R is not to be found for comparison with the fine Italian R of ' Rauley,' about which there is no actual doubt, except in respect of the final ' ey ' which is partly obliterated. The name is of interest as confirming the supposition that the " newlet man^{r} " was that of Haselbury, leased to Raleigh (p. 27) ; no doubt to raise money for the financially exacting ' defenc ' case, about which the Earl was then consulting Bacon as defendant (p. 149).

Hypothetical reconstruction.

Imagination, so apt to run away, needs to be fettered by inductive reasoning if inferences from the observations are to be raised above the level of mere conjecture. The first outstanding fact is that there were two secretaries or scribes who, in bandying the paper between them, committed their thoughts and light *badinage* to paper, and in so doing frequently mentioned Bacon and Shakespeare. Next, less obvious and hitherto unsuspected, is the induction that one of them (B) by recording " D Earle," " l D " and " lo D," alluded to Lord Derby—since there was no other recognised Earl of D, at the time. Derby's actual presence moreover is confirmed (1) by his own handwriting which can be detected on the inverted sheet, (2) by the inheritance-suit notes, including mention of Raleigh, (3) by the allusion to Seaforth at the back and (4) by the words " your self " and ' prince ' or ' princes,' both at the front and back of the document ; and his presence also seems to be confirmed by certain obliterated records, which however cannot be accepted as valid evidence. But when the clear and unambiguous relevant entries are correlated, only one inductively self-consistent interpretation becomes possible, viz. that they relate to the Earl of Derby (*a*) as litigant (*b*) as sporting Prince and (*c*) as poet.

Since the two records (front, upright) mentioning ' princes ' (the lower one doubtful because of partial obliteration) are written against the name ' Shakespeare ' or ' Shakehakespeare ' in such a way as to show that they were *interlineated* i.e. after the latter had been

written, it seems probable that they are not there fortuitously but as a comment on Shakespeare, like the words "Rimd dis[ ]" [rhymed distich] interlineated between 'Shakespeare' and 'Shake[ ]' (right margin, upright). The implication that Shakespeare was a sporting Prince, interested in racing, seems to be as self-evident as the corollary that the imaginative Thomas Turner (B) knew the Earl's *nom-de-plume* and played with it just as he did with his own name. His colleague A (whose beautiful but formal writing was much less sloping than B's) was no doubt John Davies of Hereford as noted, and as Burgoyne himself believed on good grounds; that is the poet writing-master who as a *protégé* of the Derby family (p. 44), would be even more deeply interested than B in the Earl, especially in the role of "our English Terence Mr Will Shake-speare" of his later Epigram, where he indiscreetly toyed with the princely identity of Shakespeare.

Conjecturally the time was Autumn 1596 (about the time that Derby's mother died) and the two secretaries were working in one of Bacon's private rooms at Gray's Inn. It seems that A had made a number of entries (upper part, upright) including a list of speeches, essays etc. in Bacon's possession, when for some reason the inventory was discarded, perhaps because B spoilt it by commencing to scribble on it; after which the sheet of paper was largely filled up by all sorts of idle remarks. These were at first mostly confined to the upper half (upright) of the original paper as may be supposed for several reasons: (1) because there would be a natural tendency to write at the top first, (2) because it is only here where Bacon is so often mentioned, the name being suggested probably by the adjacent list (ending "Essaies by the same author"), (3) because the numerous 'Shakespeare' entries are all concentrated below, as if a blank space had been left, and (4) because the interlineation of certain entries in the inverted position shows that this upper space of the normal position had been already mostly written over.

Neither Shakespeare's name nor Bacon's are found in the inverted position (except 'ffrauncis' once and 'bcon'), but in the normal position though both are very frequent they are only found together once in the single line already noted (p. 291). There is no more reason to suspect design in this juxta-position of names or in the name 'ffrauncis' below 'Rychard the second,' both of which in the crowded sheet could be due to chance, than in the similar propinquity higher up on the right, which brings the name of Bacon and 'turner' close together; for B not only wrote 'ffrauncis' several times at random but apparently made his words "By mr ffrauncis" simply refer to Bacon's 'Essaies,' just above to the right, in which case they have only an accidental relation to A's "William Shakespeare." Though A or B might easily have let slip a secret, it cannot be contended in reason that they meant to provide posterity with evidence of Shakespeare's Baconian identity on a scrap of waste paper, while if they had meant to they could surely have *linked* the names of Bacon and Shakespeare repeatedly on the sheet, seeing how often they wrote them. Juxta-position in itself means nothing; it might be fortuitous or not according to circumstances, but the repetition of Bacon's name offers no mystery at all, since A and B were clearly his servants, engaged on his work, and enthusiastic about him, even though they were wasting his valuable time. The real mystery is why they played with the name 'Shakespeare' or its abbreviations so often and *in a separate part of the sheet*. This circumscribed locality itself offers a clue by suggesting not only a blank space available below, as noted, but a sudden urge to fill it up, because the idea of Shakespeare had apparently not come into their minds at all while they were filling up the upper part of the paper. The sharp transition in their train of thought i.e. as reflected by the lower part with its enthusiastic interest in Shakespeare, warrants the assumption that some *event*, rather than any spontaneous cerebration, had abruptly stimulated this interest; and very vigorously too. Since there is so much on the paper which proclaims the Earl of Derby, it seems justifiable further to presume that the event, after they had filled up about two-thirds of the sheet (upright) was an unexpected visit by Derby himself, which set them all agog. On this hypothesis, what then happened may be told as a conjectural narrative thus:—

The Earl called in the forenoon to consult Bacon about the lawsuit when the two secretaries were in the room with the partly filled inventory lying on the table before them, and one of them, say B, left the room to tell Bacon of the Earl's call. While waiting for an interview Derby, noting the roof-beam ('purlin') above and seeing the paper (upside down before him) on the table, without taking the trouble to turn it round, first idly tried a borrowed pen on it (with 'th' etc.) and then jotted down a few notes (p. 293) connected with the

business of his visit, also one connected with poetry (" is no distch "). After a while B returned, announcing that Bacon was engaged at the moment but could see the Earl at 3 o'clock and B, seating himself at the table beside Derby, confirmed the appointment by writing half-way down the left margin (inverted) " at 3 you readie." Then during a legal conversation between them, B made a number of further notes at odd spots on the still inverted sheet, about ' revercon,' " in fee," ' relieing,' " for mer on that," " taile for me^{r} " (? an abbreviation of ' mediator '), " O liar liar," all connected with the suit, and completed Derby's ' defenc formost ' by adding ' your ' and ' self ' ; also adding ' D Earle ' etc. Some of his remarks relate to general talk, such as " and liberties," " your soveraigne," ' borow ' and ' ham̄ ' (possibly a present by Derby to Bacon). These notes, echoes as they are of the great legal embarrassment that was clouding the Earl's horizon, were probably intended to prepare the way for the afternoon interview with Bacon and assist him with his momentous brief.

Secretary B may be judged from some of his earlier entries at the top of the sheet (upright) to have been religious and possibly puritanical, but he was indubitably a strong partisan of the Earl, a great admirer of ' Shakespeare.' It was he who not only wrote ' D ' and " lo D " several times but ' liar,' ' justice ' and ' fraud ' in relation to the Earl's ' defenc ' ; it was also he who afterwards wrote (upright, below) the words " revealing day through every crany peepes and," thus slightly misquoting line 1086 of *Lucrece*. Since A twice wrote the possessive word ' your ' over ' Shakespeare ' (upright, below) and ' yo[ur] ' just under ' W d[erby] ' near the top, it is clear enough that B was what we would now call a Shakespeare ' fan,' devoted to the Earl of Derby.

Yet A i.e. John Davies, as is known from several of his later Poems and Epigrams, was devoted to the Earl's late brother and his litigious widow Countess Alice. so that his feelings towards her opponent Derby must have been at least mixed. Having listened to all the lively talk between Derby and B about the lawsuit, at its close it must have been A [Davies] who accompanied Derby to the door on leaving, because scraps of their parting conversation, overheard by B, still seated at the table, were clearly jotted down by him ; at least this is a reasonable interpretation of the disconnected remarks about ' Imprisonm^{t},' ' prince,' ' [e]arl [d],' ' manoring,' and ' seafourth,' found at the back of the sheet. From the tenour of these remarks it may be supposed that Davies playfully criticised the Earl on leaving, just as later about 1611 in his Epigram he gently chided " Will Shake-speare " for playing " kingly parts in sport " ; but after the Earl's departure, when he returned to the table there seems to have been some very animated conversation about the Earl, only a small fraction of which would be committed to the paper. As Davies was a poet as well as scribe his mind would revert from Derby the litigant and princely sportsman to Derby the poet, the master dramatist who had already made a deep impression on him. First recalling the long word in *Love's labour's lost* (V, 1, 45) he wrote ' H ' " your lovinge ffrend " and then ' Honorificabiletudine ' (shortening the word by seven letters) in a bit of free space in the middle of the sheet (upright). Then lower down on the right, in the free space below " Essaies etc," he boldly wrote " William Shakespeare," " do princes backe " (to which B added ' ra[ces] ') and (recalling Derby's earlier remark) " Rimd dis[tich] " ; then " Rychard the second " and " Rychard the third " (plays which like *L.L.L.* had not yet been published) ; then twice "Asmund and Cornelia " (possibly a lost Shakespearian Poem). In the talk ensuing between the two secretaries there was apparently some damaging comparison drawn between Shakespeare and Nashe, whose " Ile of dogs " Davies considered an " inferior plaie " (Burgoyne gave ' players '), but the main interest was still Shakespeare whose name Davies continued to write several times below, the whole space being eventually filled by fragmentary forms, some of which seem to have been contributed by B i.e. Turner.

The foregoing re-construction, which seeks to harmonise the various records with probabilities, can lay no claim to finality. It gives a touch of colour to a picture of otherwise blank mystery, but rests on the essential accuracy of the new transcription which is less challengeable perhaps than an interpretation partly subject to some faded entries, though these do not invalidate the main induction ; for this is no less binding than circumstantial evidence in a criminal court. One verdict only is possible—Shakespeare's identity with the Earl of Derby.

APPENDIX III

THE CANONICAL SONNETS (QUARTO 1609)

Abbreviations : Q Thomas Thorpe's Quarto, 1609.
S'ham Henry Wriothesly, 3rd Earl of Southampton (*b.* 1573).
Ve Elizabeth de Vere (*b.* 2nd June 1575).
D Elizabeth de Vere, Countess of Derby (after 26th January 1595).
M Dark lady, unknown.

EVER since Malone's time, the Sonnets have raised more hopeless diversity of opinion than perhaps any problem known to literary criticism, and the trouble lies less in Shakespeare's avoidance of allusive reality than the faulty logical premise which has canalised all thought. Scholarship has certainly swept away many of the perplexities arising from gross textual corruption, but *a priori* deduction has plunged the rest, i.e. the interpretation, addressees and dates of the Sonnets, into utter confusion This welter of dissension stands as witness to false theory (p. 1) ; for the attribution of these matchless gems to a man so deficient in culture and credentials as the Stratford " rustic " forces such an unrealistic figurative meaning into many plainly literal expressions as necessarily to provoke barren and even grotesque disputes. But so far as there is any measure of agreement among conflicting theories, orthodoxy led by Drake envisages the first 126 of the series as addressed to S'ham (some think Lord William Herbert, later 3rd Earl of Pembroke) in a chronological sequence following the order in Q (with many dissentients), the remaining 28 being more or less uniformly assigned to the " dark lady " ; while on the matter of dates, which constitute the key to the problem, opinion ranges between commencing dates of 1585 (Butler) or 1589 (Isaac) as one extreme and 1598 (Mackail, Tyler, Wyndham) as the other.

The insuperable difficulties inherent in all orthodox theories are exposed in the present analysis which more fully develops the thesis of Stanley authorship, first put forward (*S.S.*) in uncritical narrative form in 1939 ; since when it has been submitted to a severely critical scrutiny from all angles in order to discover any hidden inconsistencies. For the veiled language of the Sonnets is susceptible to such elasticity in interpretation that sporadic agreement with this or that hypothesis has no particular value, and the only real test is *consistency at every point.* The writer accordingly rejects the Q sequence, as being illusive because non-chronological, and assigns only about a half of the first 126 Sonnets to S'ham ; for despite the poet's evasions of tangible realism, his sincerity (which as is well known far transcends the conventionalities of most sonneteers) sufficiently enables any rational critic to discern subtle differences in the mode of address, indicating sex-distinction within the first 126. Though conventions of the period permitted protestations of deep love for a youth, quite a number of these Sonnets have a different ring and could never have been addressed to a man, as indeed has already been recognised to a limited extent by a few bolder orthodox commentators suspecting a woman (Brandl, Godwin, Isaac, Knight, Massey, Walsh and a few others). Through their fortuitous position and the false assumption that Q is in chronological order, they have been accepted as S'ham Sonnets, often with fantastic inconsistency as will be shown ; but logically there is as good intrinsic reason to relate some *within* the series 1- - 126 to a woman as certain others which Thorpe included in the remaining 28. His segregation is thus to a large extent arbitrary.

Even those of the first 126 which may be confidently accepted as addressed to S'ham cannot be reasonably regarded as messages to a great Nobleman from any one belonging to the despised profession of acting. The first 17 for instance would surely have been sheer effrontery, for they not only familiarly urge him to marry " for love of me " but in **9** and **10** severely chide the aristocratic Earl. Similar frank criticism is found in other Sonnets **(40, 69, 70)** compensated elsewhere by love verging on idolatry, and the only rational conclusion to be drawn from all this, coupled with the familiar dedications of 1593 and 1594,

is *intimacy*, intense intimacy between poet and S'ham. In these 17 Sonnets there is no allusion to any specific bride, the burden all through being marriage for prudential reasons, to get an heir, failing which the S'ham Earldom would have lapsed ; and since his mother and Lord Burghley in 1590 had aimed at his marriage with Elizabeth de Vere (p. 27) it is not surprising that the Oxfordian theory should set up Oxford's daughter as the unspecified bride. If so Stanley could never have written these Sonnets, for he was himself in love with Elizabeth, but so far as there is any external evidence on the point it is known that S'ham was averse to marrying her from the very beginning and so would communicate his indifference, however insincere, to his trusting friend Stanley, who free from any rivalry in that quarter could not only press him vaguely to marry about 1593 (perhaps after a request by S'ham's mother) but write endearing Sonnets to Elizabeth even in 1591 (though as will appear she dallied with S'ham in 1593—p. 314).

In brief the thesis supposes that Stanley, having met the " lovely boy " S'ham in 1587, wrote 63 Sonnets to him up to 1593, some showing irritation at the time of S'ham's seduction of the dark mistress, to whom Stanley addressed 18 Sonnets before he finally cast her off in the Spring of 1591. Rejected subsequently by Avisa (as believed), he fell in love (Sept. 1591) with Elizabeth de Vere who for the next 7 years inspired a steady flow of Sonnets, before and after marriage ; totalling 56 they were interrupted for a few months in 1594 by the 7 Sonnets (p. 72) assigned to the Queen. Mature consideration in the light of dates furnished by the new *S*-formula has occasioned some minor changes among the *S.S.* addressees, and the rectified scheme is summarised in the Table below where the last column gives the postulated date periods of the principal Sonnet groups, viz. all the M, Ve and D Sonnets and all, except the five earliest, to S'ham. The adjoining calculated dates, derived from the *S*-values, theoretically refer to an imaginary point in time and so are not strict arithmetic means, but it will be noticed that they lie roughly within the periods required *ex hypothesi*. Also, independent of any calculation or theory, this Table brings out the marked decrease of *S* with effluxion of time.

Number of Sonnets in group	Addressee	Total lines	*S*-lines obs	*S*	Mean date calc.	*ex hypothesi* date period
18	M	252	$3\frac{1}{3}$	75·6	1588	1587 - 1591
58	S'ham	812	$14\frac{1}{2}$	56 68	1591·2	1590 - 1593
41	Ve	575	$10\frac{2}{3}$	53 9	1591·7	1591 - 1594
15	D	210	6	35 0	1596·4	1595 - 1598

Similar approximate agreement, as between postulated and calculated dates, is found for Sonnets, to whomsoever written, when they are grouped together under suppositive years (1590, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594) i.e. where the number of Sonnets is sufficient to make *S* reasonably reliable ; but a better test case is the group **1—17**, for these certainly refer to a *point* of time which no doubt lies between 1592 and 1594 if addressed to S'ham. In this group there are 238 lines containing three full *S*-lines viz. those ending in ' tomb ' (**3**), ' are ' and ' were ' (**13**), and six optional ones, ending in ' womb ' (**3**), ' abuse ' and ' use ' (**4**), ' on ' (**5**), ' eye ' (**7**) and ' know ' (**13**) ; whence (cf. p. 168)

$$S = 238 \div (3 + \tfrac{6}{3}) = 47{\cdot}6,$$

from which the *S*-formula (p. 234) gives the calculated date as 1593, which of course is only approximate. That, long before this, other Sonnets had been written is confirmed not only by those of *P.P.* of earlier date (Chap. XII) and those of *L.L.L.* (1589—see p. 235) but by the Laura Sonnet (p. 238) whose date is fixed as 1589 by *F.Q.* and whose authenticity is established by every critical test.

Sonnet linkages. To segregate the Sonnets, for date and addressee, that is to extract order from Thorpe's disorder in Q, would be an insuperable problem unless attacked inductively. To Sir Denis Bray (*The original order of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, 1924) attaches the credit for establishing at least some order, by discovering rhyme coincidences linking Sonnets together ; indeed this prompted him to frame a complete sequence, on the theory that they were written in a chain at two distinct dates, each Sonnet nevertheless being rhyme-linked with the next following in the chain. There cannot be the least doubt that Bray's linkage is correct in respect of at least fourteen pairs of Sonnets contiguously placed in Q, as well as numerous other pairs which though not contiguous are linked by rhyme similarities.

On the other hand there are many inadmissible cases where rhyme coincidence induces him to connect Sonnets most obviously divorced by their content, as for instance the contiguous pair **113, 114** or the separated pairs **43, 51** and **60, 111,** while conversely he does not link the contiguous pair **27, 28** or **41, 42** though rhyme-linked and sense linked in each case ; and so with various other pairs whether contiguous or not. The fact is, rhyme similarity is often fortuitous with, in many cases, an alternative choice open, or more than one, and frequently there is similarity in theme without any rhyme-linkage at all ; so that the latter by itself may be a most misleading test of connection both positively and negatively, making its use for constructing a chain utterly unreliable. This is seen in many of Bray's chain links as for example (taking three links at a time) : **97, 56, 98 ; 122, 125, 76 ; 108, 26, 23 ; 114, 121, 109 ; 120, 112, 39 ; 36, 90, 30,** and numerous other manifestly false associations.

But despite this, the method is a most useful adjunct to the inductive solution of continuity in individual groups when other cogent circumstances are taken into account. These comprise besides content-consideration (1) spelling in Q, (2) biographical coincidences, (3) frequency of absent rhyme-links between Sonnets connected by sense, (4) frequency of Q contiguities with Sonnets of like theme, (5) frequency of the same mode of address (thou or you) in Sonnets of like theme and (6) the element of chance as indicated by rhyme coincidences between Sonnets of manifestly different theme. It is only by roughly taking all these into account that there is any hope of discovering continuities in groups, and this difficult but most fruitful procedure leads to the conclusion that rhyme coincidence is only really significant in the case of those pairs or trios which had been originally composed at a single sitting ; not usually if a time interval had elapsed. Moreover it seems likely that numerous pairs of Sonnets contiguous in Q (e g **50, 51**) linked by both rhyme and matter have not been disconnected in Q simply because they were written and copied on a single sheet of paper, being thus immune from the chances of separation.

It is on this basis that probable but self-consistent sequences associated with the hypothetical addressees have been devised, *S*-frequency being used as noted to fix approximate dates of groups, though not of individual Sonnets, where spelling is the most serviceable criterion. But apparently because of different scribes, who variously modified the spelling, the Q deviation figures and *S*-values do not always run parallel, and in fact the mean deviation of the later D series (19 25%) is slightly greater instead of smaller than that of the early M series (18 1%) no doubt because of a difference in scribal history. For the whole 154 Sonnets the deviation, which fluctuates between about 12 and 25%, has a mean of 18 5%, as much as 3% higher than the average printed deviation for 1609, so that most if not all the Sonnets must have been written years earlier. Owing to the intervention of scribe between author and printer, spelling deviation is therefore not always a reliable guide to date of composition ; but if prominent archaisms are picked out they are found to be decidedly more numerous in Sonnets belonging to groups, which are shown to be early by *S*-formula, than in the latest, in fact about twice as numerous. This greater frequency, as compared with such late Sonnets as **117-120,** is seen for instance in the thirteen earliest viz. **126, 18, 19, 53, 54, 127, 132, 143, 136, 135, 142, 151, 130,** whose overall *S*-value (91) gives a calculated date of 1586 ; presenting such archaisms (to take only one example from each) as : *mynuit*, *Sommer*, *dispight*, *foyzon*, *die* (dye), *Misteresse*, *Eauen*, *chace*, *neere*, *aboundance*, *doost*, *rysing* and *wiers*. Frequency of such old spellings may therefore be a useful rough criterion of date with single Sonnets or groups too small to apply the *S*-formula. But in general Q orthography is archaic, and many rather uncommon spelling-types must have been the author's own because they are continually recurrent, as exemplified for instance in the words : *bace*, *behould*, *disposde*, *expence*, *rancke*, *sildom* (Cheshire spelling), *tonge*, *toung*, *uttring* etc. ; such Derby types being found also with the Stanley Hands D and E (*banck*, *thinck*, *shreef*, *deposde*, *tournd* etc.) and in the Stanley Mistress Poem (*expences*, *tonge*, *tounge* etc.).

Sequences. Nearly all the Sonnets were real personal messages to, or feelings about, a few persons i.e. addressees, couched in terms of deep sincerity, but allowance must be made for the poet's strong tendency to dramatise his own sensations. The identity of the addressees must necessarily be conjectural, but it is beyond reasonable doubt that S'ham was one of them, as has been already well substantiated by orthodox commentators' sound

criticism, which requires no discussion here. Yet the basic evidence for Elizabeth de Vere is no less cogent in some Sonnets, being similarly founded on persistent (almost uncanny) correspondences between their content and well documented facts i.e. relating to her and Stanley, as will be seen. The M-sequence is of course entirely hypothetical, but even here a linkage can be established between four of the dated S'ham Sonnets (**41, 40, 42, 35**) and three M-sonnets (**133, 134, 131**) because they all surely relate to the same seduction incident, which can be best dated as Spring 1591 to suit other relevant observations. So with the other sequences, after segregation of the Sonnets into sub-groups by the inductive procedure already outlined, and having approximately dated them it is possible to find a few fixed points which can be reasonably referred to known biographical dates. From these points the theory attempts to build up a self-consistent chronological story of probabilities, and in the sequences shown in the Table below the more precise dates given, *necessarily conjectural*, are those which seem best to fit the interlinked probabilities. Each sequence critically read in the order given furnishes an absorbing, *intelligible*, and indeed romantic tale reflecting the poet's life at the time ; thereby greatly enhancing the rich intrinsic beauty of these priceless jewels.

TABLE OF SEQUENCES.

(*A semi-colon implies a longer time interval than a comma.*)

1587 **S'ham** (Ap.) **126** ;
M. (Aut.) **127, 132** ;
1588 **S'ham 18, 19** ; **53, 54** ;
M (early) **143, 136, 135** ; (Spring) **142** ; **151** ;
1589 **M 130** ;
Spenser 26.
1590 **S'ham** (Spring) **100, 101, 108, 103, 104, 105, 106** ; **20** ; (Summer) **62** ; **63, 64, 60, 65** ; **67, 68** ; (Aut.) **73, 74, 71, 81, 32, 72** ; **66** ; (Winter) **29, 37, 30, 31** ;
M 138 ; **141** ;
Problematical or no addressee **146** ; **153, 154.**
1591 **S'ham** (Jan.) **122, 77** ; **110, 111, 112** ; (Feb.) **33, 34** ; (Mar.) **94, 69, 70** ; (Ap.) **41, 40, 42, 35** ;
M (Spring) **133, 134** ; **131, 150, 148** ; **137** ; **152** ; **147.**
Ve (Aut.) **38** ; **22, 23** ; **91, 25** ; (Winter) **76, 21, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 80, 86** ;
Raleigh (Aut.) **121, 125.**
No addressee (Spring) **144** ; **129.**
1592 **S'ham** (Aut.) **97** ;
Ve (Summer) **27, 28, 50, 51** ; (Aut.) **43, 44, 45** ; **24, 46** ; **47** ;
Marlowe 55.
1593 **S'ham** (Summer) **1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10** ; **14** ; **11, 12** ; **13, 15, 16, 17.**
Ve (Spring) **48, 52, 75** ; **113** ; (Summer) **98** ; **99** ; (Aut.) **88, 89, 90, 92, 93** ;
1594 **Ve** (Spring) **128** ; (June) **39, 36** ; (Sept.) **107** ; **109** ;
Queen (June– Sept.) **49** ; **59** ; **114** ; **57, 58** ; **61** ; **87.**
1595 **D** (Spring) **56** ; (Aut.) **116, 123** ; **115** ; **124** ;
1596 **D** (Spring) **102** ; (Summer) **117** ;
1597 **D** (Summer) **96** ; **95** ; (Sept.) **139, 140** ; **149** ;
Mary Fitton (Aut.) **145.**
1598 **D** (Spring) **118, 119** ; (Aut.) **120.**

Thorpe's piracy. Like imperfectly shuffled cards the medley of Sonnets in Q is not wholly haphazard and, besides numerous connected pairs, a few groups such as 1—17 have preserved their continuity ; possibly because they were pinned together and so beyond disturbance by Thorpe's editorial incompetence or by some accident in collection (even a gust of wind). Here we may enquire how they ever came into his hands, by attempting to interpret his bombastic dedication, with its ridiculous full-stops. It runs :—

> To· the· onlie· begetter· of· these· insving· sonnets· Mr· W· H· all· happinesse· and· that· eternitie· promised· by· ovr· ever-living. poet· wisheth· the· well-wishing· adventvrer· in· setting· forth·
>
> T·T·

Lee reasonably believed that W.H. was simply William Hall of Hackney, whom he showed to have been a procurer of manuscripts and even to have printed some. Lee amply demonstrated that it was quite impossible for W.H. to stand for William Herbert, then Earl of Pembroke, though previously some commentators accepting Mary Fitton as the ' dark lady ' had built on this assumption, supposing him to be the actual addressee of the Sonnets, i.e. ' onlie begetter,' a theory inconsistent with the ' dark lady ' series, since neither Herbert nor any other ' Mr. W. H.' could have been *sole* addressee. Butler and Lord Alfred Douglas, following Tyrwhitt, tried to identify W.H. with some hypothetical Will Hughes (whom Wilde supposed to have been a boy actor) because of Q's italicised word ' *Hews* ' in Sonnet 20 (line 7), which is however a misprint (p. 306) and a false clue. The word ' begetter ' meaning getter or procurer, tallies with Hall's reputation, and it has been noticed that " Mr· W Hall " can be read into Thorpe's dedication by merely dropping one of his absurd full-stops i.e. after H. There is still the difficulty of explaining the words from ' happinesse ' to ' poet.' Here Col. Ward's investigations are of service ; he, gratuitously supposing that ' ever-living ' must mean that Shakespeare was dead in 1609, found that the Earl of Oxford's home in Hackney was sold in that year by his widow, thus giving Hall an opportunity of securing Oxford's unpublished manuscripts. This may or may not be so, and Oxford may or may not have had copies of his son-in-law's Sonnets, but it is an interesting fact that Ward found William Hall to have been recently married viz. on 4th August 1608 at the Parish Church of Hackney. This valuable information then would explain Thorpe's cryptic wish for the ' eternitie ' promised by Shakespeare (in the series 1 – 17) i.e. the wish that the newly-wed Hall would similarly have children and posterity ; the wish no doubt being in gratitude to the man who had procured for him not only this precious packet of Sonnets but also *A Louers complaint.*

Up to this point therefore the mystery seems to be resolved but Hall's part remains unexplained. Hypothetically we may imagine that he was on friendly terms with someone in the service of the Earl of Derby, that in fact he begged him to get the packet, say from the Library in Channon Row, promising to return it later. The I_p analysis (p. 155) proves that the Sonnets had been printed from copies of copies, and if Hall had made his copies hurriedly he would considerably increase the number of existing mistakes. So most of the many gross corruptions of Q could have crept in (especially those numerous words, to be described, hastily caught by the eye from the line above or below) though some errors no doubt were due to the compositor. The question remains : how did Hall know where the packet was ? The answer is bound up with the larger question as to how any of the pirates knew that the Plays were by the same " William Shakespeare " who signed the dedications of *V. and A.* and *Lucrece*, or how John Weever knew, in his praise of Shakespeare in 1599, or Francis Meres in 1598 when he produced a list of the Plays and referred to the circulation of Shakespeare's " sugred sonnets among his priuate friends." The answer may lie in S'ham himself who would be proud to show some of them as Shakespeare's, while honourably respecting the *incognito* imposed. Such a view is supported by the fact that Meres was brother-in-law of John Florio, S'ham's tutor, who would have known all about the Plays, Poems and Sonnets, at least in the name of Shakespeare, so that as likely as not he gave Meres the information published in *Palladis Tamia.* The secret of author's identity no doubt leaked out to some extent among those who would respect it ; at all events on this hypothesis Hall must have got to know, also probably Thorpe, who (like Dorrell, Weever and various pirate publishers of the Plays) used the tell-tale hyphen ; in the case of Thorpe both for " Shake-speares Sonnets " and "A Louers complaint by William Shake-speare." But despite the prestige of the name and many alluring personal disclosures, no new edition appeared for 31 years, when in 1640 Cotes printed the Sonnets for John Benson (in an arrangement totally different from Q's) ; a most significant lapse which recalls the suppression of *Willobie his Avisa* (p. 57) and points similarly to the powerful intervention of the Earl of Derby.

Author and mode of address. Though the author could never have approved Thorpe's corrupt Quarto, and certainly would have withheld many soul-disclosing Sonnets, he may have at one time intended to publish a selection ; at least it is implicit in the conventional promise of fame-immortality, through his verse, in **16, 17, 18, 54, 60, 63, 65, 81**

(especially), **101** and **104** (but not **55**—see this). All these Sonnets fall within early groups according to *S*-formula, prior to the time when Stanley became Earl of Derby; so this failure to fulfil an implied promise resembles Shakespeare's omission to publish anything after 1594 (p. 120), and had it not been for an impudent piracy all these precious pieces would have been lost, as others no doubt have been. All skilfully conceal the personality of their writer who, without parading exalted status or classical knowledge or travel experience, only casually reveals these things, as for instance in the aristocratic dignity of **26,** or in familiarity with Latin literature (e.g. **23** and **121**) with mountains (**33**) and with the ocean (**64**). When **25, 29** and **37** were written the poet held no title or public post but professed himself to be poor (i.e. relatively, as elsewhere he avowed that he was old when only about 30). When **110, 111** and **112** were written he admitted " public means," " harmful deeds " and " vulgar scandal " about his " shames," and rebutted reproaches in **121**; while in **74** and certain related Sonnets he thought he was going to die. All these, suggestive of debasing contacts, as well as the **M**-series, lie within groups dated by the *S*-formula as between 1587 and 1591; but all the later Sonnets, after Stanley had become Earl of Derby, are free from any suspicion of wild oats, though many (**Ve**—**D** series) show dark and deepening jealousy incongruous to any man addressee.

Variation in the mode of address has long been recognised; 58% of the Sonnets employ ' thou ' ' thee ' ' thy ' or ' thine,' 22% ' you ' and ' your,' while 20% omit such personal pronouns, one Sonnet (**24**) employing both ' you ' (indefinitely) and ' thee.' The distribution of these types is not altogether irregular even in the Q-sequence where, in spite of Thorpe's ' mix-up,' clusters of related Sonnets with similar address are found (e.g. **83-86** which are ' you ' Sonnets). In the Plays ' thou ' is generally used in addressing social equals under strong emotion (affection, anger etc.) or in speaking to inferiors, but ' you ' to equals in conversational familiarity or to superiors. Thus for example Lord Stanley (*Richard III*) normally addressed his superior Edward IV, as ' you ' and is addressed by the King as ' thou,' while the Duke of Suffolk (*2) *Henry VI*, III, 2) addressed Queen Margaret first in deference as ' you ' but later in high emotion as ' thou.' Among the 63 Sonnets assigned to S'ham about three-quarters are of the ' thou ' type, which would have been impertinent coming from a stage player, and a quarter of the ' you ' type, this indicating familiarity as from an equal. As also only about a quarter of the **Ve** and **D** group are ' you ' Sonnets while ordinary letter-writers then (as now) always used ' you,' ' thou ' may be taken as essentially poetic, but it is noticeable that the deeply passionate Sonnets are all of the ' thou ' type (e.g. **95**). Among the seven Sonnets assigned to the Queen (p. 302), no less than four are ' you ' Sonnets as if due to deference, and the change from ' you ' to ' thou ' in the three others would be intelligible as written with misgivings by the Earl of Derby, in a rôle roughly parallel to that of the Duke of Suffolk just noted. *All* the **M** Sonnets in the 2nd pers. use ' thou ' which seeing that four (**132, 135, 136, 143**) are not passionate no doubt means that the " dark lady " was of inferior status.

Pronunciation. A brief but most requisite glossary (modern spelling) of words not discussed under the individual Sonnets is given on p. 328. Differences from modern pronunciation, affecting scansion, appear both in the accented *ed* of the past participle (not always) and in such words as *acceptable, aspect, authorising, envy* [verb], *olives, presage* and *record* [in **59**]; while *even, heaven* and *spirit* are more often monosyllables than dissyllables. Derby's pronounced Lancashire habit of elision is also seen in the loss of a syllable in *stol'n, bless'd, t'anticipate, th'expense, th'uncertain* etc., but much more frequently through the dropping of *e* before *r*; and for the sake of scansion such words should be written: *flow'r, pow'r, show'r, robb'ry, int'rim, sov'reign, suff'rance, bett'ring, prepost'rously, flatt'rer, alt'ring, adult'rate, wond'ring, with'ring, sland'ring, sland'rers, murd'rous, slav'ry, brav'ry, sev'ral, desp'rate* etc. Loss of a syllable is also seen in *abysm, moiety, millions, beautious, injurious, virtuous, shallowest, reckoning, minion* and other words. The accent is on the second syllable sometimes in *ever, never* and *answer*.

Rhyme is affected by sharp *s* in the pairs *despis'd-suffic'd, glass-was* and *amiss-is* (like modern this), and vowel pronunciation was then (as now) variable but often different from the present, especially with *i*. The following Table summarises the contemporary range of phonetic values, as deduced from many rhymes in the Canon :—

	as now in		as now in		as now in
a	father..fat..mall (pr. mell)	*ai* and *ay*	maid ; slay	*ie*	belief..friend
e	evil..devil..pretty	*au*	fraud..mauve..grant	*oa*	toad
i	sardine..discipline	*aw*	law	*oi* and *oy*	voice ; coy
o	bone....done	*ea*	great..meat..get	*oo*	floor..blood
u	lute ....but	*ei*	receipt....rein	*ou*	you..four..out
y	[ee] ....pity	*ew*	new....sew	*ow*	how....low
		ey	obey	*ui*	fruit....build

He, me, we and *thee* were pronounced much as now, but *you* and *thou* varied as in the Table ; words ending in *ake, are, aste* and *ate* (p. 111) approached the modern ĕ sound as in care (e.g. *chaste* was more like chest). *I, by, my, mine* and *thine* had the short ĭ sound (e.g. *mine* pr. min) ; *er* was usually sounded ar (as now in clerk or Derby) and *or* was often sounded ur (as now in word or worse). The word *eye*, which Shakespeare rhymed with *by, sky, die, dignity* etc. must have had a sound not unlike that in modern *payee* ; and some of these phonetic differences (from modern) are illustrated by the following obsolete rhyming words in the Sonnets :—

have, grave ; *war, bar* ; *past, waste, last, taste* ; *are, care* ; *warm'd, disarm'd* ; *break, speak* ; *defeat, great* ; *created, defeated* ; *clear, where, appear* ; *dear, there, near, wear* ; *lease, excess* ; *field, held* (pr. hild) ; *east, west* ; *heaven, even* ; *never, fever* ; *desert, part, convert, art* ; *sheds* [Q. sheeds], *deeds* ; *key, survey* ; *counterfeit, set* ; *friend, fiend, spend* ; *live, achieve* ; *find, wind* ; *moan, gone, alone, upon, groan* ; *engross'd, cross'd* ; *come, doom* ; *noon, son, loan, one* ; *tongue, wrong, young, song* ; *most, lost* ; *love, prove, approve, remove* ; *brow, mow* ; *forth, worth* ; *words, affords* ; *cost, boast* ; *blood, good* ; *dumb, tomb* ; *fruit, mute* ; *pry, jealousy, cry, jollity, die, dignity, I, eye, gravity, alchemy.*

New emendments. So many abortive attempts have been made to solve the riddle of the Sonnets by conjecture founded on simple reading, that it is proper to emphasise the subtlety injected into so many of them by verbal elasticity which transcends mere punning and amounts to positive word jugglery, often unsuspected ; this, superimposed on slender clues and a still corrupt text, demands penetrating, indeed *prolonged*, study and, even so, many can hardly be fathomed by deep sounding. While orthodox commentary has immensely clarified the corruptions of Q and provided us with a fairly acceptable received text, numerous unrectified errors still persist, rendering some passages either obscure or unintelligible ; and it is these difficulties which have impelled the present writer to offer the further emendments to be submitted. These are shown by **thick type** in the ensuing compressed exegesis (to follow which the received text must be at hand). The gross nature of the mistakes in Q (corruption which it is hoped will rescue the more radical emendments from the charge of sacrilege) often gives a useful hint for procedure in boldly correcting outstanding obscurities, that is with help from the sense of the context, from factual probabilities newly adduced and sometimes even from peculiarities in the Earl of Derby's handwriting misread by a scribe. These errors were all passed by Thorpe, whose literary ignorance is exposed by his blank brackets at the end of the Canzonet **126**, showing that he thought it was a Sonnet with two lines missing (i.e. because there were not 14). In the following critique Q's consecutive numbers, however misleading or confusing, are followed seriatim because of their familiarity to all students, and for each numbered Sonnet or group the inferred date and addressee are shown in brackets ; also *S*-lines. [The *S.S.* addressee if different, as in a few cases, is indicated in square brackets.]

1—17 (S'ham, 1593). *S*-lines (see p. 300).

In this homogeneous group, supposed to have been written during Summer in the Isle of Man, there is no confirmatory internal evidence beyond some doubtful indications of rural, not City, surroundings, as in the distillation image of **5**, the sun-simile of **7**, the " violet past prime " in **12** and " living flowers " in **16**. As the Sonnets are all linked by sense and often by rhyme coincidences, the Q sequence seems to be substantially correct but **13, 15, 16** and **17**, all rhyme-linked, are ' you ' Sonnets which, if written at a single sitting, might mean that **14** is out of place (Bray proposed it should follow **10**). The reference to

40 winters in 2 does not of course mean that the poet, who conventionally spoke of his " pupil pen " in **16,** was himself 40 ; yet he was old enough to talk figuratively of S'ham as his son in **33,** 9 and to recall S'ham's mother " in the lovely April of her prime " (**3,** 10). She was the widowed Countess, Mary Browne who had married the 2nd Earl of Southampton in 1566, so that if her " prime " may be taken as about then (when Shakspere was only two years old) William Stanley, a relative by marriage (p. 119) was about six and in 1593 would remember her earlier beauty. In **2,** 7 after ' say ' a colon would be better than a comma. In **4,** 4 ' are ' means, elliptically " who are." The typical double negative of **5,** 12, where ' Nor ' means ' Neither,' makes both words ' it ' refer to ' beauty.' In **8,** 1 the first word ' Music ' refers to S'ham's voice, while the fanciful antithesis of lines 3 and 4 is built up on his love of self and sadness with music ; ' strikes ' (10) should probably be **serves** (Stanley's *se* was often indistinguishable from *st*). In **9,** 10 the word ' his ' (its) relates to ' what ' (9), and the roof imagery of **10** no doubt features the extinction of the S'ham Earldom unless there were a son. As 'And ' (**11,** 3) has its old meaning (if) Q's comma after ' depart-est ' should be restored ; also Q's **not** (**11,** 14) should be retained instead of ' nor,' and Q's ' the ' (**11,** 11) may doubly suit the old spelling of thee. The word ' had ' of **13,** 14 instead of ' have ' is congruous to S'ham who then had no father. In **14,** 6 ' Pointing ' should be written '**Pointing** (Appointing) ; and in **15,** 3 Q's ' stage ' (altered by Malone to state) is probably correct, but his change of Q's ' your ' in **16,** 7 to ' you ' is right. The third quatrain of **16** is easier to understand if ' Neither ' is imagined as preceding ' this ' which refers to ' counterfeit ' (picture). In **17,** 12 the word 'And ' should probably be '**A,**'

18, 19 (S'ham, 1588). No *S*-lines.

This pair seems most naturally to follow **126,** with which **18** is rhyme-linked ('ow'st '-' grow'st '), and precede **53** and **54** (also rhyme-linked), the adulation, suiting S'ham as an adolescent, not yet marriageable, youth ; early date is also consistent with the high spelling deviation of the group (mean 20%) and absence of *S*-lines. In **19,** 5 Q's ' fleet'st ' is now correctly rendered ' fleets' (N.W. 2nd pers. singular).

20 (S'ham, 1590). No *S*-lines.

Gross homosexual misunderstanding of this Sonnet, by ignorant detractors is amply refuted by the palpable sense of lines 11-14 (especially the words ' addition ' " thy love," ' treasure ' (p. 323) and the *double entendre* in ' prick'd '). In the phrase " master mistress of my passion," ' passion ' of course as elsewhere in the Canon signifies high emotion without its specialised modern sex-implication ; but shallowness excels itself in accepting the ludi-crous inconsistency implicit in line 11, i.e. of a plebeian actor being ' defeated ' of the aristo-cratic S'ham (because he was not a woman) even in jest. In line 7 Beeching's acceptable emendment of ' maiden ' for " man in " does not go far enough, because ' his ' (7) is out of place in a ' thou ' Sonnet and the use of a Northern and Southern plural in ' steals ' and ' amazeth ' (8) seems equally improbable, all suggesting heavy textual corruption in line 7. The present writer thinks that Hall (p. 303), influenced by the preceding ' hew ' negligently put " *Hews* in his " for some difficult trisyllabic word in the original, like ' handsmnes ' i.e. handsomeness (cf. *T. and C.* II, 1, 16) ; the sequent ' controlling ' having Shakespeare's (obsolete) sense of ' overpowering ' (cf. *Lucrece,* line 678). The line then becomes :—

"A maiden hue, all **handsomeness** controlling."

21 (Ve, 1591). No *S*-lines. [Queen in *S.S.*].

This Sonnet is very puzzling till it is realised that it is badly out of place and properly belongs to the "rival" group of Sonnets which lie between **76** and **86** and display fear of some other poet. On this view **21** may be regarded as a fellow to **78,** with which it is doubly rhyme-linked (' muse '—' use '—' verse '—' rehearse '—' disperse ') in the first quatrains, which have a similar theme ; and while **21** expresses disdain for conventional poetry (' hear-say ' line 13) invoking heaven and earth, **78** awards credit to her ' graces.' The word ' love ' (10) evidently does not mean his (abstract) love as in the previous line but the addressee, because of the lines which follow, particularly 14, which is in keeping with line **14** of **84,** showing that she was " fond on praise." The word ' though ' (11), apparently disparaging, may be taken to mean *even* though [she does not rival the constellations].

22, 23 (Ve, 1591). No *S*-lines.

This pair, inapplicable to any man, might well have been addressed by Stanley to Elizabeth de Vere soon after the Elvetham pageantry, say after **38**; the pleading in **22** to overlook his age, the words " Thou gav'st me thine " (**22,** 14) and lines 10 and 11 of **23** all suggesting an early stage in the wooing of a young girl, while the final couplet of **23** most assuredly refers to the speaking love-glances of a man for a woman. It is the equivalent of Cupid's dart, recalling *L.L.L.* II, 1, 227 and Ovid's *Amores* I, 4, 19 or *De arte amandi* I, 574, and it justifies Sewell's emendment of ' looks ' for ' books ' (**23,** 9). In **23,** 3 ' thing ' seems to be a corruption of **lynx,** and the word ' rite ' in modern texts should revert to Q's **right** because " perfect ceremony " simply implies lip-service, as shown by the word ' tongue ' (**23,** 12) as well as by the general sense. In **23,** 5 ' trust ' means confidence in his suit and ' say ' should probably be **'say** (assay). Gildon's change of Q's " more hath " (**23,** 12) to " hath not " can be bettered by merely substituting **not** for the third word ' more.' The double simile in **23** is similar in form to that in **118,** and Shakspere not being word perfect (cf. pp. 44, 106) might have prompted line 1.

24 (Ve, 1592). One optional *S*-line, **24,** 11.

Though irrelevant to the preceding pair, this Sonnet no less obviously expresses love-sentiments towards a girl. Believed to have been written in the Isle of Man, it is clearly connected with **46** both by sense and double rhyme-linkage ('art 'heart'—'part'). Dyce's emendment ' stell'd ' for Q's ' steeld ' (1) is no doubt correct. The word pérspective means kaleidoscopic illusion not geometrical foreshortening.

25 (Ve, 1591). No *S*-lines.

Being an apology for lack of " proud titles," this Sonnet offers excuses congruous to the daughter of an Earl as addressee, similar to the excuses in **91** with which **25** is linked by the ' boast '—' most '—' cost ' rhymes. Both Sonnets were probably written soon after Stanley fell in love at Elvetham (p. 75); and comparison of the closing couplets of both indicate that she had given a hesitating consent to betrothal. Q's ' Vnlookt ' (4) should evidently be **Look not,** ' leaues ' (5) probably **selves** and the words " the sun's " (6) **heaven's** (cf. **18,** 5) written originally ' sealues ' and ' heauens '; both easily mis-read. Of Theobald's two alternatives, either to change Q's ' worth ' (9) to ' fight ' (generally accepted) or ' quite ' (11) to **forth,** the writer prefers the latter.

26 (Spenser, 1589). No *S*-lines.

The respectful tone of dignity and lack of adulation discount S'ham as addressee of **26.** It is here conjecturally regarded as a covering letter sent to Spenser accompanying the Laura Sonnet of 1589 (p. 238); not as accompanying *V. and A.* or *Lucrece* dedicated to S'ham, these of course being covered by their own dedicatory letters.

27, 28 (Ve, 1592). No *S*-lines.

The ' sorrows ' and grief of separation in **28** preclude any man addressee; this obviously connected pair, which is doubly rhyme-linked, is assigned to Elizabeth de Vere, together with the fellow pair **50, 51,** all written after Stanley had left her on his journey North before going to the I.O.M. The emendments now generally accepted of ' gild'st ' (**28,** 12) for Q's ' guil'st,' and ' strength ' (**28,** 14) for Q's ' length ' are satisfactory.

29—31 (S'ham, 1590). Two optional *S*-lines **30,** 10; **31,** 7.

These three, in which **30** and **31** are rhyme-linked, should be taken with **37,** which is doubly rhyme-linked with **30** (' night '—' sight '—' delight '—' spite '; 'o'er '—' before '—' more '—' store '), the order being apparently **29, 37, 30, 31.** Believed to have been composed late in 1590, the depression is explained by convalescence following the nearly fatal fracas implied by Sonnet **74.** The rich experience underlying **30** and **31** are worth noting. In **29,** lines 10-12, seem corrupt; they would be improved, after cancelling Q's brackets, by changing " my state " to **elate** (with its Latin connotation of exalted) and ' sings ' (12) to **sing.**

32 (S'ham, 1590). No *S*-lines. [Marlowe in *S.S.*].

This Sonnet, badly out of place, undoubtedly relates to the group **71-74** (see this).

33-35 (S'ham, 1591). No *S*-lines.

Sonnet **35** may be reasonably linked by sense with **40, 41, 42, 133,** and **134,** all concerning the seduction of the poet's mistress by S'ham, apparently in the Spring of 1591 ; but the [earlier] allegory of **33** and **34** may simply picture some undignified horseplay by S'ham and his irresponsible young friends. In **33,** 1 Q's words " haue I " must be substituted by **sun I've** to suit the descriptive lines following, which show that the poet had often *seen* the glow of sunrise on peaks like those of Wales or the Alps. In **34,** 11 **Th'offender's** (as it should be rendered) recalls Derby's constant habit (and Hand D).

36 (Ve, 1594). No *S*-lines.

Lines 8-12 show that unless an insultingly vile and utterly unfounded *a priori* interpretation is put upon " love's delight " **36** must have been addressed to a woman, not S'ham ; in the present writer's view this Sonnet follows **39,** with which it is doubly rhyme-linked (' twain '—' remain '—' one '—' alone '), and both bemoan the love-separation from Elizabeth de Vere, imposed in ' honour ' to avoid " bewailed guilt," i.e. on the Earl of Derby's engagement to the Queen. The final couplet of **36** seems to be a mistake due to a compositor or scribe having taken it from **96**—see this.

37 (S'ham, 1590). No *S*-lines.

Written about the same time as the despondent group **29-31,** it will be noticed that the words " takes delight " (**37,** 1) recall those of the Countess of Derby (p. 69) speaking of her husband as " taking delite " in his players. Though the word ' lame ' (3 and 9) might be figurative, the mode of allusion to ' lameness ' in **89,** 3 shows unambiguously that the defect was real ; perhaps an after-effect of the grave wound lamented in **74.** In fact the whole self-depreciation of **37** is easily attributable to convalescent depression, possibly accentuated by the disparagement of friends deprecating his share in what may have been a vulgar tavern brawl. The word ' poor ' (9) if literal would nevertheless be comparative as addressed by Stanley to an Earl of ' wealth ' (5) ; ' truth ' (4) = constancy. As Wyndham pointed out line 7 is an image of heraldry in which ' Entitled ' means ' blazoned ' ; so Malone's change of Q's ' their ' to ' thy ' in the received text is unjustified and **their** should be restored. The difficult third quatrain is made intelligible by giving ' shadow ' (10) the double meaning of (*a*) image or picture of his love in S'ham's Coat of Arms and (*b*) protective shadow or shelter as in (2) *Henry IV,* IV, 2, 15 or *T. of Athens,* V, 5, 6, while ' substance ' (10) means reality as in *M.V.* III, 2, 130 and ' sufficed ' (11) means made competent.

38 (Ve, 1591). One *S*-line, **38,** 11.

Perhaps the very first Sonnet (Autumn 1591) which Stanley addressed to Elizabeth de Vere, it is at least obvious that the words " tenth Muse " (9) must connote a woman, not man, because of the association with " those old nine." [Here it may be observed that the learned Marguerite de Valois (*d.* 1549), authoress of the *Heptameron,* was styled the tenth Muse ; she* was Queen (p. 65) of Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, whom she married in 1527, and so grandmother of Henri (de Bourbon) King of Navarre who with his Queen (also Marguerite de Valois) figures in *L.L.L.*

39 (Ve, 1594). No *S*-lines.

See **36** with which it is linked. Malone's emendment ' doth ' of Q's ' dost ' (12) may be accepted since ' Which ' relates to ' love ' (11), " time and thoughts " being the object of ' deceive.' If the present writer's interpretation of **39** and **36** is sound, lines 13 and 14 show that Elizabeth de Vere approved the Earl's secret engagement to the Queen ; indeed it is likely that she still wanted S'ham (p. 314).

* Sister of Francis I, who succeeded Louis XII (p. 46), and widow of the duc d'Alencon in 1525, she was the indirect cause of the fall of Wolsey ; the latter having designed her to replace Katherine of Aragon when Henry VIII was determined to have Anne Boleyn.

40-42 (S'ham, 1591). No *S*-lines.

With **35,** these Sonnets bemoan S'ham's disloyalty in enticing (**41**) and seducing the poet's mistress (**40, 42, 35**). The repeated word ' love ' in **40** (which is always spent ' loue ' throughout Q) has several meanings (e.g. in line 5 the first ' love ' is love for S'ham and the second connotes the poet's mistress) ; but neither the word play nor the quixotic casuistry of **40** and **42** can conceal the soreness felt. In **40,** 3 ' No ' should probably be **Not,** and ' taste ' (8) **waste** to make sense of the line. Fort (orthodox) plausibly explained lines 7 and 8 of **40** as referring to S'ham's refusal of Elizabeth de Vere but more likely, taking his character into account as revealed by other Sonnets, they refer to his disdain of the poet's genuine love. In any case it is monstrous to imagine any actor using such words as ' wilful,' " Lascivious grace " [S'ham] or above all ' foes ' ; only a social equal would dare to so address the haughty Earl.

43-48 (Ve, 1592-3). One *S*-line, **44,** 5. [**43** to Mary Fitton in *S.S.*].

The tender anxiety and yearning love-fantasies found in these six sincere Sonnets are utterly irreconcilable with any man addressee. Believed to have been all written (together with **24, 52, 75, 113, 98, 99**) during absence in the Isle of Man, **44** and **45** which are linked by the imagery of the four Aristotelian elements (fire, earth, air and water) certainly show that the lovers were separated by " limits far remote " (**44,** 4) while the " large lengths of miles " (10) apparently included " sea and land " (7). Q's errors in this group are so frequent, particularly ' their ' for thy or thine (confirming hasty transcription, p. 303), that still-unrectified corruption may be suspected. Thus in **43** five new emendments seem desirable : in line 4 **Who** and **art** for ' And ' and ' are,' in line 6 **living** for ' shadow's ' (wrongly caught from the line above), in line 7 **tax** (censure) for ' the ' and in line 13 **me** for the first ' see.' [The word ' wink ' (1) means to close the eyes and ' shadow ' (5) her image but ' shadows,' the object of ' make ' imply darkness.] In **44** Q's ' when ' (10) should be **where,** an easy mistake seeing that Stanley spelt it ' wher ' in the Mistress Poem and that his Hand D frequently made *r* like an *n* ; the word ' thought ' (1, 7 and 9) is a substantive, ' to ' is understood before ' where ' (4), and ' being ' before ' so ' (11), ' either's ' (14) of course meaning the ' elements ' earth and water of the poet's ' flesh.'

Sonnet **46,** linked as noted with **24** and remarkable for its legal imagery, is congruous to Stanley's position then as Judge in the Isle of Man, to whom such words as ' plea,' ' plead,' ' appearance,' ' title ' ' impannelled ' and ' quest ' (inquest) would be trite. This raises the question whether the generally accepted emendment ' cide ' (9) is correct i.e. for Q's ' side,' an alternative being the technical word **'size** (i.e. verb assize) which seems to be more in keeping with the legal jargon and words which follow. In **47,** where the ' picture ' might well have been a miniature of Elizabeth de Vere, the word ' thou ' (11) should be **thou'rt** and Q's comma after ' me ' (10) should be restored. Other uncorrected corruptions are : Q's word ' comfort ' and comma in **48,** 6 which no doubt should be **care, art** and ' truth ' (14), **trust.** The word ' part ' (12) should be written **'part** (depart).

49 (Queen, 1594). No *S*-lines.

The restraint, the closing couplet and the image of the sun's eye (6) recalling **18,** 5 and the Prince's image in **25,** 6, all suggest that this Sonnet had nothing whatever to do with S'ham. Further it is obvious that there was no legal tie, but anticipation of " advised respects " (mature consideration) in which the poet was prepared to swear an oath (uprear his hand) against his interests ; and all this induces the present writer to assign this Sonnet to the Queen, followed at intervals by **57-59, 114, 61** and **87** i.e. during the brief hypothetical engagement. In all these, the words used are too consistently suggestive of Royal contacts to be taken figuratively, as expressions of servility to S'ham. See p. 318 for summary.

50-51 (Ve, 1592). No *S*-lines.

This pair of doubly rhyme-linked Sonnets, together with **27** and **28,** all referring supposedly to Stanley's journey North before he left for the Isle of Man, would therefore precede the group **43-48.** They were most assuredly not addressed to any man, for apart from

sincerity not even Sonnet conventions could account for the ' sorrows ' (28) and ' grief ' felt at the separation or ' joy ' anticipated on return ; so that the word ' friend ' (50, 4) must mean lover as was then common (e.g. in *Much ado* II, 1, 90). The horse *motiv* in 51 seems to have been responsible for the curious mistake " naigh noe dull flesh " of Q (11) which has puzzled so many critics. The error here as in 44, 10 was probably due to an *n*-shaped *r* in ' *raign* ' and to the word ' *ore* ' mis-read ' noe ' ; if the following emendment is made in which the second word ' loue ' (51, 12) changed to **thee**, the two lines would become :—

Shall **reign o'er** dull flesh in his fiery race,
But love for **thee** thus shall excuse my jade :

the word ' go ' (14) meaning depart.

52 (**Ve**, 1593). No *S*-lines.

This Sonnet of the Isle of Man group is simply a sequel to 48, with which it is doubly linked by rhyme (' are '—' care '—' rare '—' chest '—' breast '—' blest ') ; and it is similarly doubly linked with 75 (' treasure '—' pleasure '—' key '—' survey '—' day '—' away ') which therefore belongs to the I.O.M. group.

53, 54 (**S'ham**, 1588). No *S*-lines.

For reasons given under 18 and 19, these seem to be very early Sonnets ; specimens of the poet's infatuation at that time for the handsome boy. In 53, where he is figured in fancy Greek costume, some emendment of line 7 is requisite ; probably ' On ' should be read **Or** (another instance of the mis-reading of an *n*-like *r*) and ' of ' **in**, with restoration of Q's comma after ' you ' (6). The word 'And ' (8), as then frequently the case, signifies ' if.'

55 (**Marlowe**, 1592). One *S*-line, 55, 1.

It is difficult to believe that the hyperbolic praise of 55 relates to such a vain quarrelsome man as S'ham, a youth moreover with no record of achievement behind him such as this Sonnet palpably immortalises (" living record," 8). Elsewhere S'ham is certainly over-praised but only for his personal beauty and graces, not for what he has done ; also elsewhere Shakespeare, despite some conventional promises of fame-immortality (e.g. in 107) is never guilty of self-praise, such as line 2 might suggest ; on the contrary his modesty (e.g. in 32 or 72) amounts to self-depreciation. These considerations and especially the last line force the conviction that ' this ' (2 and 14) and ' these ' (3) far from referring to the poet's own verse signify something outside. An exactly similar externalised use of ' this ' is found in the 3rd stanza of Ignoto's praise of Spenser (p. 238). It is therefore likely that " this powerful rhyme " and " these contents " have nothing to do with the Sonnet itself but refer to an actual manuscript in the poet's hands, say the love epic *Hero and Leander* sent for appraisal by Marlowe who would then be the happy recipient of 55 and ever " dwell in lovers' eyes "—gladdened like other poets by Stanley's generous praise. It will be noticed that the words ' unswept ' (4) and ' sword ' (7) present inconsistencies ; the former was no doubt originally " in swept " (Stengel) and the latter probably **forge**, which would be congruous to ' burn.' There is no doubt also that Q's " that your selfe " (13) is corrupt and the line should read :—

So till the judgment **day itself** arise.

If the words in heavy type had been written " daie yt selfe " in the autograph, since Stanley's *e* often resembled *t* and his ' yt ' sometimes resembled ' y^{r},' it is easy to understand how the mistake arose.

56 (**D**, 1595). Two *S*-lines, 56, 5, 11.

The implications of this crucial Sonnet, excluding *any* man, should be obvious, particularly in the parallel drawn between recurrent food hunger and sex instinct i.e. between the ' appetite ' (2) for eating and love-hungry eyes (6) that close with passion (' wink '). It is thus self-evident that ' love ' in lines 1, 8 and 12 means the emotion, but a woman in line 5. The word ' interim ' (9) as a dissyllable (*Intrim* in Q) reflects Derby's strong habit. The word ' parts ' (10) should be '**parts** i.e. departs, the image here being that of the ebb

tide, while ' Return ' (12) is a rhythmical figure for the high tide of returning love. This Sonnet is applicable to the indifferent Countess of Derby, subject to fits of coldness leading to temporary estrangement ; and a newly married state is assuredly implied by the words " contracted new " (10) in association with the pregnant word ' daily ' (11). This Sonnet well illustrates how blinding an *a priori* theory can be i.e. in ever permitting S'ham as addressee, with an actor as writer, when sex-appeal is so manifest.

57-59 (Queen, 1594). One *S*-line, **57,** 1.

The whole tenour of these three Sonnets, like **49, 61, 87,** and **114,** sharply distinguishes them from others where praise is the subject matter, for here it is so restrained by servility that certain words (in their context) indeed may be taken literally, as if truly echoing close relations with the Queen ; words such as ' slave ' (twice), ' services,' ' servant,' " my sovereign," ' vassal,' ' beck,' ' imprisoned,' ' liberty ' and " composéd wonder of your frame " (**59,** 10).

In **57,** 13 it is probable that Q's ' Will ' had a double meaning i.e. including the poet. The plaintive Sonnet **58** is still corrupt : ' That ' and ' to ' (1 and 3) seem to be mistakes for **Then** and **do** ; the word ' absence ' (6) is evidently a mis-reading, say, of **subject,** and ' tame ' (7) is more likely a verb than adjective, being governed by " let me " (5) like ' bide,' which makes ' patience ' accusative like ' check.' Closing Q's brackets after ' libertie ' instead of ' beck,' the emended lines would then read :—

> Oh let me suffer (being at your beck,
> The imprison'd **subject** of your liberty)
> And patience tame to **suff'rance,** bide each check.

There are no valid grounds (only *a priori*) for interpreting the third quatrain of **58** figuratively, while literally (with Malone's emendment of Q's ' To ' (11) to Do) it strictly applies to the Queen, who alone had the ' privilege ' of doing what she liked and pardoning herself for any ' crime ' (fault).

60 (S'ham, 1590). No *S*-lines. [Queen in *S.S.*].

The superb philosophic ruminations on the ravages of time, certainly linking **60** with **63, 64,** and **65,** make **61** out of place ; and the group **60, 62, 63, 64, 65** partly rhyme-linked has a high mean spelling deviation (20·8%) with only one *S*-line, so a date, like 1590 seems reasonable. This date, on independent grounds, is given to Stanley's fine apostrophe " To Time " (pp. 263-4) in *D.P.R.*

61 (Queen, 1594). No *S*-lines.

It is absurd to suppose that **61** was addressed to S'ham (who in any case would not *spy like this upon an actor*). Though rhyme-linked with the Queen Sonnet **49** it is disconnected in sense, but if ' love ' in lines 10 and 11 is taken as homage, **61** perfectly fits a spy-provided Queen, surrounded by jealous courtiers (' others,' like Essex or Raleigh) prying into the Earl of Derby's ' deeds ' and stage proclivities (p. 46).

62-65 (S'ham, 1590). One *S*-line **64,** 5.

The exaggerated sense of age in **62** and **63** merely shows disparity between the poet's age and that of S'ham (17 in 1590), the former as usual magnifying his own defects. In 1590 Stanley was barely 30 but had seen much of the world, and Sonnet **64** is replete with travel experience. In **62,** 8, accepting the modern ' do ' (7) for Q's ' to,' (7) ' if ' is understood elliptically after 'As.' The word ' he ' (**63,** 11) of course means knife. In **64,** 7 the first ' the ' is probably a mistake for **then,** and there may be play on the word ' cost ' in **64,** 2 (spelling of ' coast ' in *Edward III*, like Hand D's ' costs '), for though lines 5-9 recall Ovid, Shakespeare definitely says that he had ' seen ' the reciprocal ' interchange ' of land and sea (as with part of the Mediterranean coast or, at home Lancashire and Cheshire, particularly the Wirral peninsula). No unprejudiced critic can doubt the truthful sincerity of this Sonnet which so plainly debars Shakspere.

66 (S'ham, 1590). No *S*-lines.

Probably written during convalescence, that is following the depression-group **71-74,** late in 1590. Fort pointed out that ' these ' (1) refer to the items listed ; but the word ' desert ' (2) may be a mistake for **in sort** (rank).

67-70 (S'ham, 1590 - 1591). One *S*-line, **70,** 5.

An interval of several months seems to have separated the earlier pair **67, 68** from **69, 70,** the former, which are rhyme-linked, commending S'ham for adhering to Nature in these bad times of painting and wig-wearing. As his " rose is true " it is clear that the ' wherefore ' and ' why ' of **67,** 1 and 5 mean why indeed, ' of ' (6) means from, and Farmer's emendment ' seeming ' for Q's ' seeing ' is no doubt correct ; also Collier's ' money ' replacing ' many ' (12), ' she ' (11 and 13) being Nature. In **68,** 3 Q's ' borne ' carries also the sense born, but ' hours ' (9) spelt ' howers ' seems to be a corruption of **hairs** which, spelt ' hayres ' in Stanley's Hand, might easily have been mis-read ; the word ' antique ' meaning simply old-fashioned as in *Twelfth Night* II, 4, 3.

The pair **69, 70,** also rhyme-linked, strike a very different note, with criticism of S'ham's ' mind ' in **69** and suspicion of ' ill ' in **70,** so that these two Sonnets were probably written about the time that he was beginning to subvert the loyalty of the dark lady (early in 1591). In **69,** 14 neither Malone's rendering of Q's ' solye ' as solve nor the Capell alternative soil seems satisfactory, but **fault** in Stanley's Hand might have been easily so mistaken. Also in **70,** 11 Q's " be soe " seems to be another very easy mistake for Stanley's original **befit,** which emendment requires that the comma at the end of the line should go.

71-74 (S'ham, 1590). Two *S*-lines **71,** 5 ; **73,** 2 ; two optional **71,** 3 ; **74,** 5.

If as first suggested in *S.S.* these Sonnets, with **32, 66** and **81,** were written late in 1590 during critical illness following a severe wound, the " wretch's knife " of **74,** 11 would be a literal dagger or rapier, for there is not the slightest evidence in the general wording that the expression was figurative ; nor is it likely, having regard to the poet's vague anticipation of death in this group of Sonnets, that the knife was his own for the purpose of suicide, but he seems to have narrowly escaped, in 1590, Marlowe's fate in 1593. The order seems to be **73, 74, 71** (all rhyme-linked), **81, 32** and **72** (rhyme-linked), **66,** so that ' O ' (**72,** 1) should be **Or,** as demanded by the sense linkage with **32** ; also ' O ' (**72,** 9) should be **Or.** In **73,** 10 ' That ' should probably be replaced by **As,** wrongly put in the line below, in which case the latter becomes :—

The death-bed **whereupon** it must expire.

In **74,** 13 the first word ' that ' seems to be a corruption of **it** (body), originally (as Stanley nearly always spelt it) ' yt ' easily mis-read y^t (that), and the first word ' this ' in the next line (14) seems to be a bad mistake for ' spright ' i.e. **spirit.**

75 (Ve, 1593). No *S*-lines.

Written no doubt at the same time as **52,** with which it is doubly rhyme-linked (p. 310), this is regarded as one of the twelve absence Sonnets in the Isle of Man group. None of the emendments offered for the word ' peace ' (3) satisfies the present writer who adopts **feast** (cf. ' feasts,' **52,** 5).

76 (Ve, 1591). No *S*-lines.

See the " rival " group **82-86.** Collier's change of Q's ' where ' (8) to whence is satisfactory.

77 (S'ham, 1591). One optional *S*-line **77,** 10.

The intrusion of this Sonnet between **76** and **78,** like the displacement of **21,** is one out of many examples of palpable disorder in the Q sequence. The coolness of **77,** which perhaps accompanied a New Year's gift of a tablet book, is not that of a *protégé* towards a patron. In line 4 ' of ' means from, and the second ' this ' is possibly a mistake for **true.**

78-80 (Ve, 1591). One *S*-line **79,** 11.

See the " rival " group **82-86.**

81 (S'ham, 1590). No *S*-lines.

This intrusive Sonnet like **77** has nothing to do with its immediate neighbours and properly belongs to the convalescence sequence (**73** etc., p. 302), being rhyme-linked with **71** by the ' verse '-' rehearse ' rhymes and with **32** by ' pen '-' men.'

82-86 (Ve, 1591). Two optional *S*-lines, **83,** 3, **86,** 5.

These five form part of the " rival " group of ten Sonnets which, taking their contents into account as well as the less reliable distribution of thou and you and rhyme-linkage, can be plausibly arranged in the sequence **76, 21, 78, 79, 82-5, 80, 86.** The lively apprehension they betray of a rival is normally construed as meaning that Shakespeare thought he was about to be supplanted by someone else in the favour of his " patron " S'ham, a false conjecture because inconsistent with the tone of other S'ham Sonnets whether in adulation or reproof. The only semblance of support for this actor-inspired theory is in the words ' dedicated ' and ' book ' of **82,** superficially suggesting the two Poem dedications to S'ham in 1593 and 1594. But the whole tenour of this Sonnet with its allusion to ' cheeks ' (14) proves that such " dedicated words " (3) praising beauty had nothing to do with any book-dedication except as a simile, being merely ' poesy ' as in **78,** 4, that is to say Sonnets from ' others ' (**85,** 5) or ' both ' (**83,** 14) to the addressee, whose ' cheek ' (**79,** 11), ' eyes ' (**78,** 5) and " fair eyes " (**83,** 13) in their context conjure up the image of a woman rather than that of a man, despite the word ' friend ' (**82,** 12) which then also meant lover (as in **50**). In any case the much over-praised S'ham is incompatible with the terms of **85.** Throughout the series there is no hint of any jealousy of patronage, but there is very deep concern about other sonneteers' homage to beauty, as for instance in **86** where it was the praise of " your countenance " that struck him dead. Apart from orthodox prepossessions about a "patron," no one could reasonably doubt that these Sonnets were addressed to a beloved praise-avid girl (**84,** 14) and that the poet was desperately afraid of the addresses of ' both ' her admirers (**83,** 14), but more especially of one (**79** and **86**) who was an interloper (**79,** 1).

Minto (1874), thinking of course that these Sonnets were addressed to S'ham, believed that the rival was Chapman, about the time of his *Shadow of Night* (1594) ; and this for various reasons, none convincing, is the usual opinion despite inconsistencies. It would be rather far-fetched to connect Chapman with an Earl's daughter like Elizabeth de Vere, but Sir Walter Raleigh as the rival poet is conceivable in view of the nautical images in **80** and **86,** i.e. the " better spirit " of **80** and the " spirit " of **85** and **86,** though it is hard to think that the great poet could have feared his mediocre verse. But he may have feared his rivalry for her affection ; if so it would mean that the unscrupulous courtier actually had ambitious designs on the daughter of the Earl of Oxford (with whom he had once served) supposedly in the Autumn of 1591 after the Elvetham pageant and before Raleigh had ' got into trouble ' with Elizabeth Throgmorton. Also though there is no external evidence, Sonnets **121** and **125** may be easily interpreted to mean that he had made mischief between Stanley and his Elizabeth. If then Raleigh were the rival poet, this might explain why he required " compeers by night / Giving him aid " (**86**), perhaps Kyd or Marlowe ; and the " familiar ghost " (**86,** 9) might well have been Dr. Dee, as Steevens suggested, or even the mathematician-astronomer Thomas Harriot. All of these were Raleigh's associates at Durham House. Slater has already suggested that Raleigh was the rival poet, but with the Queen as addressee, a theory discounted by a deep love which was most obviously sincere ; also the word ' grow ' in **83,** 8 indicates that the addressee was still young. In this line Malone proposed to change Q's ' what ' to ' that,' but the sense demands **when.** In **84,** 4 ' example ' is a verb, and in **85,** 3 Q's ' Reserue ' is probably not a mistake for the modern ' deserve ' but simply means ' Preserve ' as in **32,** 7. In **86,** 11 ' of ' should probably be **o'er,** without comma after ' victors ' ; but whether in line 13 Q's ' fild ' should be rendered ' fil'd ' (Malone) as in **85,** 4 or fill'd (Gildon) is doubtful—possibly both, with word play, **were** intended, filed meaning polished.

87 (Queen, 1594). No *S*-lines.

The terms of this cool and formal Sonnet amply justify the hypothesis (see p. 318) that it signalised the Queen's rupture of the tentative engagement to the Earl of Derby ; his ' patent ' was cancelled and his ' bonds ' were " all determinate " when he knew he would not be consort ; only " In sleep a King " (spelt with capital K in Q). The word ' riches ' (6) is perhaps the French **richesse,** and ' thy ' (2 and 9) should be written **thine.**

88-90 (Ve, 1593). One *S*-line, 90, 11. [**88** to S'ham and **89** to Mary Fitton in *S.S.*].

All three Sonnets (which Isaac believed were addressed to the ' dark lady ') are now construed as part of the larger group **88** to **93** (excepting **91**), and in Q's order which suits their sense, though rhyme-links might suggest other arrangements (e.g. **93** is doubly linked with **89**). The whole group, being so very personal, is best studied together, for it reveals much on careful examination. First despite the quixotic quibbles of **88, 89** and **92,** the threat of being thrown over betrays bitterness so acute that jealousy of a woman is almost self-evident. To fit *any man* into the sentiments bewailed is utterly unrealistic and in any case S'ham cannot be the addressee, for he could not " win much glory " (**88,** 8) by losing the poet or be bound to him " For term of life " (**92,** 2), which latter surely implies either betrothal or marriage ; nor would S'ham endure such insulting strictures (from a supposed actor-*protégé*) as the accusation in **88,** 6 and 7 or the words " Thou may'st be false " (**92,** 14). The bitter irony of **90,** the dark ruminations of **92** and the lineaments of the addressee in **93,** with its allusions to " sweet love," " heart's workings " and " sweet virtue " have nothing to do with any man, while " Eve's apple " (**93,** 13) manifestly signifies a girl's *growing* beauty i.e. tempting the man with whom she has been philandering ; so too the word ' revolt ' (**92,** 10) obviously means love-revulsion of a woman, as for instance in *Othello* III, 3, 188 (cf. *T.G.V.* III, 2, 59). All these passionate feelings of suspicion must have been about an engaged girl (" assured mine," **92,** 2) rather than his wife because a married man would not talk about being " absent from thy walks," ' acquaintance ' (twice) etc. in the terms of **89** or even use the word ' Like ' in **93,** 2. In **88,** 5 ' weakness ' seems to refer to a slight actual lameness because the taunt of this defect in **89,** 3 (a taunt of which no one calling himself a man would be guilty) is so very unambiguous ; indeed the lameness was to be accentuated by an affected ' halt,' thus making the word here (and probably in **37**) literal not figurative.

The cryptic meaning of the whole series becomes at once intelligible, particularly the addressee's winning of ' glory ' (**88,** 8) in losing the poet by her " desiréd change " (**89,** 6), if it be assumed that Elizabeth de Vere, secretly engaged to Stanley, had been faithlessly dallying with young S'ham, whom she would thus ' win ' ; all this during Stanley's absence in the Isle of Man. She was still ' keen ' on S'ham ; and that there had been flirtation with the once-designate bridegroom is suggested by the remark of Henry Garnett (p. 24) in a letter so late as November 1594 that S'ham had paid £5000 for " refusing the Lady Vere." The words " faults concealed " (**88,** 7) i.e. from the poet, linked with the ' story ' of deprecation clearly show that she tried to jilt him [only a cadet son of an Earl for a *de facto* Earl] and if the date is put towards the end of 1593, the ' sorrow ' and " conquered woe " of **90** could well refer to the death of Stanley's beloved father in September ; further " other petty griefs " (**90,** 10) could denote personal chagrin and disagreements when Stanley's brother, the new 5th Earl of Derby, failed to reinstate him as Governor of the I.O.M. (p. 24). In **90,** 13, the first word ' woe ' must be a mistake, probably for **pain.**

91. (Ve, 1591.) One *S*-line 91, 13.

There is nothing in this obviously misplaced Sonnet to indicate a woman except perhaps the words " men's pride " (12), for the allusion to " high birth " etc. is ambiguous, but this Sonnet can be reasonably interpreted as Stanley's reply, to Elizabeth de Vere's first murmurs (long before the preceding group) about his lack of prospects compared to S'ham, say soon after the Elvetham pageantry when he was not sure of her (lines 13, 14).

92, 93 (Ve, 1593). One *S*-line **93, 7,** one optional **93,** 2. [Both to **D** in *S.S.*].

Already discussed, but corruptions which persist in the received text of **92** badly obscure its meaning. Lines 6 and 7 should probably read :—

When in the **last** of them my life hath end.
I see **no** better **fate** to me belongs

because the Q words ' least ' and ' a ' are both inconsistent with the whole sense of the first quatrain, while last would refer to her defection (the ' wrong ' of **88,** 14) following Stanley's sorrow and disappointments ; the similarity of long *f* and *s* would easily occasion the misreading (in a hurry) of fate as ' state.' The third quatrain, as shown by the words ' lie ' and ' title,' is a pure legal image in which the poet is still not sure of her inconstancy, so that two further emendments are demanded, first **then** for ' that ' (10) i.e. when he would be dead, and second **doubtful** for ' happy ' (11), this no doubt caught by the eye from the line below. The doubtful title refers to his fate, depending as it does on her ' revolt ' (unfaithfulness, p. 314). In **93,** 5 ' For ' means for that (because).

94 (S'ham, 1591). No *S*-lines. [To **D** in *S.S.*].

Second thoughts suggest that **94** was addressed to S'ham, as a fellow Sonnet to **69** where there is the same misgiving and the same rhyme (' deeds '—' weeds '). The last line of **94** was presumably taken from *Edward III* (being earlier, p. 218), and not vice versâ.

95, 96 (D, 1597). No *S*-lines.

Long ago Isaac assigned these two to a woman (' dark lady ') and no one in reason could accept a man addressee having regard to the *type* of jealousy they disclose ; moreover it would have been incredible impudence for an actor-*protégé* to rebuke the proud S'ham in terms of **95,** and stupidity of any poet, much less Shakespeare, to call a man's shame " sweet and lovely." But as the outpouring of a passionate heart suspicious of a woman's faithlessness and that woman his wife (" thou being mine," **96,** 14), all seems clear. Such Othello-like suspicions not only reproduce what is known of the Earl of Derby's violent feelings during the desperate scenes of August and September 1597 (p. 28) but, as Sonnet **96** shows, the charge involved some prominent addressee because of the words " more and less " (**96,** 3), meaning (as Beeching pointed out) of both high and low estate as in (1) *Henry IV,* IV, 3, 68 ; moreover she was young (**96,** 1 and 2) and given to dangerous flirtation (**95,** 6) like the Countess of Derby (then only 22) to whom a " budding name " (**95,** 3) would of course be congruous. In **95,** 13, 14 where ' edge ' (pronounced idge in Cheshire dialect) rhymes with ' privilege,' ' this ' may be a mistake for thy and privilege refer to her exalted status, not beauty, but this is doubtful. It would seem that **96** preceded **95** by an interval, despite rhyme linkage, because the former betrays incipient suspicions only while the latter makes cruel accusations ; the suspicions in **96** being grounded on her ' wantoness ' and ' sport ' (flirtation) which might " lead away " men i.e. ' gazers.' In **95,** 12, Sewell's alteration of Q's ' turnes ' to turn seems unjustifiable because the subject is ' vaile ' not ' things ' (the object) but as noted ' this ' (13) should perhaps be **thy.** In **96,** 9 where ' lambs ' is the object of ' betray,' ' translate ' means transform and ' errors ' (7) refer to the ' faults ' misconstrued as ' graces ' (4) which like lamb's fleece are a decoy for ' gazers.' The closing couplet of **96** no doubt belongs to this Sonnet as Delius supposed, not **36,** as is confirmed by the internal rhyme repetition (' sport '—' resort '—' sort '—' report ').

97 (S'ham, 1592). One *S*-line, **97,** 1.

A few orthodox commentators (Isaac, Rolfe, Massey, Hudson) reasonably detect a woman in **97** and there is certainly no special indication of a man, but it is here tentatively assigned to S'ham, written say from the Isle of Man soon after leaving him at Oxford in September 1592 (p. 119).

98, 99 (Ve, 1593). One *S*-line **98,** 5.

The implication of ridiculous effeminacy (" figures of delight," " love's breath," " soft cheek " etc.) should be a sufficient warning that these Sonnets were never sent to S'ham, or any man. If written at different times to Elizabeth de Vere during Stanley's absence in the Isle of Man, they fall into their natural place following **75** and **113.** Q's mistake of ' Our ' for ' One ' in **99,** 9 could easily have been made with Stanley's handwriting (see his word ' one ' Plate VIII, line 10).

100, 101 (S'ham, 1590). No *S*-lines; one optional **101,** 13.

This pair, in which contact is renewed with S'ham after a long interval, contrasted with the preceding pair, serves to illustrate what is generally true of the S'ham Sonnets, the subtle difference between loving but often conventional praise bestowed on a beautiful youth and the wistful yearning for a woman. The " worthlesse songe " (Q, **100,** 3) might well have been the ' Mistress ' Poem, written about this time (p. 254). The word ' love ' in **101,** 3 means S'ham, but ' thou ' (4) of course refers to ' Muse.'

102 (D, 1596). No *S*-lines.

Out of place, this Sonnet is plausibly interpreted as a reply to complaints by the young Countess of Derby that she was being neglected, owing to her husband's absorption in Play-writing—see **115-117.**

103-106 (S'ham, 1590). No *S*-lines; one optional **106,** 9.

These four Sonnets with **100, 101** and **108** form a group written to S'ham apparently about the time of **20,** when the youth was specially idolised, and if considered in relation to the early Sonnet **126,** they serve as useful indicators of date; for on the one hand **104** with its allusion to three beautiful Springs and hot Summers, would *not* have included the execrable Summer of 1594 in its retrospect, while on the other the " fair friend " (**104**) and " sweet boy " (**108**) must have been adolescent because he was still " green " (**104**) and had been " fresh " three years ago. We know from **126** that the " lovely boy " had been growing, and repeatedly elsewhere Shakespeare meant immature by ' green,' using the conjoined epithets ' fresh ' and ' green ' to signify blooming youth, as in *P.P.* (" young Adonis lovely fresh and green ") or in speaking of young girls (*W. T.*, III, 2, 182). If then he met the boy S'ham at Gray's Inn in April 1587, the date given to **126, 104** must have been written in the Spring of 1590 when he was 17, and this date for the group is roughly confirmed by several obsolete spellings (skope, Dyall, theams, toungs, Waighes etc.) in Q with high mean deviation (18·9%), together with the absence of any full *S*-line in 98 total lines. On the other hand if, as has been elsewhere conjectured, the date was much later it would have to be 1597 or later (to escape the 1594 difficulty) when *S*-lines would have appeared, and when S'ham was certainly no longer " green." In **104,** 11 ' methinks ' should come after ' still '; the verb ' steal ' (10) is intransitive (' his ' meaning ' its ') and ' motion ' (12) means change with time. In **105,** 1, ' love ' connotes the emotion but in line 5 of course S'ham. In **106,** 11 ' for ' means (as so often) because, but in line 13 ' For ' is probably a mistake for **While.**

107 (Ve, 1594). No *S*-lines.

Various attempts to explain this enigmatic Sonnet all fail to fit its *entire* content—see p. 73 for the present writer's interpretation. The most plausible of several theories advanced is that it relates to S'ham's release from imprisonment in 1603 after the death of the Queen (" mortal moon ") but, while in keeping with some of the lines, the theory breaks down on line 3 thus: in the Canon the word ' lease,' whether used literally or figuratively, consistently denotes duration of tenure of some kind, so that the words " true love " cannot mean a person but must connote the poet's emotional love as they do in **61** and **72,** similarly to **21,** 9. [Incidentally it may be noticed that the word ' love ' appears over 140 times in the Sonnets, mostly meaning the emotion (about 78%), less often a person]. It was this " true love " that was supposed to be doomed (4), not S'ham or anyone else, and the duration

(' lease ') of this love was ' yet ' neither controlled by his own ' fears ' (1) nor by the " wide world " speculating on the future. The exultation of the second and third quatrains confirms this plain meaning : now that the doom was revoked and the prophets of trouble (' augurs ') were fooled by the peaceful outcome of the uncertainty, the poet was gloriously free to love afresh (10). The Sonnet is purely personal, and it is difficult to imagine any public event suited to its whole spirit ; while any late date such as 1603 is discounted by the absence of any *S*-line, taken together with the very high spelling deviation (26·8%). On the other hand the Sonnet might well envisage the uneasiness arising from Parsons' book in 1594 on the succession (p. 25) and Derby's thankful release from a hateful betrothal to the Queen, now eclipsed by *his* Elizabeth ; if written in September 1594 on the resumption of his broken engagement to her all becomes clear, **107** harmonising with the misplaced separation-Sonnets **36** and **39,** written a few months earlier, and with the subsequent excuses of **109.** The subtle word ' mock ' (**107,** 6) has the double meaning of jeer at and resemble (as in *W. Tale,* V, 3, 19, 20).

108 (S'ham, 1590). No *S*-lines.

This Sonnet, being clearly linked with **104** by both sense and rhyme (final couplets), serves, as mentioned, in the reasoning which leads to the date 1587 i.e. three years previously, when the poet had first ' hallow'd ' the " fair name " of the " sweet boy " (a term of endearment, to be expected only from a social equal). Q's ' Finding ' (13) is doubtless an error for **Feeding** and a comma should be placed after " his page " (who feeds the ' conceit ' of three years ago, ' antiquity ' meaning bygone days).

109 (Ve, 1594). One *S*-line **109,** 9.

Even as addressed to an equal it would be difficult to reconcile the sentiments (" my flame " etc.) of this gem with any man ; as addressed to Elizabeth de Vere, " my Rose," by the repentant Earl of Derby (after **107**) in reply to coy reproaches for desertion to the Queen, during the Summer of 1594, it is easily intelligible.

110-112 (S'ham, 1591). One *S*-line **112,** 9 ; one optional **111,** 6.

It is not at all certain though probable that these three Sonnets, which are only connected by sense not rhyme-links, were addressed to S'ham ; also **110** is a thou-Sonnet unlike the other two you-Sonnets. It has been tacitly taken for granted, what superficial reading suggests *a priori,* that they express Shakspere's supposed feelings as an actor, though some bolder orthodox critics like Beeching, Boswell, Delius and Massey have honestly admitted that there is no unambiguous allusion to the stage. The fact is, **110** is an apology, in reply to S'ham's *jealousy* (as revealed by lines 4, 8 and 11), that is for having toyed with " affections new," and an admission of having played the fool in public (' motley ') ; while **111** vaguely regrets " harmful deeds " and " public manners " bred from " public means." Massey interpreted ' public ' to mean not the stage but a Court circle of State officers, as in **25,** which is very doubtful having regard to the disparagement implied. If the words mean acting in public there is still the orthodox inconsistency (1) that, having regard to Shakspere's record, a professional actor's ' name ' (**111,** 5) should receive " a brand " for so acting (2) that he should be severely blamed for his normal duties by S'ham and (3) that such a man should feel the abject humiliation revealed by lines 8-14 of **111.** The feeling would be natural to an aristocrat who while being legally trained in conveyances etc. (" public means ") had demeaned himself by unsavoury contacts with the stage-underworld, of which he was now thoroughly ashamed ; apologising profusely for his ' blenches ' (**110,** 7) and ' infection ' (**111,** 10), while admitting the " vulgar scandal " (**112,** 2) he had brought upon himself.

Malone's emendment of Q's first ' haue ' (**110,** 9) to ' save ' is reasonable, and the words " in love " (12) in the present writer's view should come after ' whom.' In **111,** 10 Q's ' Eysell ' is correct, being the common Lancashire word for vinegar, but line 11 is defective and was probably originally :—

No bitterness I will **too** bitter think.

The modern text of **112** is also corrupt and the following emendments are proposed to render it intelligible : replace Q's ' ore-greene ' (4) by **o'ergloze** and restore line 8 to its probable original :—

Bate my steel'd sense **o'er charges** right or wrong,

here being another example of error due to *n*-like *r* ; further Q's ' flatterer ' and ' are ' (11) are probably corruptions of **flatt'rer's** ['s = is] and **e'er** [ever].

113 (Ve, 1593). No *S*-lines.

This Sonnet is no doubt one of the I.O.M. group because of its contents and the words " mountain or the sea " (11), so appropriate to the Island, which recall the " sea and land " of **44.** The word ' that ' (2) and subsequent words ' it ' and ' his ' all refer to his ' eye,' but of the various alternatives proposed for Q's " maketh mine " (14) the present writer prefers " makes mine eye." This being Q's last of the twelve I.O.M. Sonnets, attention is drawn to their probable order as given on p. 302 which is based on contents and rhyme-linkage (**43** to **99**).

114 (Queen, 1594). No *S*-lines.

Perhaps because of the words ' mind ' and ' monsters ' Thorpe placed this Sonnet as a sequel to **113** with which there is no sense-link at all ; but having regard to the content of **114,** its minor key, the admission of being flattered, the words ' monarch's ' and ' kingly,' which may be taken literally as well as figuratively, also the suspicion-imagery implicating tasters of Princes (Dowden) in lines 12 and 13, the Sonnet is regarded as definitely linked with the group **57-59** ; for it certainly has nothing to do with S'ham, who betrayed rather than flattered his admirer, but fits the Queen. Lines 10-14 then mean that his ' mind,' ' great ' with the flattery of being consort-elect, is subverted by a deceptive ' eye ' (appearance).

Reasoning on the seven Queen Sonnets : first they palpably stand out as a separate group (in the probable order on p. 302) and though not rhyme-linked they give a coherent self-consistent story of a single episode, i.e. the making and breaking of an abnormal love engagement. Next it is obvious that they began with Sonnet **49** and ended with **87,** that is to say the " love " troth opened with the poet's admission that the arrangement was provisional, and it concluded with his easy acquiescence in rejection ; he as usual taking the blame. As to the tyrannical addressee who imposed such humiliating conditions, no *man* professing love for a friend would shelter behind " the strength of laws " (**49**), or treat him as a ' vassal ' (**58**), or ' pry ' into his ' shames ' (**61**), or even exact formal permission i.e. ' patent ' (**87**) for the " great gift " of his love. The compact was not with S'ham as so-called " patron " or any man, and a *young* woman is equally forbidden by the cold terms of love avowed, no less than by the cool acceptance of dismissal in **87.** A genuine love-match in which the poet was jilted is quite out of the question, and there remains only an insincere elderly woman as possible addressee. That she was the Queen seems inevitable from the various similes, metaphors and even literal words connoting Royal relationships. Thus she accounts for the flattery sentiments in **114** (" crowned with you," " kingly drinks it up " etc.), for the unique privilege of self-pardon on her part, matching his servility in **57** and **58** (" your slave," " my sovereign," " your vassal," " your charter " etc.) ; she had spies who could pry into his private life as in **61** and above all, as in **87,** her ' charter ' gave her the power of ' releasing ' his ' bonds,' of cancelling his ' patent ' by withdrawing her " great gift " when she found him ' wanting '—the power of shattering his dream of becoming consort or a " King." (cf. Vennard, p. 165.) Once the critical mind is emancipated from prepossessions about a " patron " and thus from a purely figurative interpretation of these illuminating expressions, it is as easy to apply them to the Queen as it is difficult to find any alternative consistent with the contents of the whole group of Sonnets.

115-117 (D, 1595-6). One *S*-line **115,** 5 ; one optional **117,** 13.
[**117** to the Queen in *S.S.*].

The tone of these three Sonnets and the word ' flame ' (**115,** 4), as in **109,** clearly implicate a woman addressee ; certainly no so-called " patron " could have demeaned himself by the nagging complaints reflected in **117.** This trio reasonably links up with

Sonnets 102, 123 and 124, all having been apparently written to the young Countess of Derby at different times by way of self-defence during marital recrimination ; and with some irony in **117** (e.g. " great deserts "). In **115,** whose first line suggests that it was a sequel to a missing Sonnet, the word ' was ' (11) shows that ' then ' (10) refers to the past as in line 13, where however ' is ' should perhaps be **was,** with the (modern) semi-colon placed *after* ' then,' not before. As the word ' minds ' in **117,** 5 denotes persons, it probably has a similar meaning in **116,** 1, with ' marriage ' in its literal as well as figurative sense, and this with the emphasis on ' me ' suggests a wedded state, in which the husband is replying to a wife's petulance ; moreover the very words " day by day " (**117,** 4) confirm this married relationship, like the words ' daily ' and " contracted new " already noticed in Sonnet **56.** His wife's complaints, explicitly set forth in **117,** were bitter to the point of taunting him with her " dear-purchased right," and they seem to have been mainly about his " prodigal courses " (p. 69).

118, 119 (D, 1598). No *S*-lines ; one optional **118,** 9.

These two (much later) Sonnets are linked not only by the ' true '—' you '—' anew ' rhymes but by similar weak endings in corresponding lines. They are reminiscences of past events, incongruous to any man addressee ; **118** repentantly admitting a poisoned mind in bygone suspicions of infidelity, **119** recalling soul-rending quarrels fraught with " *Syren* teares " (Q). What precisely the limbec image (**119,** 1, 2) means is obscure but the three sequent lines suggest deceit, " foul as hell," about the philandering that had maddened him. These Sonnets are probably an aftermath of the censures in **96, 95, 139, 140** and **149,** which reflect the tearful scenes between the Earl and Countess of Derby before and after the Essex slander of September 1597 (p. 28). In **118,** 9 the word ' Thus ' is a palpable mistake for **This,** which gives sense to the quatrain. In **119,** 7 ' fitted ' means convulsed (Malone) ; in **119,** 10 ' still ' should come after ' made.'

120 (D, 1598). No *S*-lines.

This is believed to be the last of the D Series, written some months after **119** towards the end of the conjugal separation which was so deplored by Derby's secretary Thomas Ireland in July 1598 (pp. 29, 96). It will be noticed that everything in **120** relates to a past event, in which the poet admits he had been a ' tyrant ' (7) during " our night of woe " (9) ; all this accords with the reports of both Mylar and Ireland (pp. 29, 95), concerning the wild behaviour of the Earl in August 1597 and the subsequent break. The Sonnet however is corrupt and the following emendments seem necessary : replace ' And ' (2) by **But,** ' then ' (11) by **I'd** (governed by " O that "), ' But ' (13) by **Be't** (Be it, as in **142,** 9) ; and the first ' yours ' (14) by **you.** There appears to be a legal maxim in line 13 (i.e. trespass requires a fee or charge) where ' becomes,' both transitive and intransitive, has the secondary meaning befits, as in **132,** 6 and 9 and repeatedly in the Canon ; as ' Mine ' and ' yours ' refer to ' fee ' Q's comma after ' fee ' should be restored. The couplet, indeed the whole Sonnet, may be taken as an eloquent appeal to the Countess for mutual forgiveness.

121 (Raleigh, 1591). No *S*-lines. [S'ham in *S.S.*].

Second thoughts suggest that this Sonnet might have been prompted by Raleigh's mischief making, about the time of the Elvetham pageantry (p. 74), and if so it falls into line with **125** and the " rival poet " group (p. 313). The word ' salutation ' (6) meaning ' salute ' might refer to Raleigh's attempt to compromise the poet after the recent Avisa incident (p. 57) or possibly merely to horse-racing. The first quatrain of this indignant Sonnet shows the poet's acquaintance with Cicero's *De finibus bonorum et malorum* (Lib. secundus, Cap. XXII). The word ' are ' (7) should perhaps be **set.**

122 (S'ham, 1591). One *S*-line **122, 7.**

By coolly announcing that he had given away S'ham's gift (perhaps in the New Year) of a tablet book, the poet's status is implied, for this Sonnet was manifestly written by a social equal. The word ' retention ' (9) like ' rank ' (3) refers to the actual table book while the ' tables ' (12) are of course the imaginary ones " within my brain " (1).

123, 124 (D, 1595). No *S*-lines.

Part of the larger group mentioned under **115-117**, the disconnected Sonnets **123, 124** are taken to be earlier than **117** (in which marital differences are acute), being like **115** and **116** protestations of true love. The word ' pyramids ' (**123,** 2) does not necessarily mean familiarity with Egypt, and the context rather indicates that it is a figure for the Cathedrals in Europe which had been erected on the sites of former Roman temples ; but ' What ' and ' them ' (**123,** 6, 7, 8) seem to refer to Latin literature and the rich artistic treasures of the Italian renaissance. The word ' told ' (**123,** 8) means enumerated as in **138,** 12.

No commentator i.e. taking ' love ' (1) as a man and ' state ' as Country, has explained the meaning of **124,** but if ' love ' is abstract and ' state ' an error for **fate** (as in **92**) due to similarity of long *s* and *f* the Sonnet becomes intelligible : it is an answer to his wife's raillery, he protesting that his deeply felt (' dear ') love (1) is not the child of fortune subject to the vicissitudes of Time i.e. ' love ' and ' hate ' (3) or of Court intrigue i.e. " smiling pomp " (6) or marital coercion i.e. " thralled discontent " (7) ; his love scorns unworthy ' policy ' (9) i.e. heretical disbelief in a wife's chastity (cf. **118,** 9), by which we are reminded of Forde in *M.W.W.* (IV, 4, 9) or Leontes in *W.T.* (II, 3, 115) where in each case the lapse from faith in a wife occurred within " short numbered hours," but the poet's love is so wise i.e. ' politic ' (11) that neither passion i.e. ' heat ' (12) nor a woman's tears i.e. ' showers ' (12) can affect it.

But the closing couplet is altogether obscure and like that of **36** may have crept in by mistake from some other Sonnet (now lost) for the cynical words seem irrelevant to **124** ; they may refer to some contemporary event, such as the martyrdom of Jesuits (Beeching). The respective first words ' weeds ' and ' flowers ' of **124,** 4 should be **weed** and **flower,** and ' our ' (8) is probably a mistake for **or.**

125 (Raleigh, 1591). No *S*-lines. [Unassigned in *S.S.*].

Much as this angry Sonnet has been discussed, no satisfactory explanation has been advanced. Like **121** where, though there is no rhyme-link, there is a similar feminine *-ing* ending in lines 2 and 4, suggesting that they were written together, it is conjecturally assigned to Raleigh, as mischief maker i.e. " subbornd *Informer* " (Q 13) jealous because Stanley was one of those selected to hold the canopy over the Queen's throne " by the West " of the lake of Elvetham (p. 74). The obscurity of line 3 is doubtless due to double meaning in both ' laid ' and ' bases,' which is more than the plural of basis. As Nares pointed out the name ' bases ' was given to the richly embroidered mantle or great skirt worn by Knights on horseback ; and this being in keeping with ' extern ' (2) gives the hint that Stanley, knighted on the occasion but not impressed by the honour, wore his new bases on his horse beside the Queen and Elizabeth de Vere, as one of her Maids of Honour. The word ' laid ' probably has the secondary meaning wagered ; and as the present writer interprets line 3, it is that Stanley, having literally ' laid ' the bases on horseback, figuratively ' laid ' them as a pawn to ' eternity ' in a bet that now he would have permanent fame, but the bet was rotten because the foundations of fame (' bases ') prove short lived (line 4), a cynical sentiment consistent with his subsequent indifference to knighthood. The whole Sonnet is clearly defiant, and ' obsequious ' (9) mockingly ironical. Steevens' explanation of ' seconds ' (11) as inferior flour, is quite reasonable if, taking ' oblation ' figuratively as a cake offering, by word-play it also means backers (not sent) in a quarrel ; of which this Sonnet is certainly an echo. The word ' render ' (12) i.e. an account or explanation, also shows that despite the insult of line 13 there was no intention of pushing things to extremes.

126 (S'ham, 1587). No *S*-lines.

This six couplet Canzonet, because it concludes the first 126 Sonnets, has been usually supposed to terminate the S'ham sequence, as a kind of *envoi.* Nothing could be further from the truth, and it is much more likely to have been the very first Poem addressed to him, for several reasons. In the first place lines 3 and 4 show that the " lovely boy " was literally a boy who was growing by ' waning.' This idea, an old conceit of Ovid, meant (apart from word-play and antithesis) the closing of a period of growth, and in Cheshire the word ' weaning ' (pronounced ' waning ') is used figuratively for the vigorous early growth of plants. Next, no good reason has been advanced for thinking that the word ' boy ' was used here

(as it sometimes was) to signify ' man.' The context disproves it, and most important of all is Q's abnormally high spelling deviation (25%) accompanying several tell-tale archaisms (notably : ' hower,' ' soueraine,' ' wayning,' ' shou'st,' ' misteres,' ' minnion ' and ' mynuit '); all of which is consistent with a very early date of copying. In 1587, S'ham was a boy of 14, about to leave Cambridge for Gray's Inn, and Stanley just home from abroad.

Space precludes discussion of the various emendments offered of Q's line 2, but the present writer replaces Q's "; his sickle," by **this fleeting.** In line 6 ' goest ' should be written **go'st,** and ' must ' (11) should precede ' answer'd.' In this line ' audit ' metaphorically implies statements of accounts (not verification), as in the "Audett " (ffarrington) every July at Lathom or Knowsley, while ' quietus ' is the old Latin equivalent of what we now call audited.

127 (M, 1587). No *S*-lines.

Of the 28 Sonnets which remain only 18 are assigned on the writer's theory to the dark mistress, and in the chronological sequence (a) before she accepted him : **127, 132, 143, 136, 135, 142,** (b) after : **151, 130, 138, 141, 133, 134, 131, 150, 148, 137, 152, 147** ; some of which (e.g. **130** or **137**) need not have been actually submitted to her. The remaining 10 out of the 28 are variously allocated. In Q **127,** an abnormally high spelling deviation (25·5%) reflects several obsolete spellings (' ould,' ' boure,' ' faulse,' ' Misteresse ' and ' toung ') and a date near that of the first draft of *L.L.L.* (pp. 190, 259) is suggested by the sentiments of Berowne (IV, 3, 248-261)* which resemble those of the Sonnet. Q's mistake of ' eyes ' in **127,** 9 is rightly rectified by ' brows,' and ' name ' (7) by ' home ' (Butler), but Malone's change of Q's ' boure ' (7) which was rendered ' bower ' in the 1640 edition of the Sonnets, to ' hour ' is unnecessary. The Sonnet is easier to understand if it is noted that a pause follows ' black ' (3), that ' each ' (5) means ' every,' that the words ' beauty ' (11 and 14) imply the use of cosmetics as in line 5, and that " becoming of " (13) means ' suiting ' as in **150,** 5.

128 (Ve, 1594). One *S*-line **128,** 9 ; one optional **128,** 5. [Mary Fitton in *S.S.*].

This playful conceit, not at all suiting the character of the Mistress, is now despite a high deviation (20%) conjecturally placed in the Ve sequence, at a time some months after Elizabeth de Vere had been rejected by S'ham (p. 314) and " made it up " with Stanley, but before his brother's death.

129 (No addressee, 1591). One *S*-line **129,** 2.

An erotic soliloquy of conjectural date. There is word play, in line 14, with ' hell,' which also has the Boccaccio sense (hole) found in **144,** 12.

130 (M, 1589). No *S*-lines ; one optional **130,** 13.

Sonnet **130** ridiculing extravagant praise of feminine beauty, nevertheless by its closing couplet shows that he thought his recently acquired mistress (" my love ") to be as fine as any of the women she had slanderously impugned (' belied ').

131 (M, 1591). No *S*-lines.

The infidelity revealed in this Sonnet shows that it was much later than **130** and it may have followed the **133, 134** pair lamenting S'ham's disloyal seduction. He would then be the ' One ' (line 11) who caused the poet a thousand groans and who was partly responsible for the spate of passionate charges in the five Sonnets **150, 148, 137, 152** and **147** that, following rapidly on **131,** ended the acute crisis.

* In this dialogue the words " Schoole of night " (Folio) have been associated by some commentators with *The Shadow of Night* (1594) by Chapman who, in dedicating his Poem to Mathew Roydon, referred to the learning of the 5th Earl of Derby, the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Hunsdon. This supposed allusion in *L.L.L.* to the Chapman coterie is probably illusory and ' Schoole ' is more properly regarded as a misprint for ' scowle ' (or as the present writer thinks ' scroll ').

132 (M, 1587). No *S*-lines.

Early like its fellow **127** with which it is doubly rhyme-linked, **132** shows similar affinities to *L.L.L.* The play on ' morning ' and ' mourning ' is typical. In line 12 ' like ' should be written **'like** (alike).

133, 134 (M, 1591). No *S*-lines.

This misplaced pair (several years after **132** and shortly before the break) should be studied in association with the premonitory suspicions of **69, 70** and **144** and later reproaches of **35, 40-42** ; for they all doubtless refer to the same seduction affair. In the crisis of **133** and **134** the woman is similarly blamed more than the man, the poet grieving as much for the consequent breach of friendship with him as for the seduction itself, and S'ham, " my next self," far from being condemned for disloyalty is regarded as a " slave to slav'ry " i.e. to her, in **133,** 4 where the accent is on ' my.' The words ' myself ' in **133,** 5 and 7 mean his manhood or soul and ' engross'd ' (6) seized, ' Prison ' (9) being of course a verb ; but ' my ' (11) probably caught from the line above seems to be a mistake for **that.** The legal imagery of **133,** clear enough, is carried on into **134** but more subtly and far-fetched ; it becomes intelligible if ' myself ' in **134,** 2 and 3 is given the same meaning as in **133** (i.e. his soul which he was prepared to ' forfeit ' in order to save his friend) and if ' statute ' (9) is taken to mean both the ' bond ' of line 8 and the bond of her beauty. For, as the law-expert Malone first pointed out, the word ' statute ' then connoted among other things a pecuniary security for a loan. Here the security was given by the ' bond ' (8) metaphorically signed by S'ham ; he was the ' surety ' for the poet's ' mortgag'd ' soul, which being in debt (for her service) was thus unable to free itself, unless indeed the surety were sacrificed (figuratively) to the mortgagee (her will). The word ' learn'd ' (7) perhaps gives the clue to S'ham's position in the triangle, suggesting that he first gave moral support to the poet by acknowledging a woman who was discredited by other friends (Sonnets **148, 150** and **152),** but eventually fell under her spell. By seducing her he technically discharged the debt (as figured) and thereby should have released the poet's mortgaged soul, but in vain because she still held the latter as well as S'ham ; so she is denounced in the Sonnet as a ' usurer ' (10) who comes down on the surety [incidentally, like Shakspere who made his friend Horneby (p. 105) pay] and so by this specious argument " that other mine " is excused— " He pays the whole " including the penalty of forfeited friendship. The word ' sue ' (11) is governed by ' wilt ' (9), ' came ' (11) should be **'come** (become) and ' my ' (12) caught from above should be **thy** ; the word ' use ' (10) doubly signifies usury and sex-traffic, as in **20,** 14 and **40,** 6.

135, 136 (M, 1588). One *S*-line, **136,** 11.

Both Sonnets appear to have followed **143** ; early date, already suspected by Isaac and likely enough from their flippant erotic content, is however not indicated by spelling deviation (15·7%) of **135** and **136,** but when linked with the other wooing Sonnets i.e. **142, 143, 127** and **132,** all six give a high average (20%) and an *S*-value (over 80) consistent with a date round about 1588. [Judging from ffarrington's diary Stanley seems to have been in London after the middle of January 1588 (p. 23).] It has been suggested that three Williams are implied by **135,** 1, 2 (her husband, another suitor and the poet) but this is not unambiguously settled by the contents of **135, 136** and **143,** nor is it clear whether there was a design in Q behind the frequent italicisation of *Will.* Elsewhere in Q there are 25 italicised words, all beginning with capitals e.g. *Abisme* (112) ; but as only seven of these are proper names e.g. *Mars* (55) and one, *Alien* (78) is an adjective, it must be concluded that ' *Will* ' (seven times in **135,** three times in **136** and once in **143**) is italicised erratically or at least partly so. There is continual play on the word " will " which generally means determination or desire in its various senses, including sexual, and once explicitly the name of the poet (**136,** 14) ; so that this elasticity permits some latitude in interpretation. But Will [Stanley] may be plausibly read into several of the words ' *Will,*' which in the present writer's view conceals no other William ; and both Sonnets essentially signify that as the lady is stubborn but overflowing with desire she might at least accept his suit in addition to others. [He thought otherwise later.] Thus in **135,** among alternatives, it is possible to take ' *Will* ' (1)

as Stanley, the first '*Will*' (2) as desire, the second '*Will*' as determination (to resist him) and the three words '*Will*' in lines 11 and 12 as desire, but the final '*Will*' (14) as both Stanley and desire. Butler's change of Q's "vnkinde, no" (13) to unkindness is inadmissible because, entirely changing the manifest sense of the couplet, the plea throughout is for himself not 'beseechers' in general. The trouble is the word 'kill' which, as suggested in *S.S.* is probably a mistake for **thrill,** with its subtle *double entendre* (penetrate).

In **136,** 3 the word 'there' being very obscure suggests that something is wrong with line 2, whose clumsiness may have arisen from untidy alterations in the copy. This line was perhaps :—

Swear **blindly** to thy**self** I was thy *Will*

in which case 'there' can be accommodated to 'thyself,' as meaning both her physical body and her soul in the same way as 'myself' in **133** and **134.** The quibble thus enables her to hoodwink her conscience, by triple word-play in which '*Will*' (2) means both her wish and Stanley, while 'will' (3) is her immanent erotic desire. The succeeding two lines (5, 6) are a little ambiguous but may be reasonably paraphrased : such desire i.e. '*Will*' (5) will lead to the consummation ('treasure,' as frequently in the Canon) of her love and, filling 'it' (love, line 6) with a general desire for all, should embrace his desire i.e. 'will' (6) ; and this being identical with his name (13, 14) she only has to love his name to love him. Q's comma after 'one' (6) should be a full-stop and the full-stop after Q's 'prooue' (7) a comma ; also 'stores' (10) should be **store's** not stores'. Lines 13 and 14, suggestive of playful banter about his real name, probably conceal it in an anagram, whose decoding should be the more certain because in any attempt at letter transposition there is little latitude for variation from the poet's original spelling, Q's being :—

Make but my name thy loue, and loue that still,
And then thou louest me for my name is *Will.*

Trial shows that while Shakespeare and Shakspere are impossible with both lines, the second is convertible into the prose anagram :—

M. Will Stanley nere namde out of his mouth,

where M. stands for Master (though Will^{m} Stanley is an alternative) and nere (p. 277) has the double significance of near and ne'er (never). The letter-fit is perfect and anagrams being then as much in vogue as the riddles of *L.L.L.*, the solution is probably not imaginary. But in a similar trial with the first line (of the couplet) which if it conceals the name of the young woman does not admit many possibilities, the only anagram the present writer has been able to achieve is one in pure Lancashire vernacular :—

M. Elisabeth Nutthall, my loue, d'you tak t'name ?

where M = Mistress and tak (Stanley's spelling) = learn, as for instance in *Tit. And.* II, 1, 108. This transposition, perhaps purely fanciful, is at least congruous to the more certain anagram of the second line ; both if accepted mean that the lady then merely knew his Christian name but that he would only disclose his surname by a device so ingenious as to baffle her wit, clever as she must have been (to understand his Sonnets).

137 (M, 1591). No *S*-lines.

Out of place like most of the M-Sonnets this one, long after **135** and **136,** by its contents obviously foreshadows the break with his unfaithful mistress. The words 'best' and 'worst' (4) should probably be transposed ; 'thou' (7) refers to 'Love' not his mistress, 'that' (9) is a pronoun and as 'several' is an agricultural image of privacy 'plague' (14) may be regarded as a corruption of **place.** The words "my heart" (10) picked up in error from line 9 is no doubt another corruption, perhaps of **it now.**

138 (M, 1590). No *S*-lines.

This much earlier Sonnet, showing the first signs of revulsion, is found in *P.P.* (p. 249, item 1 (a)) but in very different words and the present writer agrees with Delius in thinking that Q was the original, the other being a revised and better version (Lee and others disagree). Q's word 'vniust' (9) has the special meaning of 'unfaithful' as in the early Plays, (3) *Henry VI* (V, 1, 106) and *T.G.V.* (IV, 2, 2) or in the Mistress Poem (p. 254).

139, 140 (D, 1597). One *S*-line **140,** 1 ; two optional **139,** 3, **140,** 3.

Thorpe supposed these two Sonnets to be addressed to the Mistress and apparently placed **140** before **141** because of the words " proud heart[s] " in common. It is true that there is a rhyme-link between them (' disdain '—' pain '—' gain ') and even identity in spelling deviation (20·4%), but in matter the divergence is fundamental, as also it is between the pair **139, 140** (and **149**) and all the eighteen Sonnets assigned to the Mistress. This complete difference in feeling and the absence of any taint of illicit love in **139, 140** and **149,** where the burden is despairing sorrow rather than disgust or a sense of sin (as for instance in **141**) is decisive. The two Sonnets **139, 140,** which are doubly linked by the rhymes ' aside '—' bide '—' belied '—' wide '—' slain '—' disdain '—' pain,' moreover are more mature in style than the M-Sonnets while their 28 lines contain one *S*-line and two optional ; all pointing to a late date. On these grounds they (and **149**) are assigned to the Countess of Derby, whose ' disdain ' (**140,** 2) would indicate that she thoroughly resented the cruel aspersions of Sonnet **95** ; at all events the pair **139, 140** bewailing her roving eyes, reflects what is known about the marital crisis at Knowsley in August 1597, the word ' slanderers ' (**140,** 12) well befitting the Essex scandal in September (p. 28). [Verity has already observed that the hauteur of these two Sonnets distinguishes them from their neighbours, indicating that the lady was not the liar of **138** or adulteress of **152.**]

In **139,** 1 ' justify ' means affirm as just, ' art ' (4) cunning, and ' foes ' (11) her " pretty looks." The modern semi-colon after ' tongue ' (3) replacing Q's comma is unjustifiable ; line 3 is an optional *S*-line running into the words " Use power " (4), but the second word ' power ' is manifestly a corruption, probably of **pride.** The meaning of the military image in this Sonnet is thus that the poet would rather suffer open injury from her ' tongue ' (" Tell me " etc.) than ' cunning ' wounds inflicted by her glancing eyes i.e. ' looks ' (14) ogling men ' gazers ' (Sonnet **96**). In **140,** 6 Q's *second* ' loue ' has no commas each side as in the received text, and these should be dropped after changing the word to **not,** to give sense to the line. There should be a comma after ' thou ' (**140,** 13) because ' so ' refers to ' belied ' i.e. slandered as in **130,** 14.

141 (M, 1590). One *S*-line **141,** 9.

This Sonnet, which appears to have followed **138** but preceded the **133, 134** pair, shows a deepening sense of his Mistress's defects. Q's ' vnswal'd ' (11) has long been rendered unswayed but this emendment, which is unsatisfactory, overlooks the old verb swale meaning waste ; in Cheshire Lancashire and Yorkshire the word spelt sweale is often used for the wasteful guttering of a candle, so it is probable that Q's only error was in the misreading of Stanley's e_5 as *v* (p. 275) thus making the correct rendering **enswal'd** (squandered). Indeed line 11 may be taken as a perfect image of the lady's magical charm for evil, figuring the age-long superstitious practice of deeply injuring an enemy by magic i.e. by making a wax effigy (' likeness ') and causing it to waste away by heat. Q's ' leaues ' (11) is then simply a N.W. 2nd pers. singular.

142 (M, 1588). No *S*-lines.

Q's abnormally high spelling deviation (29·6%) and the contents plainly indicate the early date of this Sonnet, which apparently followed the playful pair **135, 136** after an interval of unsuccessful wooing ; for disappointment is clearly reflected in the words used. But there is evidence that the hasty copyist has (again) wrongly repeated words caught from lines just above or below ; first in ' sinne ' (2) which should probably be **suit,** second in ' it ' (4) instead of the alliterative **mine** and third in ' pitty ' (12) instead of some such word as **lightness** i.e. levity, as in *Measure for measure,* II, 2, 170. In line 9, where " Be it " should be written **Be't** as in **120,** ' lawful ' has the sense justifiable as in *L.L.L.* IV, 3, 285, and ' self-example ' (14) of course means his precedent ; while the reference to " beds' revénues " (so accented in the Canon 10 times out of 25) implies that she was injuring brothel houses by enticing away paying men frequenters. [As Sonnet **152** shows that she was married, it is possible that, having been discarded by her husband for infidelity, she had then taken on a job as barmaid ; but from beginning to end she was indifferent to Stanley who, after **142,** probably kept her in luxury for three years, during which she was sometimes unfaithful to him, no doubt preferring younger men like S'ham, as indicated by Sonnet **138** especially the ***P.P.*** version.]

143 (M, 1588). No *S*-lines.

The word ' *Will* ' (13) of this flippant message has often been construed into the name of some other William (even the woman's husband) because of the context and the word ' hope ' (11). But the point is ambiguous, and it is more likely having regard to **135** and **136** that *Will* means Stanley or merely the lady's wish, as Lee thought, or both.

144 (no addressee, 1591). No *S*-lines.

It is absurd to suppose that **144** was borrowed from Drayton's 20th in *Idea* (though the reverse is conceivable) for the resemblance is only superficial. But the soliloquy may be taken to represent suspicions about an incident in real life, that is the seduction of the poet's mistress (p. 322), for here again it is the woman, not the ' man ' [S'ham] who is blamed. The version in *P.P.* is less different from Q's than is the case with **138** ; but with **144** both versions are slightly corrupt and Q's ' sight ' (6) has already been changed to ' side ' of *P.P.* The play on the words ' devil,' ' angel ' and ' hell ' can only be understood by reference to Boccaccio's *Decameron* (10th story of 3rd day).

145 (Mary Fitton, 1597). One *S*-line **145,** 10 ; one optional **145,** 11.

This is the only one retained of four Sonnets (**43, 89, 128, 145**) conjecturally assigned to Mary Fitton in *S.S.*, and even this is pure surmise, though the trivial playful vein of the octo-syllabic verse would suit her, say when she was 19 flirting with a grass-widower twice her age. It cannot be early like the M-sonnets, for despite flippancy a date about 1597 is consistent not only with the *S*-value but with the relatively modern spelling and unusually low deviation (14·3%) of Q. The juxtaposition of such utterly different Sonnets as **144** and **145** may have been suggested to Thorpe by the word ' fiend ' in common.

146 (No addressee, 1590). No *S*-lines. [**M** in *S.S.*].

Another illustration of Thorpe's incompetence, which once misled the present writer into thinking that this Sonnet was in the M-sequence, when more likely it was associated with the fear of death and so appertains to the convalescence sequence **73** etc. (p. 312). This fine apostrophe to the soul is a piece of mysticism whose essence is summed up in the closing couplet, where *a priori* reasoning ordains that the soul, unable to thrive while it is in the body, i.e. ' mansion ' (6), is really nourished by death which destroys mankind so that ' death,' the personification of line 14, having been devoured, the soul can now achieve immortality. Of all the many instances of hasty copying, presumably by Hall, the gross error in Q's line 2 is the most eloquent. that is where the words " my sinfull earth " of line 1 begin line 2. Many emendments have been proposed for the lost words (" Fool'd by," " King of " etc.), all conjectural, but the writer suggests the single dissyllabic alliterative word **Repel,** on the grounds that ' array ' doubly means clothe and threaten. The word ' aggrauat ' (Q, 10) has the same meaning (p. 328) as ' agreuate ' in *Edward III* (II, 1, 441).

147 (M, 1591). No *S*-lines ; one optional 147, 1.

This is believed to be the last message to his Mistress prior to rupture in the Spring of 1591. Before ' Desire ' (8) ' that ' is understood, and scansion of line 12 requires that ' vainly ' should come before ' from.'

148 (M, 1591). No *S*-lines.

Apparently written about the same time as **137,** the Sonnet reveals similar disillusionment showing that his eyes, if blinded by tears, were at last open to his Mistress's infidelities. His friends were right (Sonnets **150** and **152**).

149 (D, 1597). One *S*-line **149, 7.**

Thorpe may have placed this Sonnet after **148** owing to similarity in desperation and because the word ' blind is found in the final couplets of both. The high spelling deviation (22%) also might suggest early date, but as with several other D-Sonnets it must be attributed to the first scribe (p. 301) who copied **149,** for the theme is not the poet's love-blindness but her roving eyes (line 12) while the style maturity and *S*-line indicate a later date than the M-Sonnets, from which moreover, as in the case of the **139, 140** pair with similar theme, the difference in tone is profound. **149** probably followed them after an interval ; the last passionate protest to the young Countess of Derby, who had now (justly as she thought) accused her husband of want of love. There should be a comma before and after ' forgot ' (3) and after ' see ' (14), also interrogation note after ' despise ' (10) ; also the following emendments are necessary :—**o'er** for ' of ' (4), **Where** (originally wher) for ' When ' (11) as in **44,** 10 and the appropriate **worsen** (make the worse) for ' worship ' (11). The new word " Where " refers to ' service ' (10) and ' Commanded ' (12) to ' best ' (feelings). In the unreal exaggeration of lines 13 and 14 where ' love ' (person) and ' hate ' are bitterly antithetical, the word ' see ' implies admiringly i.e. by the ' gazers ' again of **96.**

[Reading ' between the lines ' of the Sonnets assigned to her, before and after marriage, we may gather that the Countess of Derby was adorably beautiful (**93,** etc.) but that, courting adulation (**84** etc.), she continually tempted men by ' wantonness ' (**96**), especially in the use of her eyes. This indeed is the burden of the charges brought in **139, 140** and **149,** and we may doubt whether she ever truly loved her husband or appreciated his genius. She proudly and disdainfully (**140**) resented his unreasoning jealousy, founded as it was however on her ' sport ' (flirtations) which had gone to the length of prompting " lascivious comments " (**95**) by some ' tongue ' (perhaps Raleigh's). Before Stanley became Earl she would no doubt have preferred S'ham (**88** etc.) ; she not only tried to break faith with Stanley during his absence, but she had previously objected (**22**) to his age, lack of prospects (**25, 91**) and even ' lameness ' (**89**). At times (though the word must not be taken literally) she avowed that she hated him (**89, 90, 117, 149**) or naggingly accused him of neglecting her (**102, 115, 117**) in various ways, suggestive perhaps of horse-racing as well as play-writing ; he defending himself by protestations of undiminished love (**115, 116, 123, 124**). And yet at other times she failed as a young wife to satisfy his love, owing to her ' dulness ' (**56**) or possibly sleepiness. To one of her caprice he must have been a very trying husband. apprehensive of her honour and even a ' tyrant ' (**120**), during the wild scenes which culminated after " Siren tears " (**119**) in a " night of woe " (**120**)].

150 (M, 1591). No *S*-lines. (**D** in *S.S.*).

The despair in this Sonnet, as in **149,** and the (probably fortuitous) low spelling deviation (12·7%) suggesting late date are deceptive indications of linkage, and **150** is now included in the M-series partly because it is rhyme-linked with both **148** (' sight '—' aright '—' might ') and **131** (' deeds '—' proceeds '—' exceeds ') where there is also linkage in sense, but mainly because of the implication in the words ' refuse ' (6) and ' abhor ' (11). For the words " what others do abhor " clearly link with the ' slander ' of the M-Sonnet **131** and deprecation, by the ' world,' of **148** ; in fact all three Sonnets (**131, 150, 148**), near the end of the *liaison,* prove that the poet's friends regarded his mistress as disreputable.

151 (M, 1588). No *S*-lines ; two optional **151, 5, 7.** [No addressee in *S.S.*].

In this obviously early, playfully erotic, Sonnet (which is badly out of place and may have marked the occasion when the ' dark lady ' at last accepted him) the word ' Love ' (1) means the babe Cupid and ' conscience ' (1 and 13) no doubt means moral sense but in line 2, as often elsewhere in the Canon, it apparently means inmost private thought. Also " gentle cheater " (3) doubly implies Cupid and his new mistress, as shown by the subsequent ' thy,' ' thou ' and ' thee ' i.e. ' Her ' of line 14. ' He ' (11) refers to the euphemism ' flesh ' (8), but the word ' pride ' (10) is probably a mistake for **prize** (i.e. repeated).

152 (M, 1591). No *S*-lines.

Deliberate word repetition in this, taken as the penultimate Sonnet of the M-series, is very marked, and the text is corrupt. As to meaning, the word ' of ' in lines 9 and 10 shows that though now disgusted the poet had defended her against the calumnies of his friends, that the oaths in which he was ' forsworn ' were these protestations as well as earlier vows to her. The fact that she was " twice forsworn," first by breach of her marriage troth (' bed-vow ') and second by faithlessness to him, indicates that ' new ' (3) is a mis-reading of **now** ; and the second copyist, presumably Hall (p. 303), having made this mistake has (here again) wrongly caught it below as the second word ' new ' in line 4, as he has caught ' In ' (4) from above. The correct words were probably **once** and **By** respectively. He or the original scribe also wrote ' enlighten ' (Q, 11 ' inlighten '), a word found nowhere else in the Canon, instead of the likely word **entitle,** which has the double meaning of dignify and confirm (i.e. in the ' love ' etc. of line 10). The word ' misuse ' (7) means vilify and ' gave ' (11) gave away. Q's ' eye ' (13) has rightly been changed to ' I.'

153, 154 (problematical addressee, 1590). No *S*-lines ; one optional **154,** 11.

Though both Sonnets mention a mistress (then as now an ambiguous word) these two differ sharply from the M-series. Hertzberg pointed out that the Cupid-bath conceit in this pair was originally Greek i.e. Byzantine (Marianus), but though Latin and Italian versions existed, there were no English translations. There is however nothing in these sources about the curing of disease, so that the cure-image rather suggests that the two Sonnets were written during a visit to Bath, and were not indebted (as Lee supposed) to Giles Fletcher's *Licia* (1593) ; because while the spelling deviation (21·8%) and optional *S*-line are consistent with such a date the idea of cure is far from parallel with *Licia.* It was Pemberton (following Steevens) who pointed out that Q's words " vallie-fountaine " (**153,** 4) probably indicated Bath, as indeed is confirmed by the two fairly obvious allusions to its hot springs. Line **154,** 5 recalls the ' votaress ' of *M.N.D.* (II, 1, 123), and Greenwood, noting the essential difference between the amorous nymphs of Marianus's Epigram and the ' chaste ' nymphs of **154,** 3, linked " The fairest votary " with " the imperial votaress " in the same Play (II, 1, 163), because " Cupid's fiery shaft " was similarly quenched ; from which he reasonably concluded that the Greek Epigram was adapted to suit Queen Elizabeth and her Maids of Honour.

According to Nichol's *Progresses* (Vol III) the Queen visited Bath in 1592 but the date was discredited by Emanuel Green (*Proc. Bath Field Club,* 1881, IV, 114) though Collinson (*History of Somerset*) and Warner had stated that she paid a visit in 1591 when she was staying with her godson Sir John Harington at Kelston near to ; statements however which were partly founded on tradition, and the Queen's Summer movements in 1591 including Elvetham (p. 74) preclude Bath. She was certainly there in 1574 and may have been in September 1590 when she granted a Charter to Bath, though Thomas Phelippes had written on 1st August that she was going no further than Windsor. Stanley was in London that Summer, having left Lancashire in June (p. 23), and (much later as the Earl of Derby) he is known to have favoured Bath ; so it is not impossible that with the Queen and courtiers he was there in 1590 and as " I my Mistrisse thrall " actually addressed Sonnet **154** to her, also **153** to one of the ladies, the ' mistres ' of lines 9 and 14. All the circumstances, including the significant word ' guest ' (**153,** 12), justify writing ' bath ' at least in line **153,** 11 **Bath,** but Tyler's change of Q's ' strang ' (8) to strong is unwarranted ; the spelling, which is a variant of ' straing ' as written by Hand D and also found in *A Louers complaint* (Q, line 303), is simply one more example of Stanley's peculiar habit (p. 85) of clipping final *e.*

GLOSSARY.

abuse, 4, 42, 134, misuse
aggravate, 146, increase weight
allow, 19, 112, approve
amiss, 35, 151, fault
anticipate, 118, forestall
appeal, 117 (as sb.), plea
approve, 42, 70, 147, prove
astonished, 86, stunned
becoming of, 127, 150, gracing
bend, 88, 90, 116, 143, incline
bevel, 121, crooked
blenches, 110, aberrations
bravery, 34, splendour
canker-blooms, 54, dog-rose
captain, 52 (as adj.), chief
carcanet, 52, necklace
censure (as vb.), 148, judge
character, 59, 85, 108, writing
conceit, 15, 26, 108, conception
convert, 14 (vb. intr.), change over
counterfeit, 16, 53, portrait
crime, 19, 58, 120, heavy fault
date (often), time period
dateless, 30, 153, eternal
dear (often), precious, extreme
determinate, 87, ended
eager, 118, acid, sour
endeared, 31, made dearer
ensconce, 49, fortify
expense, 30, 94, 129, expenditure
expiate, 22, end
extant, 83, outstanding
eysell, 111, vinegar
fair (often, as sb.), beauty
fair (often, as adj.), fine
fairing, 127, beautifying
fame, 84 (as vb.), make famous
famoused, 25 (adj.), famous
favour, 25, 113, grace
feasts, 52, festivals
fell, 64, 74 (adj.), cruel
fil'd, 85, polished
fitted, 119, distracted
foison, 53, harvest
fond, 3, 84, foolish
for (often), because
forsworn, 88, 152, perjured
friend (often), lover (either sex)
gaze, 5 (as sb.), object gazed at
ghastly, 27, ghostly
gored, 110, stabbed
green, 12, 68 (as sb.), freshness
grief, 28, 40, 42, 50, 90, grievance
gust, 114, taste
happies, 6 (vb.), makes happy
his (often), its i.e. neuter
hue, 20, 67, 98, 104, colour (not form)
impeached, 125, accused
impression, 112, imprint
jacks, 128, virginal keys (music)
lace, 67, embellish
latch, 113, lay hold of
leese, 5, lose
limbec, 119, alembic (a still)
lover (often), devotee (either sex)
main, 60, 64, 80, full flood
makeless, 9, mateless
mark, 116, beacon
misprision, 87, misapprehension
modern, 83, trite, commonplace
moiety, 46, portion
o'erlook, 82, look over
on (often), of
or (often), either
owe, 70, own
painful, 25, painstaking
partake, 149, take part of
passion, 20, strong feeling
patent, 87, authority
perspective, 24, illusion (optical)
posting, 51, getting horse relays
prevent, 100, 118, anticipate
prick'd, 20, marked (erotic word play)
rack, 33, driving cloud
rare, 56, 130, fine
reasons, 89, arguments
rehearse, 21, 71, 81, reckon up
remembered, 120 (vb. tr.), reminded
reserve, 32, 85, preserve
respect, 149 (vb.), care for
revolt, 92, inconstancy
rondure, 21, rotundity
seat, 41, 105, abode
separable, 36, separating
several, 137, enclosed field
shadow (often), image, reflection
state (often), condition, circumstance
stell'd, 24, fixed
stick, 10, stop
store (often, as sb.), abundance
strumpeted, 66, debauched
suborn'd, 125, perjured
subscribe, 107, submit
suggest, 144, tempt
suspect, 70 (as sb.), suspicion
swart, 28, swarthy, dark
tables, 122, tablet book
tend, 53, 57, attend
tires, 53, attires
true (often), constant
trust, 23, confidence
truth (often), constancy
twire, 28, twinkle, peep
unear'd, 3, uncropped
unfair, 5 (as vb.), deface
unrespected, 43, 54, unnoticed
warrantise, 150, authorisation
wit, 23, 140, acute wisdom.

INDEX

**** *Royal personages are listed under their Christian names ; Dukes, Earls, Lords and their wives (ladies first) generally under their titles ; Knights, their wives and untitled persons under their surnames. William Stanley is therefore listed only under Derby, 6th E. of, but his brother Ferdinando (5th E. of Derby) is found under his more familiar title, Strange, Lord ; his wife being included under Derby, Countess of (5th) as well as Strange, Lady (before 1593) and Ellesmere, Lady (after 1603). Elizabeth de Vere is found under Derby, Countess of (6th) and also Vere before marriage (1595) ; her Uncle, later E. of Salisbury, is under his more familiar name, Cecil, Sir Robert ; and Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Alban is listed under Bacon, Sir Francis. Subject matter is listed under the most significant word and acting companies under A. Through lack of space many names (commentators etc.) and subjects of smaller consequence to the general thesis are omitted, as well as the numerous citations of Plays, after Chap. IX, for parallels and frequencies.* **Thick type indicates principal references where there are several.**

Acheson (*Willobie his Avisa*), 56-7
Acting company, Lord Admiral's, 119, 204
——, Lord Chamberlain's, 71, 121, 131, 190, 197-8, **204-5**, 213
——, Derby's (6th E. of), 32-3, 121, 184, **206**
——, Essex's (2nd E. of), 17, 204-5
——, Lord Hereford's, 32, 70, 206
——, King's (James I), 109, 121, **135**, 205, 213
——, Leicester's (E. of), 17, 71, **118**, **204-5**
——, Oxford's (17th E. of), 204
——, Pembroke's (2nd E of), 119, 181, **189**, 204
——, Queen's (Elizabeth), 17, **204-6**, 217, 226
——, Lord Strange's, 17, 23, 103, 118-9, 189, **204-8**, 213, 217
——, Sussex's (5th E. of), 189, 204
Actors, low status of, 107, 113, 120, 158, **204**, 299
Acts of succession (1536, 1544), **14-8**, **25**, 47, 49
"Addition"—see *Sir Thomas More*
Aeneas and Dido, 15, 70, 80
'Aetion' (Wm. Stanley), **51-2**, 58, 236, 238, **266**
Allen, Cardinal, 19, 21, 25
Alleyn, Edward, **58**, 107, 128, 204
Alliteration formula (a_p and a_l), 176-7
All's well that ends well, 81, 160, 162, 206, **242**, **261**
Allusions, veiled, 53-5
'Amaryllis' (Lady Strange), 51, 266
'Amyntas' (Lord Strange), 20, **51-2**, 266
Anachronisms (Clifford and Derby), 179, 184-5, 221-2
Ancram, E. of (Robt. Kerr), 33, 54, 84
Angers (Angiers), 21, **182**, **225**, 232
Anne, Queen (James I's wife), 32, 69
——, Boleyn (Henry VIII's wife), **13**, 200-1, 308
Antony and Cleopatra, 55, 81, 203
Apocryphal Plays, 161, 170, 172, 177, **206-230**, 231
Arc, Joan of, 80, 232
Arden, forest of, 63
Arden of Feversham, 220, **230**
Aristotelian philosophy, 76, 144, 146
Armada (1588), 17-8, 221, 246, 292
Arundel, E. of, Philip Howard, 16, 292
'Astrofell' (Sir Philip Sidney), 52, **237**, 261
Astrology (Shakespeare and Wm. Stanley), **18**, **39**, **40**, 182, 233
Astronomy (Shakespeare and Bacon), 145
As you like it, 41, 81, **121**, 155, 160, 162, 169
Aubrey traditions (Shakspere), 57, 104, 108
Audeley, Thomas, **28**, 87
Avisa (*Willobie his*), **55-8**, 92, **196**, **254-5**, 300, 319
A. W. Poems, **49**, **237**, **260-4**
Bacon, Sir Francis, 2-3, **6-7**, 58, 68, 73, 82, 87, 99, **135**, **139-150**, 165, 171, 177, 251, 261-2, 283-4, 291-2, **295-8**
——, character, 7, 142-4
——, cipher claims for, 139, 142, 150
——, E. of Essex, and, 143, 148
——, facts forbidding Shakespeare-identity, 7, **140-4**, 251, 265, 283, 289
——, and Folio (1623), 135, 139, 150
——, handwriting, 140, 255, 276, **283-4**, **289**
——, *Henry VII*, 7, 140-1
——, inductive reasoning, 3, 139, 144
——, Jonson, Ben, and, 135, 144
——, Northumberland MS. in, 140, 149, **291-2**, **295-8**
——, *Novum organum* etc., 135, 144, 146
——, philosophy, 144-6
——, poetry of, 141-2
——, *Promus*, 6, 85, 140, **149**, 283
——, relatives, 147
——, Wm Stanley, relations with, **147-150**, 292, 296-8
Baconian theory, 2, 7, **139-150**, 291
Balaam and his ass, 72
Ballads (Stanley), **12-3**, 22, 27, **89**, 140, 251
Barnfield, Richard, 28, 38, 95, 177, 228, **250-3**
Basse, William, 124, 127, 130
Bath, 33, 327
Batillus, **48**, 59, 127, 131, **212**
Beauchamp, Lord, Henry Seymour, 25, 47, 74
Beaufort, Margaret—see Richmond, Duchess of
Beaumont, Francis, 117, 131, 170
Bedford, Countess of (3rd), Lucy Harrington, 27
Bedford, 3rd E. of, Edward Russell, 27
Belleforest, François de, 70, 118
Belmont (Italy), 64
Belvidere, 20
Bidston (Wirral, Cheshire), 10, 17, **31**, 34, 40, **94**, 251
Biron, Maréchal, Charles de, 30, **66**
Birth of Merlin, 161, **230**
Blackfriars theatre, 129, 131
Boccaccio, Giovanni, 118, 261, 321, 325
Bosworth, battle of, 7, 11, **141**
Bourbon, Catherine de, 22, 67
——, Henri de—see Henri IV
Brandon, Eleanor, 14, 25, **47**
——, Frances, 25, 47
Brandon, Charles—see Suffolk, Duke of
Bray, Sir Denis, 300-1, 305
Brereton, Humphry, 12, 140
——, Sir Randall, 29, 92

Breton, Nicholas, 75, 172, 211, **244-5**, 261-2, 264, 266
Brittain's Ida, **239-241**, 247, 253, 266
Brooke, Tucker, **207**, 213, 226-8, 290
Brunswick, D. of, 248
Buckingham, D. of, Geo. Villiers, 143
Burbage, Richard, 105-9, **115**, 120, 125, 131, 204
——, William and Cuthbert, 131
Burghley, Lord, Wm. Cecil, 24, **26-7**, 29, 30, 70, 72, **87**, 89, **147**, 165, 270, 300
Burgoyne, F. J., 291-5, 298
Burgundy, D. of (Lille letter), 80, 182, 232

Caine, P. W., **24**, 29, 31, 34, 94
Calligraphic dimensions and structure, 282-3, 287, 289
Capital frequency defined, 161
Carey, Lady, Elizabeth Spencer—see Hunsdon, Lady
Carey, Sir George—see Hunsdon, Lord
——, Robert (later E. of Monmouth), 51
Carleton, Sir Dudley, 33
Cecil, Sir Robert, 24, 26, 28-30, 33, 70-1, **84-5**, 89, **95-6, 98-9**, 142, 147-8, 270
Centurie of prayse (Ingleby), 116
Chamberlain, John (letter writer), 27, 29, 33
Chambers, Sir E. K., **71**, 74, 147, 206
Chandos portrait (Shakspere), 122, 124-5
Channon Row, Westminster, 17, 22, **26**, 89, 98, 235, 303
Chapman, George, 100, 162-3, 170, **190**, 201, **313**, 321
Charles I, 33, 35-6
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 58, 85, 166, **199**, 254
Chelsea, 53, 230, 262
Chester Cathedral, 10, 41, 93
Chester, links with Shakespeare, **66-8, 70-2**, 80-1, 157, 191, 210
——, Plays and Pastorals, 15, 66-7, **70-2**, 80-1, 136, 191, 206
Chester, Robert, 163-4
Chettle, Henry, 49, 112, **114**, 147
Cicero, M. Tullius, 46, 319
Clarence, George Duke of, 25, 49
Clifford anachronism (*Contention*), 179, 233
Clifford, Anne—see Dorset, Countess of (3rd)
Clifford, Margaret—see Derby, Countess of (4th)
Cliffords—see Cumberland, Earls of
Cobham, Lord, Wm. Brooke, 22, 28, 64-5
Coke, Sir Edward, 62, 82, 87, 106, **143**, 145, **149**
Colin Clouts come home againe, 20, **51-2**, 152, 236, 248, 266
Comedy of errors, 107, 148, 160, 162, 167, 170, 172, **191**
'Companion' = consort, 45
Compton and Mounteagle, Lady, Anne Spencer, 235
Compton, Wm., Lord (later E. of Northampton), 27, 87
Condell, Henry, 108, **127-131, 159**, 164, 204, 227
Conference about next succession, 25-6, 97, 136, 148
Constantinople (Wm. Stanley), 91
Contention Plays, **112-3**, 119, 170-1, 175-6, **178-182**, 217-8, 226, 231-3
Conversions, treatise of the three, 25, 42
Copernicus, Nicolaus, 145-6
Coriolanus, **146**, 188, 206, 227
Cosmogony (Bacon and Shakespeare), 145-6
'Cources' (E. of Cumberland), 87-8
Cranmer, Thomas (Archbp. of Canterbury), 200-1
Criteria of genuineness, 100, **168-178**
Cumberland, Countess of (2nd), Eleanor Brandon, 14, **25, 47**
——, —— (3rd), Margaret Russell, 235
Cumberland, 2nd E of, Henry Clifford, 14, 18, **47, 101**
——, 3rd E. of, George Clifford, 27-8, 30, **74**, 84, **86-8, 96, 128, 148, 235, 246-8**, 266
——, 4th E. of, Francis Clifford, 33
Curtain theatre, 131, 181, 205
Cymbeline, **53, 64**, 84, **94, 146, 172, 203**

Cynthia (Barnfield), 252-3
'Cynthia' Lyric, 49, **246-9**, 266

D'Alençon (d'Anjou), duc, Francis, 15, 45, **65, 67**, 295
Daniel, P. A., 79, **183**, 194, 196
——, Samuel, 32, 52, **130**, 132, 234, 245
Date list (Plays), 203
—— (Poems), 264-5
—— (Sonnets), 302
Davenant, John, 56-7
——, Sir William, **56-7**, 104, 118, **121**, 124, 126
Davies, John, of Hereford, 7, 20, **43-8**, 54, 58, 60, **72-3**, 88, 116, 134, 141-2, 262, **296-8**
——, Epigram to Bacon 141-2
——, Epigram to Will Shake-speare, 43
Davies, Sir John, 43, 141, 257
Davison (*Poetical Rapsodie*), 237, 246-8, 259, **260-265**, 311
Dedications (*V. and A.* and *Lucrece*), **86**, 119, **120**, 307, 313
Deductive reasoning (*a priori*), **3, 78, 114, 116-7**, 144, **159**, 191, 231, 299
Dee, Dr. John, 9, 27-8, **40**, 68, **75-6, 91**, 313
Dee, River, 15, 32-3, **157**, 231
Dekker, Thomas, 132-3, 226-7, 252, **284-290**
Denmark, 63, 69, **71**, 210
Derby anachronisms (Plays), 184-5, 221-2
Derby, Countess of (3rd), Dorothy Howard, 13, 262
Derby, Countess of (4th), Margaret Clifford, **14-5**, 18, **25**, 28, 40, **47**, 49, **95**, 101-2, 201, 246, 297
Derby, Countess of (5th), Alice Spencer (see also Strange), **18, 20**, 23-4, 25-9, 31-2, 44, 46, **51**, 73, 75, 87, 89, **149**, 165, 204, **235-8, 266**, 298
Derby, Countess of (6th), Elizabeth de Vere (see also Vere), 13, 24, **26-33**, 50, 69, **71-4**, 84, 88, 96, 99, 147, **165-6**, 196, 300, 306-21, **326**
—— , addressee of Sonnets (after marriage), 310, 315-6, 318-320, 324, **326**
——, flirtatiousness, 95, 315, 326
——, husband's "prodigal courses," **69, 87-8**, 96, 319
——, intolerant of drama, 32, 69, **72, 96**
——, marital stresses, 28-9, 95-6, 315, **319**, 326
Derby, Countess of (7th), Charlotte de La Trémoille, 33-4, 36, 135, 228
Derby, 1st E. of, Thomas Stanley, 7, **11**, 12, 16, 35, 80, **141**
Derby, 2nd E. of, Thomas Stanley, 12, 119
Derby, 3rd E. of, Edward Stanley, **13-4**, 16, 147, 201, 230
Derby, 4th E. of, Henry Stanley, **14-8**, 22, 47, 88, 90, 102, 147, 211
Derby, 5th E. of, Ferdinando Stanley—see Strange, Lord
Derby, 6th E. of, William Stanley, *passim*
——, abdication of rights, 31, 33-4, 98
——, adopted name (supposed), 147-8
——, Action (Spenser), **52**, 236, 238, **266**
——, amateur actor, 45, **88-9**, 298
——, ambition for throne, 19, 87
——, ancestors, 9-17, 80, **101-2**
——, annotation of books, 96-7
——, astrology and magic, **39, 40, 76**, 81, 182, 233
——, author of Comedies, **30**, 37, **189**, 209, 216, **236-7**
——, author of Plays, 30, 37, 118-9, **207-233**
——, author of Poems, 8, 49, **241-5, 247-260, 263-6**
——, biographical sketch, 20-36, 89-99
——, capital frequency 161, 289, 290
——, catholicity of interests, 32, **38-41**, 88-94, **97**
——, challenge concerning wife, **95**, 271
—— character, 94-99
——, Chester connections, 15-17, 22-3, 29, 31-35, **41, 67, 70**, 72, **93**, 136, **157, 191, 210**
——, children, **33-4**, 202
——, clemency, 97-8

Derby, 6th Earl of, company of players, 32, 121, 184, **206**
——, concealment, reasons for, 48-50
——, concordances (Plays), **61-82,** 182, **185, 187,** 189, 191, 196, 198-9, 201-2, **209-211,** 216-7, 221-2, 225-6, **229, 231-3**
——, Constantinople, 91
——, Dee, Dr., 27-8, **40,** 75-6, 91
——, Donne, John, E of D, 54-5
——, drama devotion to, 8, 30, **32,** 37, **69,** 72, 97, 121, 205-6, 217
——, early life, 14-17, 20-24, **89-92**
——, education, 17, 21, 37-8, **41, 90,** 93, **147,** 150
——, Elvetham, **71-75,** 196, 253, 307, 313-4, 319, **320**
——, emotional stresses, **28-32,** 75, 79, 81, 87, **91-6, 149,** 202
——, epitaphs, 52-3
——, estates, 26, 31
——, falconry and hunting, 23, 40, 233
——, financial stresses, 26, **29,** 81, 92, 98-9, **149,** 202, 292, 296, 298
——, Folio, hypothetical part in, 135
——, friar's disguise, 91, 216, 233
——, friends and relatives, **17,** 23, 84, 87, **211**
——, generosity, 29, 31, **34,** 98, 201
——, Gray's Inn student, 21, 37, 39, 136, **147-8,** 150, 194
——, handwriting, 96, 140, 227-9, **255-6,** 266, **269-290,** 293-4, 297
——, horse racing, 33-4, 40, **94,** 97, **294-6,** 298, 326
——, inheritance suit, 26, 31, **149,** 292, **296-8**
——, Isle of Man, 10, **23-4,** 29, **31,** 39, **62,** 95, 98, 119, 211, 305, 307, **309,** 310, 312, 314-6, 318
——, Italy, 64, **91,** 191, 203
——, jealousy of wife, **28-9, 95,** 199, 270, 315, **319,** 326
——, justice, sense of, 96-7
——, K.G., **30, 54,** 79, 199
——, Knight, "Sir William Stanley," 22, 74, **89, 251,** 253, 265-6, **320**
——, law, expert in, 24, **39,** 84, 148, 233, 309
——, learning, 37-8, 41, 90, **93,** 150
——, legal title to throne, **15,** 25, 47
——, legal Hand (D.l H.), 251, 256, **271,** 273-8, 280-3, 287
——, limp (supposed), **126,** 308, 314
——, Lincoln's Inn, 147-8
——, letters (epistles), 84-6, 270-287
——, Lloyd, Richard, 21, 64, **66-8,** 90, 232
——, *Lover's complaint,* 157
——, Mæcenas of Muses, 38
——, magnanimity, 95-7
——, marital stresses, **28-9,** 54, 79, 81, **95-6,** 199, 270, 315, **319,** 326
——, military experience, 17, 23, **39,** 81, 90, 198, 233
——, modesty of disposition, 86, 96
——, mother—see Derby, Countess of (4th)
——, music, devotion to, 33, 41, 97, 233
——, nicknames, 57, 88-9
——, nieces, **18,** 26, 29, 31, 33, **149**
——, Northumberland M.S., in, 140, **292-8**
——, Oxford, E. of, and—see Oxford, 17th E. of
——, Oxford University student, **17,** 21, 148, 206
——, Parsons' choice for throne, **25-6,** 43, 49, 72, 93
——, pen-name incognito, 8, **46, 59,** 119, 128, **147-8,** 297, 303
——, *Phœnix and the turtle,* 164-6
——, players, solicitude for, **69,** 70, 96, 308
——, politics, indifference to, 38, 99
——, portrait, 125-6
——, pretender to throne, **25-6,** 31, 47, 49, 294, 296
——, Prince, a, 18, 294-6, 298
——, "prodigal courses," **69, 87-8,** 96, 319
——, Queen, and, 26-7, 29, 38, 45, **49-51,** 79, 92, 95, **216-7, 304**
Derby, 6th Earl of, supposed betrothal, **24, 26, 45, 72-5,** 87, 148, **165-6,** 206, 308-9, **311, 314, 317-8**
——, Raleigh, and, **27,** 30, 87, 248, 260, 296, **313, 319, 320**
——, religion, 85, 93
——, repeat index (*p*) 172
——, Russia, 33, 66, **91,** 216
——, sea, knowledge of, 39, **77,** 187, 233
——, seclusion habits, **21,** 29, 30, **32-4,** 81, 93, **99,** 202, 238
——, Shakespearian style, 85-6
——, Shakspere, his probable agent, **118-9,** 121, **134,** 226, 267
——, Sonnets, writer of, 299-328
——, sorcery (mother's experience), 15, 40, 179
——, Southampton, E. of, and, 12, 23, 27, 29, 30, **33,** 56-8, 87, **119, 120,** 255, **300,** 303, 305-317, 319, 320-1
——, Spanish escape, 91, 216
——, spelling deviation and habits, **85,** 174-5, **227,** 229, **289, 290**
——, Spenser, Edmund, links with, 51-2, **235-8, 248,** 253, 265-6, 307
——, sport, devotion to, 23, 33-4, **40, 94,** 97, **294-6,** 233, 298, 326
——, statesmanship, 38, 62, 97, 233
——, testimonials by, 95, 98, **238, 242-4,** 310
——, travels, 21-2, 64-8, 71, 81, **90-1,** 182, 187, 191, 203, 233
——, wedding, **27, 71,** 75, 147-8
——, Welsh affiliation, **10, 29,** 64, 80, 164
——, Will Sonnets, 5, 7, 140, 245, **322-3**
——, "Willy" (Spenser's), 51, 58, 189, **235-8,** 241, 266
——, wisdom, 93, 97-8
——, 'W.S.,' as, 8, 49, **54-8,** 60, 94, 140, 196, **241-5, 254,** 259, **266**
——, W S Poems, writer of, 8, 94, 140, **241-8, 266**
——, *y*-spelling Index, *Ia,* 154, 227, 290
Derby, 7th E of, James Stanley, **33-6,** 62, **93-4,** 99, 162
Derby, 8th or subsequent Earls of, 31, 62, 93, **135-6,** 294
Desmond, last E of, Gerald Fitzgerald, 88, 292
Deviation formula (spelling), 175
Devonshire, E. of (lapsed), the Courtenays, **55,** 292
——, E of—see Mountjoy, Lord
Digges, Leonard, 124, 127, 136
D.l H (Derby's legal Hand), 251, 256, **271,** 273-8, 280-3, 287
Doleman, R. (Robert Parsons), 25, 42-3, 136
Doncaster, Viscount, John Hay, 55
Donne, John, **54,** 58, 127, 165
Dorrell, Hadrian, **55-8,** 60, 303
Dorset, Countess of (2nd), Anne Spencer—see Compton and Mounteagle, Lady
—— ——, (3rd), Anne Clifford, 31-2, **55,** 128, 235
Dorset, Earls of (Sackvilles), 32, **54-5,** 128, 292
Dorset, Marquis of, Henry Grey—see Suffolk, D. of
Dowdall (Stratford gossip), 104, 108
Dowland, John, 41, 211, 246, **251-3,** 264-6
——, Robert, 246, 248, 264-5
'Dowland' Sonnet, 140, **250-3,** 265-6
Drayton, Michael, 58, 132, 234
Droeshout engraving, 125, 130-1
Drummond, William, 132, 134
Dryden, John, 1, 124, 185
Duck, William (keeper), 94, 97
Dudley, Lord, 5th, Edward Sutton, 23, 87
——, John—see Northumberland, D. of
——, Robert—see Leicester, E. of
Dugdale, Sir William, 52, 122-125
Dyer, Sir Edward, 238, 261

Eagle (crest of Earls of Derby), 10, 12, 52, 164
Eagle tower, Lathom, 10, 12, 36, 52, 135
***Edward II*, 170-1, 175, 179, 219**
Edward III, 10, 179, 221
***Edward III*, 119, 185, 210, 217-222, 231-3, 311, 315, 325**
Edward IV, 10-12, 49, 102, 141, 179
Edward VI, 13, 15, 49
Egerton, Sir John, 20, 31, 94
Egypt (Wm. Stanley), 91
Elizabeth (dau. of James I), 32, 76
Elizabeth Queen of England, 14-6, 18-9, 26, 31, 38, 40, 44-51, 71-5, 77, 79, 84, 88, 92, 101, 107, 119, 142, 148, 164-6, 190, 196, 215-7, 238, 240-1, 246, 248, 259, 292, 294, 296, 300, 304, 308-9, 311, 313-4, 317-8, 327
——, betrothal (supposed), 24, 26, 45, 72-5, 165-6, 206, 308-9, 314, 317-8
——, Derby, 6th E. of, and, 26-7, 29, 38, 45, 49-51, 79, 92, 95, 216-7, 304
——, Elvetham, and, 71-5, 240, 253, 307, 313-4, 319, 320, 327
——, Essex, E. of, and, 30, 45, 50, 73, 88, 143, 148, 164-5, 248
——, "Kinge," 45, 165
——, persecution of Wm. Stanley's mother, 15, 95
——, *Phœnix and the turtle*, 164-6
——, *Richard II*, hatred of Play, 50
——, Sonnets to (supposed), 72, 300, 304, 309, 311, 314, 318, 327
——, suitors, 45
Elizabeth of York (Queen of Henry VII), 12, 102
Ellesmere, Lady, Countess of Derby (5th), 20, 31, 44, 46, 54, 149
Ellesmere, Lord, Sir Thomas Egerton, 20, 31, 44, 54, 149
Elsinore (E. of Leicester's company), 71
Elvetham Manor pageantry, 71, 74-5, 196, 240, 253 307, 313-4, 319, 320, 327
Elze, Karl, 1, 64, 199, 201
Enclosures (land), 13, 106
End-rhyme fraction, defined, 169, 170
***Englands Helicon*, 238, 246-9, 260-1, 264-5**
***Englands Parnassus*, 246**
E of D (John Donne), 54-5
***Epigrammes and Elegies*, 257, 264**
Epigrams—see Davies and Jonson
Epitaphs, 52-3, 121, 262
Essex, 2nd E. of, Robert Devereux, 19, 27-8, 30, 45, 50, 68, 70, 73, 87-8, 104, 143, 148, 164-5, 199, 248, 319, 324
——, 3rd E. of—see Hereford, Viscount
***Everyman out of his humour*, 132-3**
Ewen, l'Estrange, 59, 147

***Faerie Queene*, 52, 152, 238-240, 246, 300**
***Faire Em*, 73, 119, 189, 206, 207-212, 217, 221-3, 246-7**
"Falstaff, Sir John" (nickname), 57, 88
Farmer, Richard, 1, 117
Faunt, Nicholas, 21, 64
Fenner, George, 24, 30
Ffarrington, William, 16-8, 21-4, 40, 81, 94, 118, 194, 205, 211, 217, 226, 321-2
Field, Richard (printer), 116, 119, 158
***Fig for Momus*, 28**
Fitton, Mary, 29, 156-8, 251, 303, 325
Fitton, Sir Edward, 28-9, 87, 92, 96, 98, 157
Fleay, F. S., 129, 170, 178, 199, 201, 204, 222
Fletcher, John, 170, 174, 199, 200, 231
——, Phineas, 239, 240
Florio, John, 66, 75, 116, 118, 120, 190, 303
Folio, 1st (1623), 8, 85, 100, 103, 107, 125, 127-131, 135, 150, 153-4, 159-162
Folio, 2nd (1632), 131, 162-3
'Fool' in House of Stanley, 12, 194
Forgeries, Shakespearian, 110, 123, 179
Fraunce, Abraham, 52, 238
Frequency defined, alliteration, 176-7
——, capital, 161
——, deviation (spelling), 160
——, end-rhyme fraction, 169, 170
——, Northern *s*-plurals, 172-4
——, *R*-lines, 168-9
——, repeat index (ρ), 171-2
——, *S*-lines, 234
——, *y*-spelling, Index *Ip*, 151-3
Fuller, Thomas (traditions), 104, 108, 131

Galilei, Galileo, 35, 139, 146
Ganymede myth, 10, 52, 81, 241
***Garland, Sir William Stanley's*, 22-3, 89**
Garnet, Henry, 24, 314
Garrick Club bust, 125
Garter, Knight of the, 30, 54, 79, 199
Gene theory (heredity), 100, 102
Genius, limitations of, 6, 109
Geocentric cosmogony (Ptolemaic), 145-6
Gerrard, Lady (wife of Sir Gilbert Gerrard), 27
Gerrard, Sir Thomas, 24, 29
***Gesta Grayorum*, 148, 185**
***Gesta Romanorum*, 117, 185**
Gifford, William (*Parnassus*, Plays), 115
Gilbert, William (scientist), 146
Gildon, Charles, 1, 77, 307, 313
Glendower, Owen, 80
Globe theatre, 88, 104, 129, 131, 187, 197-8, 200, 205, 213
Gloster, Duchess of, Eleanor Cobham, 10, 40
***Golden Aphroditis*, 241-4, 264, 266**
Golding, Arthur, 52
Goodacre, E. B., 24, 33, 53, 95, 148
Grafton portrait, 125
Grange, John, 241-4, 262, 266
Gray's Inn, 21, 37, 39, 41, 119, 136, 147-8, 150, 191, 194, 206, 236, 242, 297, 316, 321
Greene, Robert, 18, 20, 48, 60, 63, 100, 107, 112-4, 116, 119, 121, 134, 176-7, 194, 198, 207, 209, 212, 216, 222, 225, 231-2, 234, 261
——, Thomas, 106
Greenstreet, James, 21, 30, 37, 52, 64, 68, 76-7, 91
Greenwood, Sir George, 2, 39, 46, 59, 100, 107, 122, 125, 129, 131, 133, 136, 269, 327
Greg, Dr. W. W., 226-7, 270-1, 284, 286-7, 290
Greville, Sir Fulke (later Lord Brooke), 246, 264
Grey, Lady Jane, 13-4, 25, 47, 49, 84, 101
——, Katherine, 25, 47, 49
Grey, Lord, of Wilton, Arthur, 47
Griffin, Bartholemew, 250
***Groatsworth of wit*, etc. (Greene), 112-4**
Grosart, Alexander B., 43, 164-5, 239, 251
Gunpowder plot (1605), 31, 95, 134, 216

Hall, Edward (historian), 40, 80, 117, 136
——, Dr. (Stratford-on-Avon), 107-8
——, William—see W. H.
Halliwell (Halliwell-Phillips), James O., 106, 123, 194, 237, 255
Halsall relatives of Wm. Stanley, 17-8, 23
***Hamlet*, 64, 69-71, 81-2, 85, 109, 121, 128, 132, 145, 173, 176, 191-4, 227, 269**
Hand D (*Sir Thomas More*), 140, 217, 226-9, 256, 269, 290, 308-9, 311, 327
—— E (*Sir Thomas More*), 140, 210, 215, 217, 227-9, 256, 280, 284-290
Hands A, B, C, S (*Sir Thomas More*), 226-9, 280, 284, 289, 290

Harington, Sir John, 20, 225, 327
Harrington, Lucy—see Bedford, Countess of
Harrison, John (publisher), 119
Harvey, Wm. (blood circulation], 144, 146
Haselbury farm, 27, 296
Hatfield House, 84, 270
Hathaway, Anne, 105
Hatton, Christopher, 45
Hay, James—see Doncaster, Visct.
Hayward, John (historian), 50
Heminge, John, 108, **127-131, 159,** 164, 204, 227
Heneage, Sir Thomas, 107
Heningham (Hedingham) Castle, 29, **30,** 38, 99
Henri II (France), 65
Henri III ,, , 16, 21, 65
Henri IV ,, (Henri of Navarre), 21, 30, 37, **64-8, 75,** 190, 258, 308
Henry IV, 10, 11, 79, 97
Henry IV Plays, **42-3,** 57, 63-4, 70, 77, **80,** 92, 161, 169, 197, 220
Henry V, 64, **79-81,** 85, **88,** 132-3, 161, **196-8,** 219, 258-9
Henry VI Plays, 10, 14, 40, 45, 77, **80-1,** 85, 112, 128, 132, 160, 167, 169, **178-182,** 189, 205, 225, 231-2, 240, 304
Henry VII, 7, 11, 79, 80, 101-2, **140-1,** 185
Henry VII (Bacon), 7, 140-1
Henry VIII, 12-4, 25, **46-7,** 102, 200-1, 230, 308
Henry VIII, 12, 85, **199-201,** 203
Henslowe, Philip, **58, 128-9,** 181, 189, 192, 205, 288
Herald's College, 26, 104
Heredity, 100-102
Hereford, Visct., Robt. Devereux (3rd E. of Essex), 32, 70
Hero and Leander, 173, 177, 240, 310
Herod allusions (Shakespeare), 80, 81
Herrick, Robert, 137, 165
Hertford, E. of, Edward Seymour, **25-6, 47,** 49, **71, 74,** 156
Heywood, Thomas (dramatist), 7, 58, 127, 206, **249,** 262, 290
——, Thomas (Stanley historian), 9, 89
History Plays (Stanley concordances), 79, 80
Histriomastix, 54
Hoby, Sir Edward, 26, **87-9,** 236
——, Sir Thomas Posthumus, 22, 34, 87-8
Holinshed, Raphael (historian), 80, 117, **182,** 198, 221
Holland, Hugh, 124, 127
Holofernes (Lloyd original), 66-8
Horses—see Derby and Shakespeare
Hotson, Dr., 78, 104
Howard, Dorothy (Wm. Stanley's grandmother), 13, 262
——, Mary (sister of Henry VIII's Queen), 211
Howards—see Arundel, Norfolk and Surrey
Hunsdon, Lady (2nd), Elizabeth Spencer, 89, 235, 248
Hunsdon, Lord (1st), Henry Carey, 15, 50, 205, 321
——, Lord (2nd), George Carey, **89,** 121, **190,** 204-5, **248, 266**
Huntingdon, Countess of (5th), Elizabeth Stanley, 55
Huntingdon, 5th E. of, Henry Hastings, 25
Hyphen in Shake-speare, 43, **46,** 59, **60,** 120, 303

I_G, I_C and I_P defined, 151-3
Ida Vale, 239, 241
Identification, principles of, 4-5, 37, 83, **99**
Idiosyncrasies (handwriting), 140, **284,** 287-8, 293, **306, 309, 310,** 312, 316, 324
Ignoto Poems, 49, 163, 238, 254, **257-260**
I.M.S. Poem (2nd Folio), 131, **162-3,** 262
Induction, mathematical, 154, 159, 269
Inductive reasoning (*a posteriori*), **3, 37,** 42-6, 55, **103, 124, 134, 139, 144,** 154, 183-4, **231-3,** 238, **266-7, 290, 296-8, 301, 318**
Ingleby, C. M. (*Centurie of Prayse*), **116**
Interpolations (revision), **158,** 162, 180, **182, 198**
Ireland, Thomas (Derby's secretary), 29, **96,** 99, **263,** 319
Isle of Man, 10, 17, **23-4,** 26, 29, **31,** 36, 38-9, **62, 77,** 80, 89, 94-5, 98, 119, 135, 149, 187, 211, 305-7, **309,** 310, 312, 314-6, 318
——, fortification, 17, 39
——, history synopsis, 211
——, Sonnets from, 305-7, **309, 310,** 312, 315-6, **318**
——, Stanley rule in, 23, 26, 31, **62**

Jaggard, Isaac, 127, 135
——, John, 251-2
——, William, 127, 135, **249,** 252, 254
James I (VI of Scotland), **25, 31-3,** 38, 44-5, **51,** 74, **76,** 93, 99, 121, 127, 130, 142-3, 148, 215-7, 251
——, accession, 31, 51
——, creation of Knights, 33, 79
——, silence about Shakspere's death, 33, 127
James IV (Scotland), 12, 15
Jaques (*As you like it*), 81, 202
Jesuit-Derby intrigues, 16, **18-9, 25-6,** 72-3, 148
John of Gaunt, 11, 25, 79, 101
Jonson, Ben, 32-3, 58-60, 104, 106-8, 115, 117-8, 121, **125, 127-139, 144,** 162-3, 169, 170, 176-7, 189, 232
——, Bacon, relations with, 135, 144
——, *Discoveries*, 136-8
——, Folio ambiguity, 125, 127-138
——, I M.S Poem, 162-3
——, masques, 32, 132
——, poet ape Epigram, 130, 132-4
——, Shakespeare, and, 33, 58-9, 117, **130, 132-5,** 189
——, Shakspere, and, 60, 104, 106-8, 118, 121, **131-4, 136-8,** 232
Julius Caesar, 41, **137,** 170, 188, **203**

Kempe, William, 71, 107, 112, **115,** 118, 204, 213
Kenilworth festivities, 18, 71
Kepler, Johann, 145
King John, 75, **79,** 220, 222, **225,** 240
King Lear, 63, **94-5,** 121, 160, 227, 269
"King Richard" (nickname), 88-9
Knight, Charles, 1, 66, 112, **179,** 180, 182, **185,** 188, 194, 197-8, 201, 222, 299
Knighthood ("Sir William Stanley"), 22, 74, **89, 251, 253,** 265-6, 320
Knot garden (*L L L.*), 68
Knowsley, **10,** 13, **15-7,** 21-3, 28, **36,** 41, 88, 93-5, 121, 136, 157, **205-6,** 211, 217, **226,** 235-6, 294, 321, 324
Kyd, Thomas, 100, **194,** 198, 234, 284, 290, 313

Lambarde, William, 50
Lancashire and Cheshire, Plays in, 15, 17, **70, 205-6**
—— ——, racing, 33-4, 40, **94,** 97, **294**
Lancashire, witchcraft, 76
Lancastrian bias (Plays), 5, 50, 79
Latham, Isabel and Sir Thomas, 10
Lathom, **10-18,** 21-2, 34, **36,** 41, 88, 93-4, 96, **118,** 121, 136, 148, 157, **205-6,** 211, 235-6, 296, 321
'Laura' Sonnet, **238,** 240, 265, 300, 307
Law (Derby and Shakespeare), 39, 84, 309
Leasowe Castle (Cheshire), 94
Lee, Sir Sidney, **52,** 57, 71, 105, **128-9,** 155, **303, 323,** 325, 327
Lefranc, Abel, 1, 2, 9, 15-6, **20,** 24, 28, 30, **33, 37, 41, 44, 54,** 61, **64-8, 70-2, 75-6,** 78, 80-1, 93, **118, 135,** 148, 164, 183, 185, 236, 241, 262, 267
Leicester, E. of, Robert Dudley, 14, 16, **21-2, 45,** 68, 71, **118,** 142, 236, 241

Libraries (Derby and Shakespeare), 77, **93**, 99, 118
Lincoln, Countess of (4th), Lady Robert Stanley, 34
Lincoln, 2nd E. of (new line), Henry Clinton, 26, 87, 98
Lincoln's Inn, 24, 39, 50, 54, 125, **147-8**
Liverpool (*Faire Em*), 210
Lloyd, Richard, 21, 64, **66-8**, 90, 232
Lodge, Thomas, **28, 38**, 52, 58, 88, 222, 225, 234, 236, 261
Looney, J. T., 2, 7, 237, 254, 259, **261-3**
Lopez (Queen's physician), 72, 148
Lord Cromwell, 210, 216, **230**
Lover's complaint, 92, **155-7**, 173, 235, 303, 327
Love's labour's lost, 37, **64-8**, 117, 119, 120, 160, 167, 169, **189, 190**, 220, 231-3, 250, 257-9, 261, 264-5, 298, 300, 307, 321-4
Lucas, R. M., **37, 42-3**, 45, **54-5**, 59, 60, **70, 78-9**, 96, 125, **130**, 135, 148, 162, 164, 183, 225, 267
Lucrece, 24, 55, 64, 86, 110, 112, 116, 119, 155, **158-9**, 173-5, 177, 235, 263, 298, 303, 307
Lucy, Sir Thomas, 77-8
Lyly, John, 234, 237, 246, **261**

Macbeth, 161, 199
Magic (Derby and Shakespeare), 6, **39, 40**, 76, 81
Mainwarings, the, 17, 294, **298**
Mallory, Sir William, 78
Malone, Edmond, 1, 38, **112**, 124, 127, 132, 167, **178**, 188, 191, **194**, 222, 299, 306, 308, 311-2, 317, 319, 321-2
Malvolio (ffarrington original), 21, 81
Man, "Kings" of, **10**, 26, **29**, 31, 38, 62
"Man Shakespeare, The," 2, **128**, 130
Manchester, 27, 35, **40**, 95, 210
Manners—see Rutland, Earls of
Manningham, John (diarist), 105, 284
Manx assizes, 24, 39, 148
Manx rule (Stanley), 10, 23, 38-9, **62**
Margaret of Anjou, 45, 77, 180, 304
Margaret (Henry VIII's sister), 12, 15, 25, **47**
Marguerite de Valois (*d.* 1549), 65, 308
——, (Queen of Henri of Navarre), **64-8**, 70, 190, 308
Marlowe, Christopher, 2, 7, 75, 100, 112, 114, **169-171, 173, 176-9**, 188-9, 208-9, 213, **219, 220**, 222-5, 232, 234, 239, **257**, 260-2, 310, 312-3
Marston, John, 20, **54**, 59, 115, 132-3, 140, 163, **199**
Mary I, Queen of England, 13-5, 47
Mary Queen of Scots, 14, 16, 18, **22**, 49, 84
Mary Tudor (Henry VIII's sister), **15, 25, 46-7**, 49, 84, **95, 101, 165**, 200
Masques, 32, 71, 132, 148
Mathew, Sir Tobie, 88, 139
Measure for measure, 81, 84, **93**, 160, 162, 169, **216**, 265, 324
Mediterranean (Wm. Stanley), 39, 77, 187, 233, 311
Merchant of Venice, **41, 63-4**, 81, 187
Meres, Francis, **116-7**, 188, 191, 198, 261, **303**
Meriden (Warwickshire), 23, **63**, 93
Mermaid tavern, 131, 137
Merry wives of Windsor, 64, **77-9**, 81, 117, 169
Middelburg Ignoto Poem, **257-9**, 266
Midsummer night's dream, **71-5**, 117, 145, 148, 169, 170, 220, 242, 265, 327
Midsummer Plays—see Chester Plays
Milan, 63-4, 77, 191
Military knowledge (Derby and Shakespeare), 39, 81
'Mistress' Poem, 54, 56, 140, 249, **254-6**, 266, 270, **275**, 286-7, 309, 316
Molyneux, Sir Richard, 27-8
Monmouth, D. of, Robert Carey, 51
——, D. of, James Scott, 94
Montaigne, Michel de, **46, 75**, 116, 118
Montgomery, Countess of, Susan de Vere, 31, **128**, 134
——, ——, see Dorset (Anne Clifford)
Montgomery, E. of, Philip Herbert, 31, **34**, 84, 87, **128**, 131
More Chapel, Chelsea, 53, 230
More, Sir Thomas, 224, 227-230
More, Sir Thomas—see *Sir Thomas More*
Morhardt, Mathias, 71, 77, 117
Morley, Lord, Edward Parker, 12, 14
Moscow (Wm. Stanley), 91
Mounteagle and Morley, Lord, Wm. Parker, 12, 134, 148
Mountjoy, Lord, George Blount, 27, **88**, 197, 292
Mowbray, Thomas—see Norfolk, 1st D. of
Mucedorus, 45, 119, 189, 210, **213-7**, 231-3
Much ado about nothing, **95**, 160, 169
Multiple authorship theories, 2, 6, 100, **170**
Munday, Anthony, 132-3, 295
Murray (*English Dramatic Companies*), 71, 118, **204-5**
Music (Derby and Shakespeare), 6, **40-1**, 81, 83, 233
Mylar, Edward, 28, 95, 319

Nashe, Thomas, 20, **52**, 112, 114, **194**, 212, 264, 292, 295, 298
N.D. (Nicholas Doleman)—see Parsons
Necromancy, 15, 40
Nerac (Bearn), 21, 30, **64-8**, 182, 232, 258
New Park (Derby seat), **16-7**, 23, 205
Newton, Sir Isaac, 35, 146
Nichol's *Progresses*, 32, 50, 74, 86, 327
Nicknames, 88-9
Nine worthies (*L.L.L.* and Lloyd), 66-7
Norfolk, 1st D. of (original), Thomas Mowbray, 42
——, 2nd D. of (new line), Thomas Howard, 12-3, 84, 201
——, 3rd D. of, ,, , Thomas Howard, 13, 200-1, 230
——, 4th D. of, ,, , Thomas Howard, 14, 16, 49, 292
Norris, Sir John and Lady, 165
Northern idiom and *s*-plurals—see Shakespeare
Northumberland, D. of, John Dudley, 47
——, Earls of (Percy), 27, 101
Northumberland manuscript, 46, 140, 148, **291-8**
Nuttall, J. (Wm. Stanley's travels), 22, **90**

Oldcastle, Sir John, and Falstaff, **42-3**, 198
Oldys, William (traditions), 57
Ormskirk (Lancashire), 14, 23-4, 36
Othello, 63, 81, 85, 123, 127, 161, 170, **199**, 258
Ovid, *Amores* etc., 118, 120, 173, **257**, 307, 311, 320
Oxford Inns (*Willobie*), 56-7
——, St. John's College, **17**, 37, 56, 69, 148, 206
Oxford, Countess of (14th), Anne Howard, 262
——, —— (17th), Anne Cecil, 147
Oxford, 13th E. of, John de Vere, 12
Oxford, 15th E. of, John de Vere, 13, 262
Oxford, 17th E. of, Edward de Vere, 7, 13-4, 20, 26, 44, 82, 84-5, 87, 93, **95-6**, 99, 140, 147, 156, **170-2**, 175, 177, 198, 234, 237, 244-5, 249, 254-5, **261-5**, 269, 270, 283-4, 300, 303, 313
——, A. W. Poems and Lyrics, 261-4
——, facts forbidding Shakespeare-identity, 7, 44, **261-2**, 265, 269, 283
——, Wm. Stanley, relations with, 26, 84, 87, 93, 95-6, **262-4**
Oxfordian theory, 2, 7, 237, **261-2**, 269, 300

Palestine (Wm. Stanley), 22, 91
Palladis Tamia (Meres), 116, 303
'Pandion' Ode, 238, 253-4
Pandosto (Greene), 134

Parker (astronomer, Lathom), 18
——, Matthew (Archbp. of Canterbury), 47
Parma, D. of, 16, 23
Parnassus Plays, 115-6, 133
Parsons, Robert, **19, 25-6,** 30, **42-3,** 47, 49, 72, 93, 97, 148, 317
Passionate Pilgrime, 56, 177, **249-253,** 264-5, 300, 316
Peele, George, 20, 49, 52, 112, **114, 176-7,** 198, 209, 222, 225, 234, 259, 261
Pembroke, Countess of (2nd), Mary Sidney, 2, 7, 44, **128**
Pembroke and Montgomery—see Dorset, Countess of (Anne Clifford)
Pembroke, 2nd E. of, Henry Herbert, 25, 47, 156
Pembroke, 3rd E. of, Wm. Herbert, 33-4, 44, 87, 96, **128,** 133, **156-7,** 299
Pembroke, 4th E. of, Philip Herbert—see Montgomery, E. of
Pen-name, 8, **46, 58-60,** 128, 147-8, 297, 303
Pentecost Plays—see Chester
Pericles, 85, 117, 121, 132, 135, 172, **185-8,** 203, 207, 231-3, 241
Persecution of Tudor rivals to throne, 49, 95
Philip II (Spain), 13, 19, 72
Philippa, dau. of Lionel D. of Clarence, 46
Phillips, Augustine, 50, 108, 204
Phœnix and the turtle, 60, 72, **163-6,** 239, 260, 264
Pilkington, Francis (Chester), 41
Planetarium (Lathom), 18, 40
Players at Lathom and Knowsley, 15, 17, 21, 32, **205-6,** 211, **226**
Poems in diuers humors (*P.d.h.*), 251-3
Poet ape Epigram, 134
Poetaster (Jonson), 132-3
Poictiers battle, 9, 219, 221
Polonius' precepts, 70, 82, 109
Pope, Alexander, 1, 69, 123
Portraits, 125
Pott, Mrs. Henry (*Bacon's Promus*), 149
Pre-requisites (identification), 5-6, 37-42
Probability formula, 154
Proctor, Stephen, 30, 78, 98
"Prodigal courses" (Derby), **69, 87-8,** 96, 319
Pronunciation, 111-2, 304-5
Puckering, Sir John, 27, 87, 147-8, 283
Puttenham, George, 48, 261

Quarto publication, 120-1, 128, **167,** 183, 185, 190, 192, **194-9,** 207, 213, 217, 222, 230
Quiney, Richard, 105
Quintilian, and Terence pen-name, 46

Rabelais, François, 67, 118, 258-9
Racing (horse), 33-4, 40, **94,** 97, **294-6,** 298, 326
Raines, F. R. (Stanley historian), 9, 24, **36,** 53, 135, **149**
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 2, 7, 27, 30, 40, 45, 51, 85, **87,** 128, 172, 177, 234, **238,** 244, 246, **248, 260-1,** 263, 296, 313, 319, **320,** 326
Reasoning—see deductive and inductive
Rendall, Gerald H., 261, 269
Repeat index (*ρ*), 86, 171-2
R-formula, 168
"R.G.," 95, 98
"R.L., Maister," 241, **250-1,** 253, 266
Rich, Lord, Robert, 27
Richard II, 42, **50,** 64, 80, 120, 170, 291, 297-8
Richard III. 10-12, 35
Richard III, 7, 11-2, 80, 116, **141,** 162, 170, **183-5,** 189, 232-3, 291, 298, 304
Richard, D. of York (Edward IV's son), **11,** 141
Richard Plantagenet, D. of York, **46, 113,** 179
Richmond, Duchess of, Margaret Beaufort, **11**
Richmond, E. of, Henry Tudor—see Henry VII
Rivers, 1st Earl, Richard Wydville, 12
Romano, Giulio (sculptor-painter), 64
Rome, 30, 91, 203
Romeo and Juliet, 41, 152, 172, 176, **194-6**
Roo Dee (Chester), **15,** 32, **34,** 72, 94
Rose theatre, 128, 181, 205
Roses, wars of the, 9, 14, 102, **181**
Rowe, Nicholas, 1, 44, **77,** 104, 108, **121-2,** 124
Rowley, William, 185-6, 198, 230
Royal Society, 144
Roydon, Matthew, 55, 321
Russell, Anne, 157
Russell House, 27, 40, 87
Russia (Wm. Stanley), 33, 91
Rutland, 5th E. of, Roger Manners, 2, 7, **29, 30,** 87
Rutland, 6th E. of, Francis Manners, 109

Sackvilles—see Dorset, Earls of
Salisbury, E. of, Richard Nevill, 11, 101
—— (new line)—see Cecil, Sir Robert
Salusbury, Sir John, 18, 96, **163-4**
Sarum, Old, 57
Scholasticism, 3, 144
Science (Bacon and Shakespeare), 144-6
——, inductive methods of, 3, 144
Scipio Africanus (Terence), 46, 59
Sea (Wm. Stanley and Shakespeare), 39, 76-7, 81, 233
Seacome (Stanley historian), 9, 16-7, 22, 27, **31, 35, 89, 90,** 102, 211, 221, 251
Seaforth (Lancashire), 94, **294,** 296, 298
Sequestered books (Knowsley), 93, 135
Seymour, Sir Henry—see Beauchamp, Lord
Seymour (Suffolk) line, 15, 25, 47
S-formula, 234
"Shake-scene," 60, **112-4,** 119, 134, 212, 232
Shakespeare, William, *passim*
——, Action (Spenser), **52,** 58, 236, 238, **266**
——, alliteration (α_p and α_r), 176-7
——, amateur actor, **43-6,** 88, 298
——, aristocratic ambience (Plays), 4, 82, 100
——, astrology and magic, 6, **39, 40,** 76, 81, 182, **208,** 218, 223, 233-4
——, calligraphic idiosyncrasies (*More* M.S.), **269-290**
——, capital frequency (*More* M.S.), 161, 289, **290**
——, character, 7, **83,** 99, 142
——, Chester, links with, **66-8, 70-2,** 80-1, **157, 191, 210-1**
——, clemency, 83, 142
——, concordances (Stanley) in Plays, **61-82,** 182, **185,** 187, 189, 191, 196, 198-9, 201, **209-211, 216-7, 221,** 225-6, **229, 231-3**
——, criteria of textual genuineness, 100, 168-178
——, date calculation (Plays and Poems), **168, 234-5**
——, dates of Plays, 203
——, dates of early Poems, 264-5
——, dates of Sonnets, 155, 300, 302
——, Dr. Dee (Tempest), 76
——, 'Derby' anachronisms, 184-5, 221-2
——, Elvetham links, **71-5,** 196, 253, 307, **313-4, 319, 320**
——, emotional stress (Tragedies), 199, 202
——, falconry and hunting, **5-6,** 40, **158,** 179
——, feudal outlook (Plays), 82
——, ffarrington (Malvolio), 21, 81
——, financial embarrassments (Plays), 81, 202
——, foreign peoples (Plays), 5, 81
——, geography (Plays), **63-4,** 77, 187, 191
——, handwriting, 140, 227-8, **255-6, 269-290**
——, History Plays, 50, 79, 80
——, horses, **40,** 81, 83, **94,** 158
——, hyphen (Shake-speare), **43, 46,** 55, **59, 60,** 303

Shakespeare, William, Isle of Man links, 10, 77, 80, 119, 187, 305, 307, 309, 310, 312, 314-6, 318
——, Italy (familiarity with), **63-4**, 191, 233
——, jealousy in Plays, 79, 81, **199**, 202
——, ——, in Sonnets, 313-4, 324, 326
——, justice, sense of, 83
——, "King," might have been, 43, 296
——, Knighthood admission, 251, 265-6
——, lameness, 5, 308, 314
——, Lancastrian bias (Plays), 5, 79, 80
——, law, 6, **38-9**, 81, 158, 179, 194, 223, 234, **309**
——, learning, 5, 6, **117**, 158, 191, 194, 304
——, Lloyd, Richard (*L.L.L.*), 66-8, 232
——, Marlowe, relations with, **169-171**, 310
——, military expert knowledge, 6, 81, 198, 223
——, modesty, literary, 83, 113, 142
——, mountains, familiarity with, 158, 179, 308
——, music, 6, **40-1**, 81, 83, 158, 186, 233-4
——, non-publication after 1594, 120, 304
——, Northern dialect and *s*-plurals, **62-3**, **172-4**, 178-9, 182, 187-8, 210, 216, 218, 220-1, 224, **233-4**, 245, 254, 258
——, Northumberland M.S., in, 291, 293-8
——, omissions (of allusions), 49, 58-9
——, Ovid and classical learning, **115-7**, 120, 194, 307, 311, 319, 320
——, pen-name, 8, **46**, **58-9**, 128, 147-8, 297, 303
——, pictures (foreign) familiarity with, 158
——, Plays, early, 119, 178-182, 186-190, 203, **207-230**
——, Plays, late (after 1604), 201-3, 262
——, Poems, early, 7, 177, **238-265**, 300, 302
——, psychiatry, 6, 145
——, Queen, relations with, 46, **49**, **50**, **71-5**, 79, 190, 215, 300, 304, 309, 311, 314, **318**, 327
——, Raleigh, and, **238**, 248, 260, 263, 313, 319, 320
——, *R*-formula, 168
——, religious tolerance, 83
——, repeat index, ρ, 171-2
——, revision (of his own work), 158, **162**, 180, 184, **190**, **192**, 196-7
——, Salusbury, Sir John, links with, 164
——, sea, familiarity with, 6, **76-7**, 81, 158, 187, 309, 311
——, seclusion habits (Plays), 81, 202
——, sincerity, literary, **4**, 7, **69**, 299, 300-1
——, sources of Plays, 77, **117-8**, 191
——, Southampton, E. of, and, **86**, 120, 255, 299, **300-3**, 315-7, 319, 320-1
——, spelling deviation, **174**, 227, 229, 289, **290**
——, spelling habits, **174-6**, 289, 301
——, spelling of name, 59, **60**, 112, 120, 134, 303
——, Spenser, and, **51-2**, 189, **235-8**, 250, 253, 265-6, 307
——, sport in Plays and Poems, 6, **40**, 81, 234
——, sporting Prince, a, 294-6, 298
——, stage-craft, 6, 81, 136
——, Stanley prominence in Plays, 10, 79, **80**, 184-5
——, statesmanship (Plays), 6, **61**, 180, 187
——, 'technical' knowledge, 6, **38-41**, 81
——, travels implicit in Plays, 5, **63-4**, 81, 187, 191
——, usury, reprobation of, 83, **109**, 115, 202, 322
——, vocabulary, **62**, 171, **178**, 234
——, wagers (horse or falcon), 94, 179, 294
——, Welsh affiliations, 5, 64, 72, **80**, **164**
——, 'Will' (Christian name), 5, 7, 43, 46, 140, **322-3**
——, 'Willy' (Spenser's), 51, 58, 189, **235-8**, 241, 266
——, wisdom, 5, 61, 82
——, W.S. initials, 7-8, **54-8**, 60, 94, 140, 196, **241-5**, 254, **266**
——, W.S. Poems, 7, 94, **241-8**, 266
——, *y*-spelling Index, I_8, 153-4, 227, **290**
Shakspere, William, 6, 44, 50-3, 60, 69, 77-9, 103-124, 127-134, 136-8, 158-9, 202, 209, 212, 226, 232, 237, 241-2, 249, 251, 255, 265, 269, 283, 289
Shakspere, William, actor colleagues, 50, 105-6, 120, 127-9, 131, 136
——, actor, poor as, **44**, 106, 205, 307
——, assassination charge, 104
——, Bellot *v.* Mountjoy case, 106
——, Blackfriars freehold, 107, 110
——, boaster, 108, **113**, 120, 123, 134
——, books, not in his will, 107
——, broker of Plays, 106, 118, 120-1, 130, **133-4**
——, character, 104-6, 108, 132-4
——, Coat of Arms, 52, **104**, 122, 132
——, daughters, 107-8, 122
——, drunken bout, 132
——, education, 6, 100, **108**, **110**, 267
——, effigy and epitaph, 53, 103, **121-3**
——, enclosures (Stratford-on-Avon), 106
——, facts forbidding Shakespeare-identity, 52-3, 63-4, 69, **76-7**, 79, **103-6**, **108-110**, 112-4, **134**, **158-9**, **209**, **232**, **251**, 269, 283, **289**
——, genius, no evidence of, 6, 100, 108-9
——, Greene's hate of, 112-4, 134, 212
——, handwriting, 108, **110**, 255, **269**, 270, 272, 276, 283-4, **289**
——, illiterate father and daughter, 108
——, Jonson, Ben, links with, 60, 104, 106-8, 121, **131-4**, **136-8**, 232
——, legends, 77, 103-4, 108-9, **121**, **131-2**
——, maltster-farmer, 105-6, 122-4, 202
——, marriage, 105
——, money lender, 59, **105**, **114**, 130, 202, 322
——, poet ape (Epigram), 134
——, portrait, 125
——, property, purchase of, 104-5, 121
——, Quarto leakages, connivance at, 120-1, 134
——, 'Shake-scene,' 60, **112-4**, 119, 134, **212**, 232, 265
——, signatures, **110**, 269, 272, 276, 283-4
——, Sogliardo caricature, 132-3
——, Southampton, E. of (no links), 107, 116, 120
——, spelling of name, 107, **110-1**, 120, 123, 131-8
——, stage, first footing, 103, 118-9, 204-5
——, Stanley's probable agent, **118-9**, 121, 134, 226, 267
——, volubility in taverns, 108, 133, 136-7
——, will (testamentary), 107, 132
Sheappeardes Playe, 15, 80
Shepheards Calender, 152, **236**, 241, 244
Sidney, Sir Philip, **16**, **22**, 52, 58, 87, 118, 175, 177, 234-5, **237-8**, 253, 261-2, 294-5
Simpson, Richard, 212, 226-7
Sir Thomas More, 84, 140, 154, 159, 161, 207, 210, 217, **226-232**, 254, **269-290**
Slater, Gilbert, 2, 100, 128, 170, 313
Sly(e), William, 54, 242
Smith Wentworth (playwright), 54, 242
——, William (poet), 54, 242
Somerset, Countess of, Frances Howard, 32
Somerset, E. of, John, 25
——, E. of, Robert Carr, 143
Song books, 245-9, 264
Sonnets (canonical), 5, 7, **72-3**, 83, 92, 152, **155**, **173**, 177, 235, 249, 250, 258, 261, 264-5, **299-328**
—— "dark lady," 56, 158, 235, 258, **308-9**, **321-7**
——, dates of sequences, 302
——, Queen as addressee—see Elizabeth
——, rhyme linkage, 300-1
——, Southampton, E. of, as addressee, 255, 299, **300**, **302-3**, 305-313, 315, 319, 320-1
——, spelling evidence, 155, 301
——, Thorpe's piracy, 302-3
——, Vere, Eliz. de, as addressee—see Vere and Derby, Countess of (6th)
——, Will Stanley anagram, 323
Sonnets (non-canonical), **238**, 249, **250-3**, 257-8, 300
Sorcery (Wm. Stanley's mother), 15, 40

outhampton, Countess of (2nd), Mary Browne, **107,** 109, 119, 300, 306
—, —— (3rd) Elizabeth Vernon, 57, 88, 156
outhampton, 3rd E. of, Henry Wriothesly, 12, 18, **27, 29, 30, 33, 56,** 59, 73, **86-7,** 94, 109, 116, **119-121,** 143, 148, 155-6, 249, **255,** 299, **300-3,** 305-317, 319, 320-1
pain (Wm. Stanley), 22, 90-1, 216
pedding, James, **149,** 194, 199, 201, 226, **291,** 295
peed, John (historian), 42-3
pelling ana'ysis, **151-5,** 158-160, 162-4, 269, **289, 290**
— deviation, **85, 160,** 163-4, 175, 227, 229, 289, **290,** 301
— habits (Shakespeare and Derby), 85, 174-5, 301
pencer, Alice—see Strange, Lady, and Derby, Countes of (5th)
—, Anne—see Compton and Mounteagle, Lady
—, Elizabeth—see Carey and Hunsdon, Lady
pencer, Sir John (Althorp), 18, 51
'penser, Edmund, 20, 46, **51-2,** 58-9, 71, 111, 152, 175, 177, **189,** 211, 232, **234-9,** 244-5, 248, 250-3, 261-2, **265-6,** 307, 310
—, Aetion, **51-2,** 58, 236, 238, **266**
—, Lady Strange, and, 51, **235-7,** 266
—, 'Willy' and, 51, **235-7,** 266
standard equations (*y*-spelling), 153
tanley domains, 10, 26, 31, 80
tanley, Anne (Wm. Stanley's aunt), 14, 242
—, Anne (dau. of 4th E. of Derby), 17
—, Anne (dau. of 6th E. of Derby), 33
—, Sir Charles (son of 6th E. of Derby), 33
—, Sir Edward (Wm. Stanley's Uncle), 14
—, Sir Edward (Wm. Stanley's cousin), 23, 53, 96
—, Sir Edward (Flodden), 12
—, Sir Edward (of Bickerstaff), 294
—, Ferdinando (5th E. of Derby)—see Strange, Lord
—, Francis (Wm. Stanley's brother), 14, 17
—, Sir George (son of 1st E. of Derby), 11, 12, 80, 185
—, Sir James—see Derby, 7th E. of
—, Sir John (*b.* ca 1320), 9, 221
—, Sir John (*b.* 1354), 10
—, Sir John (*Contention*), 10, 62, 80, 179
—, Randulph (I.O.M.), 24
—, Sir Robert (son of 6th E. of Derby), 33, 53, 230
—, Sir Thomas, 1st Lord Stanley, 10
—, Sir Thomas, 2nd Lord Stanley—see Derby, 1st E. of
—, Sir Thomas (Bishop), **12,** 93, 98, 102
—, Sir Thomas (Wm. Stanley's Uncle), 14, 52-3
—, Ursula (*m.* Sir John Salusbury), 18, 163
—, Sir William (*exec.* 1495), 7, 11-2, 80, **140-1,** 179
—, Sir William (renegade), 9, 14, **16,** 19, 22, 148
—, Sir William (*Contention*), 10, 179
—, William (Sir William Stanley)—see Derby, 6th E. of
tatesmanship (Stanley record), 9-17, 62
teevens, George, 1, **110,** 185, 196, 222, 313, 320, 327
topes, Mrs. C. C., 59, 110, 123
tourton, 8th Lord, Charles Mowbray, 14, 242
—, 9th Lord, John Mowbray, 242
tow, John (*Annales*), 19, 70-1, **96-7,** 99, 136, 271, 276
trange, Lady, Alice Spencer, Countess of Derby (5th), **18,** 23, 51, 87, **235-8,** 266
trange, Lord, Ferdinando Stanley, 5th E. of Derby, **18-20,** 23, **25-6,** 46, 49, **51-2,** 70, 72-3, 87, 94, 98, 102, 120, 165, 194, **205,** 234-6, 266, 290, 321
—, Amyntas pseudonym, 20, **51-2,** 266
—, daughters, **18,** 23, 26, 29, 31, **33, 149**
—, patron of Drama, **20,** 52, 72-3, **204-5**
—, playing company, 17, 23, 103, 118-9, **204-5**
—, poet, **20,** 30, **52,** 102
tratford-on-Avon, 63, 77, 103, 106, **108,** 116, 118-9, **121-4,** 131-2, 202, **204-5,** 209, 232
Stratford-on-Avon monument, 8, 103, **121-4,** 127, 131
Suffolk, Duchess of—see Mary Tudor
Suffolk, Duke of, Charles Brandon, 25, **47,** 84, 102, 200
——, Duke of, Henry Grey, 25, 47
Sullivan, Sir Edward, 63
Surrey, Countess of, Frances de Vere, 13, 262
Surrey, E. of, Henry Howard, (poet), **13,** 16, 84, 101, 166, **230,** 235, 262
Surrey, Earls of, Thomas Howard—see Norfolk
Sussex, Countess of (1st), Margaret Stanley, 119
Sussex, 1st E. of, Robert Radcliffe, 12, 119
"Swan of Avon," 130
Swan theatre, 104

Talbot, Anne (ffarrington's wife), 21
Talbot, Sir John, 33
Talbot, Sir Thomas, 21
Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury, 101
Tamburlaine (Marlowe), 173, 175, 222
Taming of the shrew, 41, **63-4,** 81, 160, 162, 206
Tannenbaum, S A., 194, 226, 284, 290
Teares of the Muses, 51, 71, 189, **235-7**
Tempest, The, 63, **75-7,** 132, 169, 172, 187, 203
Thaler, Alwin, 21, 211
Theater (Burbage's), 119, 205
Thompson, Sir Edward M., 116, 269
Throgmorton, Arthur, 71
Timon of Athens, 81, 170, **201-2,** 206
Titus Andronicus, 119, 128, 132, 160, **188-9,** 206, 218, 220, 231
Tobie, Sir Mathew, 88, 139
Tong epitaph (Sir Thos Stanley), 52
Tournon, Hélène de, 67, 70
Trafford, Sir Edmond (father or son), 23, 87, **207, 211,** 232
Traffords, guests of the Stanleys, 17, 211
Trémoille, de La, Charlotte—see Derby
——, ——, Duchesse, 34
Troilus and Cressida, 54, 81, 121, 135, 146, 148, **170, 198-9,** 236, 262
Troublesome Raigne of King John, 119, 170-1, **175-6,** 189, 207, **222-6,** 231-2
Truth, objective, 2-4, 127, 144
Twelfth night, **21,** 41, 81, 106, 245, 269
Two gentlemen of Verona, **63,** 81, 117, 160, 162, 167, **189-191,** 231, 233
Two noble kinsmen, 77, 161, 172, **174,** 230
Tynwald (I O.M.), 10, 29, 62
Tyrone, E. of, Hugh O'Neill, 88

Ulrici, Hermann, 1, 201-2
Ur-Hamlet, 194, 231
Usury, Shakespere's hate of, 83, **109,** 115, 202, 322
——, Shakspere's, 59, **105, 114,** 130, 202, 322

Vale Royal Chester (*Lover's complaint*), 157
Veiled allusions to Shakespeare, 53-5
Vennard, Richard, 165, 318
Venus and Adonis, 7, 49, 59, **86,** 94, 110, 112, 116, 119, 120, 140, 155, **158,** 173-5, 177, **235,** 239, 240-1, **244,** 263, 265, 303, 307
Vere, Bridget de (*m.* Francis, Lord Norris, E. of Berkshire), 128, 156
Vere, Elizabeth de (before 1595), 13, **24, 26-7, 71-5,** 84, 147, 165-6, 196, **300,** 306-310, 312-8, 320
——, addressee of Sonnets, **73, 300,** 306-310, 312-8, 321, 326
——, betrothal hesitations, **24, 27,** 307, 313-4
——, Elvetham festivities, **71-5,** 196, 307, 313-4, **320**
——, marriage to 6th E. of Derby, **27, 71, 75,** 147-8
——, Southampton, E. of, and, **27,** 300, **314**

Vere, Frances de (*m.* E. of Surrey, poet), 13, 262
——, Susan de—see Montgomery, Countess of
Vere, Edward de—see Oxford, 17th E. of
Vernon, Elizabeth—see Southampton, Countess of
Vocabulary, Shakespeare's, **62**, 171, **178**, 234

Wales (Shakespearian affinities), 5, **64**, 72, 80, **163-4**
——, Stanley domains, 10, 26, 31
Walkley, Thomas (publisher), 127, 239, 266
Wallace, Dr. C. W., 106
Wallasey, in Wirral (Derby races), 34, 94
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 21-2, 65
Ward, Col. B. M., 198, 303
Warrington, 24, 28-9, 35
Warwick (James I's visit), 33, 127
Warwickshire and the Plays, 63
Watson, Thomas, 51, 234, 261
Webbe, William, 94, 261
" W.H., Mr," 155, 157, **302-3**, 306, **325**, 327
Whall, W. B. (nautical), 76-7
Whateley, Anna, 105
Whitehall Palace, 26, 31-2, 142
Whitgift, John (Archbishp. of Canterbury), 105, 258
Wilkins, George, 170, 185-7, 231
" Will " (Shakespeare and Derby), 7-8, **26**, 43, **46**, 84, 147, 322-3
Williamson, Nicholas, 19, 87
Willobie his Avisa, **55-7**, 92, 196, 254-5, 303
Will Sonnets, 5, 7, 140, 245, **322-3**
" Willy " (Willye), Spenser's, 51, 58, 189, **235-8**, **266**
Wilmot, Rev. James, 1, 2, 109
Wilton House, 57, 121, **128**, 130
Winchester, 10, 12-3, 56
Windsor, 31, **77**, 79, 210, 327
Windsor, Lord, Henry 5th Baron, 27
Winter's tale, 53, **64**, 81, 115, 132, 161, 169, 173, 2
Wirral (Cheshire), 10, 17, 23, **31**, **34**, 94, 31
' Wit-will ' theme, 244
Wolsey, Cardinal Thomas, **13**, 47, 165, **200-1**, 308
Woodville (Wydville), Jacquetta, 12, 261
Worcester, 3rd E. of, William Somerset, 241
Worden Hall, Lancashire, 16, 21, 24
Wriothesly, Henry—see Southampton, 3rd E. o
W.S. initials, 8, 49, **54-8**, 60, 94, 175, 196, 230, 2
254, 259, 261, **266**
W.S. Poems, 7-8, 49, 94, 140, **241-8**, **266**

y-spelling analysis, **151-5**, 158-160, 162-4, 269, **289**
——, Folio (1623), 154, 159
——, Hands D and E, 227, 229, **289**, **290**
——, Quartos, 159
——, Sonnets, 155
——, standard equations, 153

Zodiacal screen (Lathom), 18
Zygote (fertilised ovum), 100.